for Stanley Levison

For an Assembly at Hampton Institute, Nov. 10, 1955
by Harris Wofford

GANDHI THE CIVIL RIGHTS LAWYER

It is always embarrassing to talk about Gandhi. He invites big action not big talk.

There are, of course, many sides of Gandhi. There is the religious Gandhi who named his god Truth with Love as God's chief alias, who said that his ambition was to live the Sermon on the Mount. There is the independence leader Gandhi who showed one-fifth of the human race how to win freedom, who is called the George Washington, the father, of his country. There is the vegetarian Gandhi who like Schweitzer had a reverence for all living beings. There is the Puritan Gandhi who wanted to be a saint and who recommended sitting in tubs of ice water as an antidote to unsaintly temptations. And there is the warm and human Gandhi, who could mould heroes out of common clay but who above all had a sense of humor - the Gandhi who, when asked if his dhoti had been enough clothing for his audience with the King, laughed that "the King had on enough for both of us."

But ice tubs are un-American and the memory of my supper keeps me from saying anything about the vegetarian Gandhi, and if I glimpse the truth it is only through a glass darkly and I am a lawyer. So the Gandhi I am going to talk about is Gandhi the lawyer, the civil rights lawyer. For it seems to me that while Mr. Thurgood Marshall is indeed Mr. Civil Rights for this decade, Gandhi was Mr. Civil Rights for the first half of this century.

If you want a glimpse of the whole Gandhi, then I suggest you read Louis Fischer's pocket biography of him, and you will see that Gandhi like great sculpture is all of one piece. But the side of him that is most relevant to our own fight for full civil rights in this country is the fighting, the jail-going, the constructive, the political Gandhi, and this side of him is all shown in his amazing twenty year struggle in the Union of South Africa.

So I am going to concentrate on the young Indian lawyer who went to South Africa on legal business, who there met racial segregation face to face, who stayed to help the Indian minority defend their rights, and who thus developed the techniques which when applied in India overturned the whole British Empire. All of this story is a prelude to a question I put to you: do not we here, in carrying on the work which the lawyers of the NAACP have started so well, need to adopt and adapt the principles and practices which Gandhi demonstrated in South Africa?

If we say yes, then our lives may have to be remoulded somewhat. But before we shrug that off as impossible, consider how Gandhi began. His last name means "grocer" and his family was part of the upper business caste; by the time Gandhi came along his kinsmen had been picked by the British and the Maharajas as among the top dogs of the underdogs. He grew up in relative luxury and culture, with little contact with the great body of poor, illiterate Indians who were living on the soil as sharecroppers or day laborers. He was sent to England where he studied law at the school considered the most aristocratic and on the side took dancing lessons. Look at the pictures of the fashionably, elegantly dressed Gandhi, at age 20 in London with a high silk top hat, and you would say he was dressed fit for anything but sainthood or jail-going or identifying himself with barefoot Village India.

And he didn't begin his legal career so heroically. In fact he was so shy and frightened that in his first case with about $10 at stake he was tonguetied before the judge and was laughed out of court. To let him live down this mortification his family arranged for him to handle a law suit between some Indian merchants in South Africa. When Gandhi sailed away from India at the age of 23 to spend what was expected to be a year in South Africa no one dreamed that he would return 20 years later a Mahatma, that is one who is hailed as a Great Soul. But something happened in Africa's fiery furnace that transformed him.

South Africa in 1893 was a land run by about a million Europeans who sat on top of some five million Africans who had almost no rights at all. There were about 100,000 Indians, most of whom had been recruited as cheap labor for the white plantations and mines. A few hundred Indians had been given a right to vote but otherwise all were second-class citizens. They were called "coolies" or "sammies" and suffered segregation in all walks of life. On the statute books they were described as "semi-barbarous Asiatics." Into this situation came the proud young Gandhi insisting on his first-class ways.

Contrary to custom, on arrival he boarded a first-class railroad compartment. When a passenger demanded that the colored man leave, he refused to do so. Finally a constable pushed him onto an icy platform. He stood there shivering as his overcoat and baggage rolled away in the dark. "Should I fight for my rights or go back to India?" he asked himself. "Late at night," he tells us, "I came to the conclusion that to run back to India would be cowardly."

So he proceeded by stagecoach, where he was seated outside by the driver's box. He stomached this, until the coach leader placed a dirty sackcloth on the footboard and said, "Sammi, you sit on this, I want to sit near the driver." When Gandhi refused to move, the huge white man struck him and beat him while he clung to his perch, until the inside passengers shouted to stop bullying the Indian. When he finally reached Pretoria he was turned down by the hotels, until almost despairing of finding any shelter he was befriended by an American Negro who found him lodgings.

All this was enough to wound and cripple a person psychologically, or to teach him to forget his principles, adjust to things as they were, and look out for himself first. "This country is not for men like you," a rich Indian merchant said to him. "For making money we do not mind pocketing insults, and here we are." But in this initial challenge Gandhi had found his first principle, courageous pursuit of Truth, that is obedience to one's conscience. "The golden rule," he said, "is to dare to do the right at any cost." And years later he was to look back on this bitter episode as the most creative experience of his life.

Shortly after his arrival, the once shy young man invited all the Indians in Pretoria to a meeting. At 24 he gave his first speech. He told them they must fight this thing. But they must not hate and not hurt their opponents. Since the end sought was a community of true neighbors, of brothers, the means used had to be those of persuasion.

But we have been trying to persuade the whites for years, his fellow Indians told him. We have been making protests and sending petitions. You must do more, he said. You must take action that speaks louder than your words, constructive action that gives sincerity and strength to your words.

And then he did an unusual thing. He asked them to consider the grievances against them held by the white people, the reasons or rationalizations the white people gave for their discrimination. Let us see if any of these gripes against us are justified, Gandhi said, and if they are, let us try to do something about them, even now before they grant the reforms we ask, even now, poor as we are.

To the Indian merchants before him, known for slick dealings and sharp bargaining, he proposed complete truthfulness and more concern for their responsibility to the community. He thought all Indians could do something to improve the unsanitary conditions in the Indian sections of town. Why wait for legal reforms for the necessary drain-cleaning? he asked. We must each of us accept personal responsibility now for the injustice around us, he said. We can't blame the Europeans for all our troubles. Perhaps we can't by ourselves end all the poverty in which our people are trapped, but if those of us with some money and some education will join in, the slums can be cleaned up, freshened up with a coat of paint and made habitable, the illiterate adults can be taught to read, and volunteer schools can be provided for the children of the poor.

Thus operation bootstrap was begun, and Gandhi had found one of the two new dimensions which he added to the usual politics of petitions and legal cases. He called it constructive service. For 12 years he led this new effort which combined educational and other constructive self-help projects with increased political appeals to the white community.

In three of those years, however, his work was suspended, because when the Boer War came he called off his political campaign. Now is the time to put on the pressure, the Indians said to him, now while our opponents are against the wall. No, Gandhi said, we must not take an unfair advantage; our aim is to convert not to coerce. So instead Gandhi organized a volunteer ambulance corps of 1100 Indians, and he led them in front line service for which he and 36 other Indians received Empire war medals.

But although much progress was made in educating and improving and strengthening the Indian community in these first 12 years of constructive service, not enough whites were persuaded. In fact in 1906 an anti-Indian ordinance was enacted which required all Indians to register and be fingerprinted, and carry certificates with them at all times. This will spell complete segregation and "absolute ruin" decided Gandhi. "Better die than submit to such a law," he wrote.

But how to die, how to resist it? If anyone demanded such a certificate from my wife, said one of the Indians, "I would shoot him on the spot and take the consequences." Gandhi agreed that if there was only a choice between cowardice and violence, he would choose violence, for "Truthfulness is even more important than peacefulness," he said, and "Cowardice is a thing more hateful than violence," But since there is that of Truth, of God, in all men, no man has the right to take the life of another, he argued. An eye-for-an-eye-for-an-eye-for-an-eye only ends by making everyone blind. Moreover, he had an alternative to present other than violence of mere submission. He called this new way civil disobedience. They should non-violently disobey the new segregation law. This would not be passive resistance but peaceful direct action, for, he said, "the non-violence of my conception is a more active and more real fighting against wickedness than retaliation whose very nature is to increase wickedness."

But Gandhi, his critics asked, you are a lawyer, how can you ask us to evade, to violate the law? No, this is not evasion or violation, he said, but civil disobedience, and the dictionary defines "civil" as that which is non-criminal, non-military, relating to the affairs of the city or government, courteous, and respectful. If we secretly violated the law, that would be undermining the idea of law, he argued. But his proposal was based on respect for law and faith in the possibility of persuasion. By openly courteously, cheerfully disobeying the law and asking for the penalty, they would be in effect saying: We respect the law so much that when there is a law so unjust that our conscience will not let us obey it, then we belong in jail until that law is changed.

Of course, he said, one should always first try by words and petitions to persuade the lawmakers that they are wrong, but we have done that and failed. Now we must try to persuade them by our direct action, by our conscious suffering, by courting jail. "The penetration of the heart comes from suffering," he said. "It opens up the inner understanding in man." It "is infinitely more powerful than the law of the jungle for converting the opponent and opening his ears, which are otherwise shut, to the voice of reason." So as the alternative to the sword, as a method of democratic persuasion, he proposed jail-going; and civil disobedience or as he sometimes called it, soul force, thus took its place as the second new dimension he added to the struggle for civil rights. Civil disobedience and constructive service.

Some 3,000 Indians had gathered to hear Gandhi propose that they disobey the registration law and he warned them not to take his proposed oath lightly. "Even if . . . everyone else flinched, leaving me to face the music alone, I am confident that I will never violate my pledge," Gandhi said. Every Indian rose and took the oath of civil disobedience, and the new kind of struggle was underway. "We must widen the prison gates, and we must enter them as a bridegroom enters the bride's chamber." Gandhi said.

Even before the campaign began, the government changed its mind, and said that Asian women need not register. When male registration began, most Indian men refused to comply, and Gandhi was among the first haled before the court. He asked for the heaviest sentence as the instigator, and when he found himself in a miserable, crowded cell, he said he was happy as a bird. There he discovered that he was able to get more reading done in prison than when free. He exulted when he learned that in the first month 155 Indians had gone to jail; later, thousands were to follow.

The next seven years were full of tribulations, and many jail terms. Indians, including Gandhi, were kicked and pushed into the gutter if they walked on the sidewalk, and at one point, Gandhi was barely saved from a lynching mob which was singing "we'll hang old Gandhi on the sour apple tree."

Probably the most important thing that happened to Gandhi was his resolve to give up his first-class ways and identify himself with the poor. Before he went to jail he had been making more than $25,000 a year as a lawyer, but during his first term he wrote his 17 year old son that "henceforth our lot is poverty." He forced his wife to give up the expensive jewelry she was saving for her daughters, he took the so-called untouchables and low caste Hindus into his home, and he moved out of the city to a communal settlement which he named Tolstoy Farm, where all his colleagues were welcome, and where they could earn their daily bread from the land. He reduced his own possessions almost to nothing and gave up his Western dress in favor of the simple garments of the poor Indians.

Yet through all this he was an intensely practical man. He was efficient and businesslike about his organizations. He sought only limited objectives and was always ready for compromise. He limited the campaign to the one province and the one bill in issue, and when the South African leader Smuts offered to compromise, Gandhi agreed to a settlement based on Smuts's unwritten word. Some militant Indians accused Gandhi of selling out, and argued that the white leader had already betrayed them too many times. "Even if the opponent plays him false twenty times," Gandhi replied, the civil resister must be "ready to trust him for the twenty-first time -- for an implicit trust in human nature is the very essence of his creed."

Smuts did go back on his word, and the struggle started anew, and the jails filled. But flesh and blood knows limits, and by 1912 the determination of most of the Indians was slackening.

Gandhi reported sadly to friends in India that he estimated that there remained a maximum of only 66 and a minimum of 16 who would fight to the end even if it meant life imprisonment.

But Gandhi's magic was not gone, and in the very valley of the shadow he took to the offensive, calling on the women and mine workers to enter the struggle for the first time, asking the women to go into the coal mines and call on the men to strike. The women went and were arrested, the strike spread like wildfire until it included nearly 50,000 men. At this point Gandhi called for volunteers to proceed with him across state borders, without their Asiatic papers, until placed in prison.

More than 2,000 Indians -- some say 5,000 -- followed him. On October 28, 1913 this peaceful army started across the plains of Natal. At the border mounted armed police faced the marchers, threatening to shoot. Gandhi stepped across the border, the nervous police withdrew, and the unarmed thousands advanced into the Transvaal. When the Government finally arrested the Indians en masse and carried them back to the coal mines, which were proclaimed outstations of the Newcastle jails, Gandhi felt he had won the round. Public opinion in South Africa and throughout the British Empire had been moved, and Prime Minister Smuts agreed to appoint a commission to find a solution. In short order an Indian Relief Bill was negotiated with Gandhi, which gave the Indians an important part, but not all, of what they asked. "You can't put twenty thousand Indians into jail," Smuts said in defense of this drastic reversal on his part.

One of Smuts's secretaries told Gandhi:

> "I do not like your people, and do not care to assist them at all. But what am I to do? You help us in our days of need. How can we lay hands upon you? I often wish you took to violence like the English strikers, and then we would know at once how to dispose of you. But you will not injure even the enemy . . . . And that is what reduces us to sheer helplessness."

Before Gandhi sailed back to India in 1914 he reminded the South African Indians that they could not cease fighting until they had achieved full civil rights. He commended to them the new technique of non-violent direct action, a priceless weapon he said, with its two sides, civil disobedience and constructive service. He sent to Smuts as a farewell present a pair of sandals that he had made while in jail as Smuts's prisoner.

Well that is the substance of my story. As we all know, Gandhi took India by surprise, too, and the most famous pages of his Experiments with Truth, as he called his autobiography, were written on that continent, although he always considered his work in South Africa the most significant experiment of all. In India he was not outnumbered ten to one, as he had been in Africa, and his methods of jail-going and constructive service proved successful in organizing a majority for the easier but more more historic task of kicking out the British. Obviously 400 million Indians could give the boot to a few hundred thousand Englishmen if the Indians merely learned to say No. Gandhi taught them to say No, but in a civil way that led not to anarchy, violence, and a new tyranny, but to respect for law and friendship for the British and democracy. Probably half a million Indians learned to pack up their toothbrushes and go to jail, as one Gandhi follower put it, and some of those who, like Nehru, spent half of the best years of their life behind bars, got a lot of reading done.

In India, too, Gandhi called on educated India not only to give up its British jobs and to court jail, but to go to the villages, to serve the great body of illiterate poverty-stricken Indian people. For himself, Gandhi picked the poorest village he could find in the poorest district of India to make his home. There he said he would prove that his constructive program could transform that village from a pile of muck and hungry people into a little republic of cleanliness, beauty, and self-government.

I will never forget the few days my wife and I spent in this home of Gandhi which he named Sevagram, which means Service-Village, and which in his lifetime was the unofficial capital of India. Even after India won its complete independence in 1948, Gandhi refused to accept any governmental office or power, preferring to remain a constructive worker, and to remain ready to give non-violent resistance to any act of injustice by the new government of his own colleagues. Power does not percolate down to the people from parliaments, he believed. "The truth is that power resides in the people," and "Civil disobedience is the storehouse of power." Rather than become Prime Minister or President of India, he chose to continue to demonstrate the power of the people. Gandhi was gone when we went to Sevagram in 1949, killed in 1948 by a high caste Hindu who feared the power of the people. But the sense of Gandhi's power still radiated from the little mud hut where he lived and where he received every one from a Viceroy to one of his so-called untouchable neighbors, whom he renamed Harijans -- Children of God.

You may say that while Gandhi made good in India, time shows thathe did not do so well in South Africa where he was leading only a small minority, since a terrible program of apartheid -- total segregation -- is now in full swing. But Gandhi never dreamed that the Indian rights had been won for all time, and he knew that the rights of the African majority had not been established at all. Perhaps you have noted that Gandhi's son Manilal and the South African Indian community have been in the forefront of the resistance to this new program, and that so far this resistance has taken the form of civil disobedience.

At least there is evidence that Gandhi's first experiment there did win one significant convert, that he did in fact persuade his main opponent, former Prime Minister Smuts himself. On Gandhi's 70th birthday in 1939 Smuts, as a gesture of friendship, returned the sandals Gandhi had given him in 1913, to show he had kept and cherished them through the years. "I am not worthy to stand in the shoes of so great a man," Smuts said. "It was my fate to be the antagonist of a man for whom even then I had the highest respect," said the first man who had put Gandhi in prison, 32 years later.

The question which I said I was putting by means of this account of Gandhi is the obvious one: is all this relevant to us and our situation in America? Once Gandhi was asked for a message to Americans, and he replied, "My life is my message."

Does his life have meaning for Americans? In 1935 Dr. and Mrs. Thurman, while visiting Gandhi, asked him to come to America, not for White America, they said, but to help the American Negro in his fight for civil rights. "How I wish I could," he said, but "I must make good the message here before I bring it to you." He added that if "may be" through the American Negro that the "unadulterated message of non-violence will be delivered to the world."

So it is for you to decide whether you think Gandhi made good his message and whether it is not about time for Gandhi to come to America. I do not mean that we can expect an American Gandhi, because as Albert Einstein said, we are lucky if a Gandhi walks this earth once in a thousand years. But should Americans try to become a little Gandhian? More specifically, should we try his weapons of civil disobedience and constructive service in our own fight for civil rights?

Before you dismiss the Gandhian way as too Hindu and alien to America, I suggest that you consider the long tradition of civil disobedience in this country. The very term Civil Disobedience comes from Thoreau's great essay by that name. Thoreau himself, as you know, once went to jail himself before the Civil War, for refusing to pay taxes to a government which supported slavery. There is the apocryphal story of Emerson's visit to Thoreau in the Concord jail, "Why are you in there?" Emerson asked his friend. "Why are you outside?" Thoreau replied.

The abolitionist movement got its first great impetus from the seven weeks William Lloyd Garrison spent in a Baltimore jail in 1838, for defying the fugitive slave law. In his paper, The Liberator, Garrison actually preached Gandhian action, such as in this verse,

" . . . learn this secret true!
A secret of celestial birth --
By suffering to subdue!"

And scores of other abolitionists disobeyed the fugitive slave law and went to jail. A few, such as the Reverend Elijah Lovejoy of Illinois, lost their lives in resistance to pro-slavery mobs. The whole operation of the Underground Railroad, begun by the Quakers in the 18th century, although it was secret and thus not exactly Gandhian, was a kind of peaceful resistance. And Frederick Douglass was also in this tradition when, after praying for freedom in words for year after year, he one day looked down at his legs, and said: "O legs, give me freedom! O legs, bring me to freedom." And they did.

But this story of the role of civil disobedience in America is long and for another day. It is a story that reaches up to the woman suffrage movement and back to the Boston Tea Party, and before that to the pilgrim compact on the Mayflower. In fact the tradition of civil disobedience in Western law goes back at least to that morning when Socrates, refusing to obey the law not to speak freely but refusing to evade the law by escaping from Athens, drank the hemlock. And I think the filing of NAACP law suits in some black belt counties in the South is a courageous disobedience of the powers that be that is probably the latest case in point.

But it does seem to me that in the next twenty or thirty years of struggle and turmoil and suffering as a result of the Supreme Court victory, we need to add these other Gandhian dimensions. As a lawyer I suggest that you cannot leave this problem to the lawyers alone.

And as a lawyer I suggest that Gandhi's view of the law is a good one, one that would make for better health in our body politic. His is a view that teachers and students should appreciate because in effect he sees each law as a question, not a command. A free law-abiding man has an alternative in each case to obey the law or to respectfully accept the consequences of disobedience. Thus each law asks this question of each of us: Am I a just law, a good law, a law which in conscience you can obey. Fortunately, in a democracy we trust that most laws are not so bad that we cannot in conscience obey them. But a majority can be wrong, so wrong that a minority must not acquiesce, and Gandhi has shown a way that is not just the old way of parliamentary petitions and elections, with all its red tape and delays, not just the old way of violent insurrection, but a way that permits peaceful, civil resistance, a way that reinforces the process of persuasion, and the basis for law. Nor, with human nature what it is, do I think we need fear that too many of us will court jail too often.

As I said in the beginning, it is embarrassing to talk about this subject, because Gandhi's first principle was to teach not by preaching but by practice. But if some of my embarrassment can be passed on to you, so that we are all embarrassed together, and so we continue to be embarrassed until we find the right way to do -- and dare to do -- what we know we ought to do, then our thinking about Gandhi will not have been in vain. For I suppose the real challenge of Gandhi is for us to do what we ought to have done without his challenge.

Harris Wofford, Jr.

Gandhi as a Radical Liberal

Paper contributed for The Gandhi Centenary Commemoration
Volume, to be published in the autumn 1968
in New Delhi.
by
Gunnar Myrdal

Mohandas Gandhi's moral personality was a gem, faceted with immense richness. He will appear differently when viewed by different observers, depending upon where they stand and the background against which they perceive him. The present author has for many years been entangled in a study of South Asis's and, in particular, India's problems of underdevelopment, development, and planning for development; my value premises in this study were the rationalistic modernization ideals[v] as they had emanated in the early European era of Enlightenment and been preserved and developed in liberal thought everywhere. Together with Jawaharlal Nehru, Gandhi walks through my book as a spiritual leader upholding these ideals in quite a consistent way. Viewed in this setting, Gandhi stands out as a radical and overoptimistic liberal of the post-Victorian English variety, though moulded by the Indian tradition. I realize that this characterization does not exhaust what can be said about Gandhi's world outlook, as I am sure other contributors to this volume have shown. But I do believe that it catches a significant and important trait and belongs to a full view of the father of the Indian nation.

Asian Drama. An Inquiry Into the Poverty of Nations, Pantheon Publishers, New York, and Penguin Publishers, London, 1968, Prologue, Section 9, and Chapter 2.

The assertions about Gandhi's opinions expressed below are documented in various places in that book.

I

Gandhi's political tactic of civil disobedience and non-cooperation with the colonial power structure was, of course, in line with his moral imperative of non-violence. His absolutist conception of this imperative was not endorsed by the radical liberals in the Congress movement. That is evident from the criticisms by Nehru and other contemporaries. But to them, too, the application of the principle of non-violence seemed a rational means for a very large and very poor people to use in attaining national independence with a minimum of sacrifice from the British Crown, with its specific attributes. Unlike so many of Gandhi's other political views, it did not even prove overoptimistic.

Gandhi was a radical leveller. He spoke up for the "dumb semistarved millions scattered over the length and the bredth of the land in its 700,000 villages" and he saw their situation to be the result of systematic "exploitation". He saw clearly what later would become so forgotten in India, viz. that greater equality was not an aim in competition with economic progress but instead a necessary condition for it. Until Gandhi's crusade, social and, in particular, economic equalization had been discussed very little, either in India or anywhere else in South Asia. Gandhi's egalitarianism became one of the links between him and the rationalistic intellectuals of Nehru's type who, unlike Gandhi, were relatively unconcerned with tradition and religion. Together they persuaded Congress to accept a radical variant of the modern egalitarian ideology. Confirmed at the Karachi session in 1931, it demanded that "in order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom for the starving millions".

In line with the golden-age myth, which Gandhi, as little as any other leader--not even Nehru--could entirely forsake, he held that a "purer" and functional caste system could once upon a time have been a beneficial social organization. But the present caste system was to him a horror and had to be suppressed. He also stood for the liberation of women from their shackles. He cried out against child marriage and the religious and social compulsion hindering remarriage of widows. In all these questions Gandhi was the opposite of a traditionalist.

Even in regard to the distribution of income and wealth, Gandhi's views were radical. Often he spoke as if he demanded complete economic equality. But on this point Gandhi's thinking became blurred with his concept of trusteeship: the rich could keep their wealth if they acted in the interest of the underprivileged. This notion was a practical compromise, mainly motivated by his rejection of violence and his realization that the rich would not willingly give up their possessions (see below, however). It was so flexible that it could serve as a justification for gross inequality. But Gandhi demanded a moral revolution, a change of heart among the rich. Nehru, who doubted the likelihood of such a conversion, criticized Gandhi for inconsistency in regard to economic equalization.

Gandhi remained optimistic on this score and often gave expression to his conviction of a radical improvement of the economic conditions of the poor once India had become independent. He was equally optimistic about the rapid disappearance of caste and other social inequalities. This optimism was founded on two judgments which can now be seen to have been mistaken but which were largely shared by Nehru and the rationalistic intellectuals in the Congress movement. One was that the British colonial rule over India had so suppressed the forces making for economic progress that once the shackles of imperalism were removed rapid economic progress would ensue and increase the elbow room for rich and poor. The other judgment concerned the political democracy that would come with independence and its expected revolutionary effects on the Indian society.

To Gandhi a radical change in the social and economic order was, indeed, the meaning and essential purpose of overthrowing foreign rule. Without it, independence and democracy would be an empty achievement. But Gandhi took for granted that once the power was transferred to the masses of the Indian people these masses would assert themselves and carry out the economic and social revolution. The rich and mighty would have to give up their privileges and do it willingly and peacefully. In his words: "Economic equality is the master key to non-violent independence. . .A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persist. The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor, labouring class cannot last one day in a free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land. A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give and sharing them for the common good." That independent India should be a democracy based on adult franchise, Gandhi held as above dispute and so did Congress as a body. The economic and social revolution to him then became simply an inference of the extreme degree of social and economic inequality existing there as a start.

In practically all fields Gandhi was thus an enlightened radical liberal. He demanded also a revolutionary change in the direction of education and not simply the sluicing of more children and youths through an unreformed school system inherited from colonial time and serving the interests of the metropolitan power and that Indian upper class which had flourished under its protection. There, he was in line with the most modern contemporary philosophers of education, particularly prominent in the two countries which were already ahead of the rest of the world, viz. the United States and later the Soviet Union. He stood up by words and personal example against that serious obstacle to development which persists in the contempt for manual work. Much of the educational reforms he propagated had a major aim of elevating to its proper level the dignity of labor, all labor. He saw clearly its relation to the issue of social equality, and he never tired in stressing this fact. As Gandhi stood so undeniably on the side of the poor and downtrodden, he dared also to be more outspoken than any other Indian leader after him--with the exception occasionally of Nehru--in upbraiding his people for laziness and for not keeping themselves and their surroundings clean.

Blended with all these highly rationalistic opinions of Gandhi, which make him an outspoken radical liberal, he held at the same time more traditionalistic views that seemingly, at least, contradicts them. His hostility to modern industrial technology and to machines and, more generally, his pro-rural and anti-city bias were sometimes expressed in terms which are hardly compatible with enlightened liberalism. But the recognition in recent years of the very predominant importance of agriculture in economic development and also of the underutilized labor resources have, to an extent, proved these ideas of his to be less irrational than they seemed to be at a time when development was narrowly defined as industrialization and when it was believed that industrialization would rapidly create new employment that would make possible the "skimming off" of the "labor surplus" in agriculture. Even at the culmination of that era -- approximately in the years when the Second Five Year Plan was prepared -- the planners found a compromise with Gandhian ideas, viz. to reserve a large area of production of consumption goods for traditional labor intensive technology. In regard to central state planning generally, where Indian policy has seemed to deviate most conspicuously from Gandhi's teaching, there may now be forebodings of an evolution of thinking that comes closer to Gandhi's own. The plans produced in predominantly financial terms have turned out to be fictitious and misleading. Consequently India is beginning to recognize the necessity to perceive development as a process encompassing the entire social system. This was Gandhi's view, though he never elaborated it.

To Gandhi, politics should be rooted in morals. There he only emphasized truly liberal principles, from which too many writers, particularly among the economists, have tried to run away. More questionable -- from a liberal point of view -- is Gandhi's insistence of basing morals on religion. But by his religious syncretism, stressing the affinities between all religions, he gave preponderent weight to the "higher" ideals which all religions have in common and which generally are humanitarian and rationalistic, while playing down the importance of rites and taboos which are diversive and a-rational if not irrational. His adulation of sexual abstinence, however, and his consequent hostility to contraception are definitely anti-rationalistic elements in his moral philosophy. If adhered to, they would have become the more blatantly illiberal when the population explosion gathered momentum, but that occurred only after his death. Similarly, his support for cow worship -- and sometimes idol worship -- stand out as contradictory to his enlightened liberalism.

II

Everyone who has studied Gandhi's teaching in some depth must have pondered over what his intellectual, moral and political reaction would have been if he had returned to his India after more than twenty years of independence. Certainly, he would have had to confess to himself that the unbounded optimism that inspired him and his contemporaries in the Congress movement during the struggle for independence had been mistaken.

The social and economic revolution he had looked forward to had been, first, postponed and, later, shelved altogether -- except for some continued rhetorical exuberences in public speaking. Instead of the economic equalization he had seen coming, inequalities have been widening. The concentration of financial power has increased. Against the clear condemnation in the Constitution and special legislation, which had been adopted under the influence of the legacy from Gandhi, caste as a social institution has shown an obstinate persistency and may even have gained in importance. The rise in the freedom and status of women which he had propogated has, for the most part, remained a rather empty prescription -- except in the top upper classes. The land and tenancy reforms have been little more than a sham. There has been no fundamental reform of education, which still serves to preserve and mark the gulf between those who work with their hands and those who, having acquired the badge of education, do not have to do so. The efforts to lift up and move rural life -- agricultural extension, credit and other cooperatives, community development, panchayat faj, and so on -- have, contrary to proclaimed objectives, mainly favored the better-offs.

And so the masses of people in the villages, where now, as in Gandhi's time, more than eighty percent of the people live, have mostly remained in relative stagnation. The landless and poorer half of the villagers -- Gandhi's dumb semi-starved millions -- may be worse off than they were a quarter of a century ago and are certainly not decidedly better off. Undoubtedly, the still unhampered population explosion has contributed in a mighty way to the severity of what, measured by Gandhi's predictions and honest expectancy, he would now see as a large-scale failure. It is open to speculation whether Gandhi, when facing the population explosion and the cattle explosion, would have modified his views on contraception and cow slaughter. As rational liberalism was a major element in Gandhi's thinking, this does not seem entirely excluded. In any case, he would probably not have laid a main emphasis on these issues, but looked on them as peripheral to the failure in the field of politics.

The development of Indian politics since the attainment of independence, which he himself barely survived, Gandhi would in all certainty have censured severely. He would have seen it to be inflicted with a progressively worsening moral illness, spreading out in the entire polity and society like a cancerous growth, to which the increase of corruption bore testimony. He would have seen another sign of the downward trend of political life in the increasing prevalence of violence -- on the one side, riots, usually without a major political purpose, and police brutality on the other. This, as is often pointed out, has reached a higher level than it did during the struggle against the British which he succeeded in keeping disciplined. He would probably have judged this ailment of Indian politics as an ex post justification of his recommendation, at the time when India steered out as an independent state, that Congress should stay out of politics, not remaining a political party but becoming a voluntary organization for social improvement. When Nehru and the majority of the Congress leaders chose to act differently, this was motivated by the fact that there was already a Congress party with an effective machine which could become a national party and which undoubtedly made possible the first ten years of relatively successful government in the country. But it was also during these ten years that the postponement of the social and economic revolution was gradually accepted, the revolution that would have been necessary if the exalted hopes of Gandhi, Nehru, and many others were to have materialized.

If Gandhi could return to India after almost a quarter of a century, he would thus have had to confess that he, together with most leaders of the Congress movement, had been grossly overoptimistic. It is equally certain, however, that he would have stuck to what were his fundamental valuations, rooted as they were in his moral convictions and in his religion. It is unthinkable that today he would have remained silent and idle. He would again have taken to the roads and village lanes and begun anew his crusade, seeking to change the social and economic conceptions of the articulate classes of his nation but at the same time trying to stir up the masses from their stupor. And he would have followers of many diverse backgrounds, now as then kept together as a unified force by his faith, resourcefulness, and humor.

Often when laboring with India's staggering development problems, I have felt inclined to believe that what that great country needs today, more than foreign aid and day-to-day adjustment of policies to meet the recurring emergencies, is a spiritual leader of Gandhi's greatness, his love, and fearlessness. Together with the group of patriots who would come to surround such a leader, he might electrify the nation to undertake, late but perhaps not too late, the revolutionary changes in social, economic and political institutions, attitudes and practices which are now so desperately needed.

- - -

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BAYARD RUSTIN'S REMARKS AT DEDICATION OF GANDHI STATUE

Union Square Park
October 2, 1986

Some called him Bapu - father

Others called him Mahatma - great soul

The world calls him friend.

This was Mohandas K. Gandhi.

He offered redemption to a troubled world.

He told us how we could achieve peace.

Loved by peasants, he was ultimately revered by Kings.

Yet, he built no vast economic empire
held no public office
commanded no armed forces
spent much of his life in jail
was beaten and humiliated for his principles

He is called "great soul" because he demonstrated to the world that violence could be repudiated and fear renounced.

He knew that conflict is inevitable.

Humanity accepts violence and wages war to protect power at one extreme and to defend highly held values on another.

He was determined to demonstrate that there were nonviolent alternatives to war and to violent conflicts, if fear could be sublimated.

This idea he demonstrated, to the wonder of the world, during his long struggles for justice for all in South Africa and for the independence of India.

Yet he constantly emphasized that independence was not enough. He understood that freedom was far more rewarding and far more difficult to achieve. His dedication to freedom was total:

from fear
from hate
from racism
from religious intolerance
from greed
from avarice
from selfishness

To accomplish so vast a task he devised a new social and economic program and policy. To this end he proclaimed a fearless and nonviolent revolution, including:

respect for all human personality
dedication to reverence for all life
a casteless social order
land distribution
an educational system
home industries
a medical and health plan, including nutrition and diet

Education for this program lead not only to India's independence but also laid the groundwork for one of the more stable democracies in the world.

Thus, the spirit of Gandhi has become one of the measurements by which morality and democracy are judged.

His life is a judgement on the dependence on violent contraptions. In this context it is profoundly significant that Hitler (master of evil) and Gandhi (master of good) both should have lived in that turbulent time when the atomic bomb was built and exploded. It is as if God will not permit humanity to face so horrible a choice without personifying a living example of each extreme of that choice.

Further, in New York City there live many who suffered Hitler's inhumanity. It will be reassuring to all of us, but especially to those who so suffered, to be reminded by this work of art that so meek, so loving, so kind a man walked this earth even while the gas chambers were being fueled.

In New York we of all religions, races, colors, and ethnic groups are struggling to create a more nonviolent society. Today we are taking a great step in that process by unveiling this statue of Gandhi. We will have in our midst this constant reminder of his life, his thought, his words and his deeds. The presence of this statue will inspire us and guide us as we join the pursuit of that endless task for which he died - a truly loving and free human society.

Reception - Dinner Invitation

P.S. - Please be present to witness the historic event —
The Unveiling Ceremony of Mahatma Gandhi's Statue
in New York City (1st in North America),
on October 2, 1986 at 11:00 AM

Gandhi Memorial International Foundation

Cordially invites

Mr. Rustin and Guests

to a Reception and Dinner

on October 2, 1986

at the Travelers Hotel
9400 Ditmars Boulevard
East Elmhurst, New York
(Opposite LaGuardia Airport)

in honor of the the statue of

MAHATMA GANDHI

which will be unveiled at the

Southwest Triangle of Union Square Park
14th Street & Union Square West in Manhattan

on October 2, 1986

Reception 6:30 PM — Dinner 7:30 PM

~~Donation $150 per person~~

~~RSVP enclosed~~

Tel. (212) 529-3680

All proceeds will be earmarked for the Mahatma Gandhi Statue Project.

Mahatma Gandhi Statue Committee

Dr. H. K. Chandra Sekhar

Dr. Dev Chitkara

Dr. Samir Dutta

Mr. Suresh Gupta

Dr. Avtar Josen

Mr. Surinder Kathuria

Ms. Renu Mehra

Mr. Sethu Narikot

Dr. Pravin Pandhi

Dr. Govindappa Rangaiah

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The Gandhi Memorial International Foundation
Thanks the following for their exceptional assistance

Mr. Mohan B. Murjani

Suresh Master

Krishna Mehta

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Air India

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"In a gentle way
you can shake the world"
-Gandhi

Gandhi Memorial International Foundation

[illegible]

273 E. 10th Street
New York, N.Y. 10009
(212) 529-3680

September 27, 1986

Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Namaste, I trust this letter will find you in the best of health and spirits.

I am greatly pleased to confirm the telephone conversation between Don Sheldon of my office and Walter Naegle of your office on September 26th indicating that you will unveil the statue of Mohandas K. Gandhi to be placed in Union Square Park on Thursday, October 2, 1986.

The eight foot bronze statue, the first statue of the Mahatma in North America, will be unveiled in the southwest triangle of Union Square Park on 14th Street in Manhattan on the 117th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi.

I would also like to invite you to a reception-dinner at 6:30 p.m. that same evening at the Travelers Hotel at 9400 Ditmars Boulevard in Queens.

Either Mr. Sheldon or I will be calling your office on Monday, and of course we will remain in touch with you throughout the week.

Sincerely yours,

Yogesh K. Gandhi

Yogesh K. Gandhi

I am pleased to also confirm that you will make an appearance at the reception-Dinner

Yg

YKG:dhs
Encls.

Founder: Yogesh K. Gandhi—great grand-nephew of Mahatma Gandhi

Photo of the statue of Mohandas K. Gandhi to be unveiled in Union Square on Oct. 2, 1986.

Gandhi Memorial International Foundation

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Staff of the Gandhi Foundation

Yogesh K. Gandhi
Executive Director

Master's degree, textile engineering, M.T.F.H.S., Germany, 1976. President and Chief Executive Officer, International Marketing GmbH, 1980–1983. President and Chief Executive Officer, U. K. Ltd., 1977–1980. Has travelled extensively throughout the world. Lectures on Mahatma Gandhi and non-violence.

Don Howard Sheldon
Program & Research Director

B. A. degree, history, University of Wisconsin, 1975. M. A. degree, history and anthropology, Johns Hopkins University, Maryland, 1977. Certificate for special seminar on "Quantitative Techniques in Historical Research," Johns Hopkins University. Co-Manager, Montclair Unitarian Peace Center, Montclair, New Jersey, 1984. Member, Nonviolence Training Committee, Washington Peace Center, Washington, D.C., 1985. Member, Montclair–Pearl Lagoon (Nicaragua) Sister City Project, 1986. Lectures and teaches courses on the history and theory of non-violence.

Steven Krulick
Publications Director

Communications major, Queens College, City University of New York. Publisher and Editor of community and national newspapers. Has supervised international marketing and publicity campaigns. Founder and President of Kryolux Inc.

Zlatko Paunov
Art Director

Academia of Fine Arts, Sofia, Bulgaria, studied six years. Specialized at the Royal Academy, Budapest, Hungary, and Belle Arte, Rome, Italy. Has been commissioned by Gloria Swanson, Joe Franklin, Philip Nolan, Mazola Company, Nigma Institute, and others. Widely exhibited around the world.

Founder

Yogesh K. Gandhi

Yogesh K. Gandhi, eldest son of four children, was born in Rajkot, India. His mother, Vijaya, devoted her life to her husband and children. His father, Prabhudas, was a government official. His grandmother was the daughter of the Mahatma's eldest brother, Laxmidas K. Gandhi. Yogesh was influenced at an early age by his grandmother and his family heritage.

Educated in India and Western Europe, Yogesh travelled throughout the world, conducting business in Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Americas. He became deeply touched by the desperation of the human condition and was determined to invoke the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi to solve these problems. In 1983, he established the Gandhi Memorial International Foundation.

Photo of the statue of Mohandas K. Gandhi to be unveiled in Union Square on Oct. 2, 1986.

Gandhi Memorial International Foundation

273 E. 10th STREET, NEW YORK, NY 10009 • (212) 323-8050

Non-violence is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. It is greater than the mightiest weapon of destruction. It is the supreme law. By it alone mankind can be saved.
—Mahatma Gandhi

Gandhi Foundation Fact Sheet

Mission—

We are committed to promoting non-violence and eliminating material and spiritual poverty throughout the world. We believe that only through educational and cultural efforts can the spark for individual, world-changing action be ignited. And only through individual change can we achieve the reconciliation and cooperation needed to solve the massive problems facing humanity today.

Objectives—

We believe that non-violent action is humanity's best hope for a better future. Non-violence can foster significant positive change on a personal, social, or wider political level—turning challenges into triumphs.

We hold that material poverty is one of the greatest sources of conflict in today's world. We therefore support other organizations which promote self-sufficiency for the people of the world.

We also hold that spiritual poverty, as it evidences itself in despair and hopelessness, is responsible for much of the world's malaise. It is our intention to create programs which help foster greater self-realization and personal integration.

Educational Programs—

Lecture Circuit: Yogesh K. Gandhi travels the United States, spreading the word of the power of non-violence to schools, church and civic organizations, and individuals everywhere.

The World of Gandhi and Nehru: A travelling exhibition that will tour the United States and around the world. It will depict the life and times of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and illustrate the potential for non-violence as a valid instrument for today.

Classes: We provide courses in non-violence, yoga, meditation for stress reduction, English as a second language, as well as programs designed to teach children how to get along with others, and other programs designed to awaken self-awareness and individual responsibility.

Special Projects—

Gandhi Peace Prize: The Mahatma Gandhi World Peace Award was established in 1984 to honor individuals who have exemplified the spirit of non-violence in action. The first recipient was Mother Teresa of Calcutta. Jimmy Carter, the 39th president of the United States, received the award in 1985. The 1986 award is to be presented to Corazon Aquino, president of the Philippines.

Longterm Goals—

To build Gandhi Centers in cities across the United States and internationally, and to increase our support and funding of existing organizations that help the poor to help themselves.

Founder and Executive Director

Yogesh K. Gandhi, great-grandnephew of Mohandas K. Gandhi, the Mahatma. Yogesh was educated in India and Western Europe, receiving his master's degree in textile engineering in 1976. From then until 1983 he travelled throughout the world, conducting business in Asia, East Africa, Eastern and Western Europe, and in the Americas. During those travels he became deeply touched by the desperation of the human condition and became determined to invoke the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi to solve these problems.

Massive change is entirely dependent upon individual action. If we are to have a world of Truth, Love, Peace, and Non-violence, we individually must change our lives and truly fulfill them with Love. When enough of us change, the world will change with us.
—Yogesh K. Gandhi

Funding—

We welcome contributions from individuals and corporations. As a non-profit, educational organization benefiting the public interest, your contribution is tax-deductible.

For Further Information Contact—

Yogesh K. Gandhi
Gandhi Foundation
273 10th Street
New York, NY 10009
Telephone: (212) 323-8050

Founder: Yogesh K. Gandhi, great-grandnephew of Mahatma Gandhi

History of the Gandhi Foundation

It has been over three years since the Foundation was begun by Yogesh K. Gandhi in Los Angeles, California, as a non-profit educational organization.

Los Angeles was chosen as the headquarters of the Foundation because it is the only place outside of India which has the honor of holding a portion of Mahatma Gandhi's ashes. In 1950, Shri Paramahansa Yogananda of the Self-Realization Fellowship established the Mahatma Gandhi World Peace Memorial and obtained the Mahatma's ashes as part of it. On September 21, 1983, the Gandhi Foundation officially opened at the site of the Mahatma Gandhi World Peace Memorial.

On the day of the Mahatma's birthday, October 2, 1983, a symbolic salt march and silent peace vigil, punctuated with the ringing of gongs and bells, culminated at the Santa Monica beach, where participants picked up salt from the edge of the ocean. Thane Walker, a reporter at the Mahatma's Salt March in 1930, flew in from Hawaii to participate.

With a small and occasionally fluctuating staff, and despite the usual growing pains of a new organization, the Foundation has reached out to millions of people in America and around the world in its brief existence. The Los Angeles international headquarters has sponsored programs locally, but national and international activities have been the Foundation's focus to this point.

In January 1984, the Foundation obtained the assistance of numerous prominent people throughout the world to have the 1948 Nobel Peace Prize awarded posthumously and belatedly to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. In that year of the Mahatma's death, no Peace Prize was given. Obviously, no one more clearly deserves this award than the man who inspired many of the later winners; we are continuing to seek to have the Nobel Committee rectify its oversight.

On Memorial Day weekend in May 1984, many months of hard work resulted in the Peacemaker Conference held at Camp Cielo in the Santa Barbara Mountains. The conference, co-sponsored by the Gandhi Foundation and the Institute for Peace Studies, was attended by more than 200 people who learned more about conflict resolution and personal growth toward inner peace.

While the planning for the conference continued, Yogesh developed the concept of a walk across the United States (and eventually around the world) to spread the message of non-violence, self-sufficiency, and spiritual self-awareness through a dramatic gesture that would spark the imagination of millions of people. Since the idea was inspired on March 30th, the anniversary of the Mahatma's famous Salt March, this new walk was called **Operation SALT March**, with the slogan—"*Serve All Life Today* in order to *Save All Life Tomorrow.*"

On June 11, 1984, with a group of ten men, four women, and two children, Yogesh led the march out of Los Angeles. Though he had only $38 in his pocket, he was filled wih the confidence that when you do what is right everything will work out. After a trek of 3,000 miles over 112 days, filled with many public appearances and private meetings, the march reached New York City, to be continued in the near future.

The first annual Mahatma Gandhi World Peace Award was given to Mother Teresa for her efforts on behalf of the poor and the ill. The award was announced on October 26, 1984, at a gala dinner. The 1985 award winner was Jimmy Carter, the 39th president of the United States, for his efforts on behalf of human rights and world peace, especially in the Middle East.

When **Operation SALT March** reached New York, Yogesh found new opportunities beckoning on the east coast. Opening up an office and local community centers in the New York Metropolitan area was the logical next step for the Foundation.

Within months, in January 1985, the first Gandhi Center was established at 190 Cebra Avenue in Staten Island, New York. By springtime, this center had an active schedule of courses on non-violence, yoga, meditation, learning to speak English and Hindi, as well as many others. Many difficulties have accompanied the growth of this center, but with hard work and faith in the cause, expansion to an additional location in Manhattan was achieved.

With all this activity, staff members have still managed from the very beginnings of the Foundation in Los Angeles to speak to audiences throughout the nation—large public assemblies, young people in their schools, church groups, and community and national leaders in one-to-one meetings. The Foundation's message has been spread during numerous radio and TV appearances, and in interviews in the print media, both locally and nationally.

Most recently, the Foundation has commissioned a statue of the Mahatma, to be placed at Union Square Park in New York City.

With the support of the people dedicated to living the principles of Truth, Love, and Non-violence and inspired by Mahatma Gandhi to "be the change we seek," we all can do our part in building a better world.

PRINTING: SANDHYA, JAMAICA, NY (718) 523-6900

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE (August 13, 1986):

Gandhi Memorial International Foundation

273 E. 10th STREET, NEW YORK, NY 10009 • (212) 323-8050

Photo of the statue of Mohandas K. Gandhi to be unveiled in Union Square on Oct. 2, 1986.

MAHATMA GANDHI STATUE IN MANHATTAN

An eight-foot bronze statue of Mahatma Gandhi, the first in North American, will be unveiled in the southwest triangle of Union Square Park, at 14th Street in Manhattan, at 11 a.m. on Thursday, Oct. 2, 1986, the 117th anniversary of Mohandas K. Gandhi's birth.

To date, the Gandhi Foundation has received all necessary approval for placement of the statue from the Art Commission of the City of New York, City of New York Parks and Recreation Department Commissioner Henry Stern, and Community Board #5.

"We believe a statue of Mahatma Gandhi will inspire untold numbers of people, generation after generation, to follow the path of non-violence by reminding them of the philosophy for which he lived," said Yogesh K. Gandhi, great-grandnephew of Mahatma Gandhi and founder of the Gandhi Foundation. "Our hope for the future is that non-violent means of resolving conflicts will be increasingly used at all levels, resulting in a day when there will be no more wars."

The project was initiated by Dr. H.K. Chandra Sekhar. On February 16, 1984, Mayor Koch called the first Ethnic Press Conference in the Hall of the Board of Estimates in City Hall. Dr. Chandra Sekhar, as representative of the Indian community on the Mayor's Ethnic Advisory Council, requested, at this meeting, that a proper memorial must be established in the greatest city in the world to the greatest human being of the 20th century. Two proposals were presented: that an avenue in New York City be given Mohandas K. Gandhi's name; that a statue be built in Gandhi's honor. Mayor Koch wholeheartedly approved the idea and immediately asked Mr. Herbert Rickman, his special assistant, to work with Dr. Chandra Sekhar and come up with a formal proposal. Thus, the Gandhi Statue project began.

Total project cost is approximately $500,000, including site-development, placement, and $100,000 (in an escrow account with the City of New York Parks and Recreation Department) for maintenance of the statue and site in perpetuity.

The statue's cost, up to $100,000, has been underwritten by Mr. Mohan B. Murjani, Chairman, Murjani International, Ltd.

"History tells us of the common heritage of non-violence that Indians and Americans share," says the 35 year-old Gandhi. "In the eighteenth century, during the early non-violent phase of the American Revolution, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and other leaders working for the independence of the American colonies, called for a program of economic non-cooperation—a refusal to import from or export to England. The call went out for a public day of fasting to prepare spiritually for the upcoming non-violent campaign. Women were encouraged to spin cotton for homemade clothing as a symbol of resistance. Two hundred years later, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., using Mahatma Gandhi's methods, led the American Civil Rights Movement. Thus, American and Indian heritages have similar themes. Mohandas K. Gandhi left a legacy of non-violence which continues to guide millions of people in America, India, the Philippines, and elsewhere in the world."

The movies *Gandhi* and *Passage to India*, the television series *Jewel in the Crown* and *Lord Mountbattan: The Last Viceroy*, and the Festival of India, have created a greater awareness of India, its history, and culture. "As these events have left their mark on America and its people, so we have an opportunity to keep this momentum going. As the permanent statue of Mahatma Gandhi will remind and inspire, so we can play a vital role in spreading non-violent philosophy and culture, making it a permanent part of daily life," says Gandhi.

For further information, contact Yogesh K. Gandhi, at (212) 323-8050.

# # #

The New York Times

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NEW YORK
Day by Day

Statue of Gandhi Nearing Reality for Union Square

On the second of October in 1869, Mohandas K. Gandhi was born. On the second of October in 1986, an eight-foot bronze likeness of the Mahatma is scheduled to be unveiled in Union Square.

The way seems to be clear now that the local community board has voted 23 to 9 in favor of the monument.

Yogesh K. Gandhi, director of the Gandhi Memorial International Foundation, said yesterday that the casting of the statue by the artist Kantilal Patel was almost completed.

The foundation, based on Staten Island, is sponsoring the monument with the help of $100,000 from Mohan B. Murjani, chairman of Murjani International, the apparel concern.

After other sites in lower Manhattan had been rejected, Mr. Gandhi, a great-grandnephew of the Indian leader, settled on Union Square.

"Union Square has a history of free speech," he said. "For me, union is identified with unity. And also, thousands of people are passing by every day. By seeing the statue, people get the inspiration of the philosophy of nonviolence. And that is the idea."

There was some resistance from the neighborhood. The Union Square Park Community Coalition objected that it had not been consulted, that other statues in the square portrayed American figures and that no care was being given to the existing statuary.

The city's Commissioner of Parks and Recreation, Henry J. Stern, supported the Gandhi project and answered opponents: "What would have happened if the Statue of Liberty were submitted to a community board? They would have said it was too big, in too remote a place, and that it was foreign, to boot."

At the community board meeting last Thursday, Mr. Gandhi said the foundation would not only maintain the Gandhi monument but also help care for the other statues in Union Square.

"I think that is what convinced as many people to be enthusiastic about it," said Joseph Rose, chairman of the local board, No. 5.

Susan Heller Anderson
David W. Dunlap

Statue of Mohandas K. Gandhi to be unveiled in Union Square Oct. 2.

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October 27, 1986

Yogesh K. Gandhi
Gandhi Memorial International Foundation
273 E. 10th Street
New York, N.Y. 10009

Dear Yogesh:

The dedication of the Gandhi statue was a great occasion for me. You are to be thanked for all you did to make it possible.

I am leaving on November 1 for South Africa and will be gone until November 16. When I return I very much want to see you and to have the opportunity to arrange for you to see the most beautiful and impressive bronze casting of Tagore that is for sale in New York. We ought to see that it gets the kind of home it deserves.

I shall call you on my return.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Chron.
✓ Gandhi Statue

WITNESS THE HISTORIC EVENT!

& Participate In The Gandhi Peace And Justice Fair

THE UNVEILING CEREMONY FOR THE STATUE OF

MAHATMA GANDHI

IN NEW YORK CITY

(THE FIRST IN NORTH AMERICA)

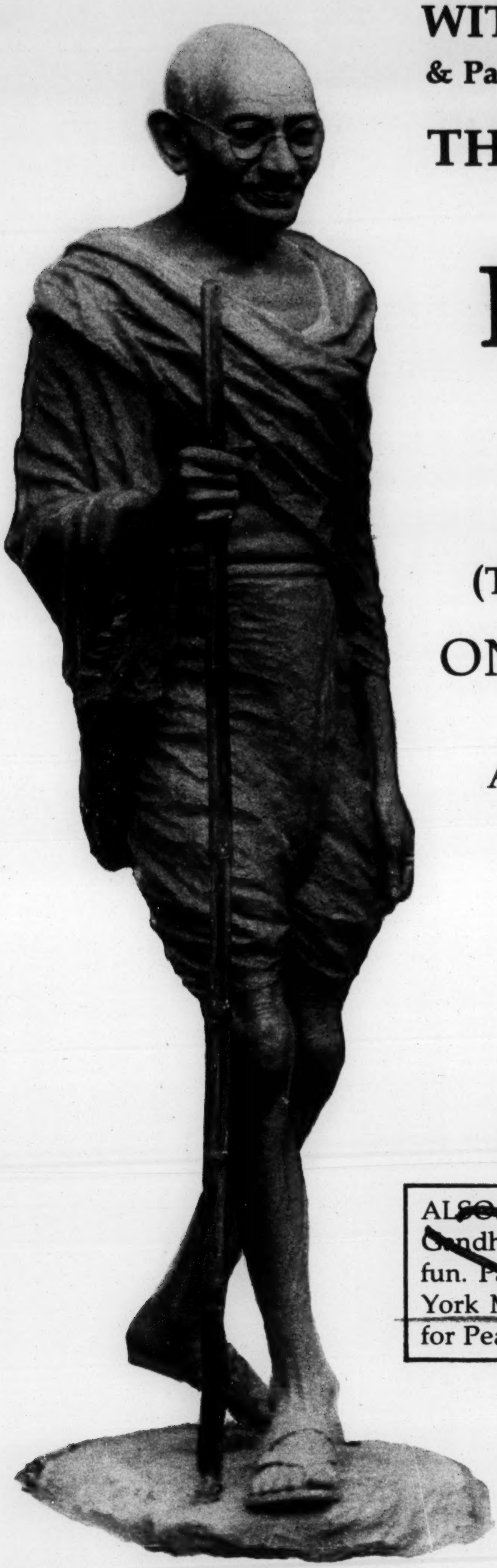
ON THURSDAY OCT. 2, 1986
AT 11:00AM
AT THE SOUTHWEST TRIANGLE
OF UNION SQUARE PARK
14th ST. & UNIVERSITY PLACE
MANHATTAN

MUSIC
SPEAKERS
CELEBRATION

~~ALSO: On Saturday, October 4, the celebration continues with a Gandhi Peace and Justice Fair. More music, more speakers, more fun. Participants will include local community groups, The New York Metropolitan Area Indian Community and groups working for Peace and Justice.~~

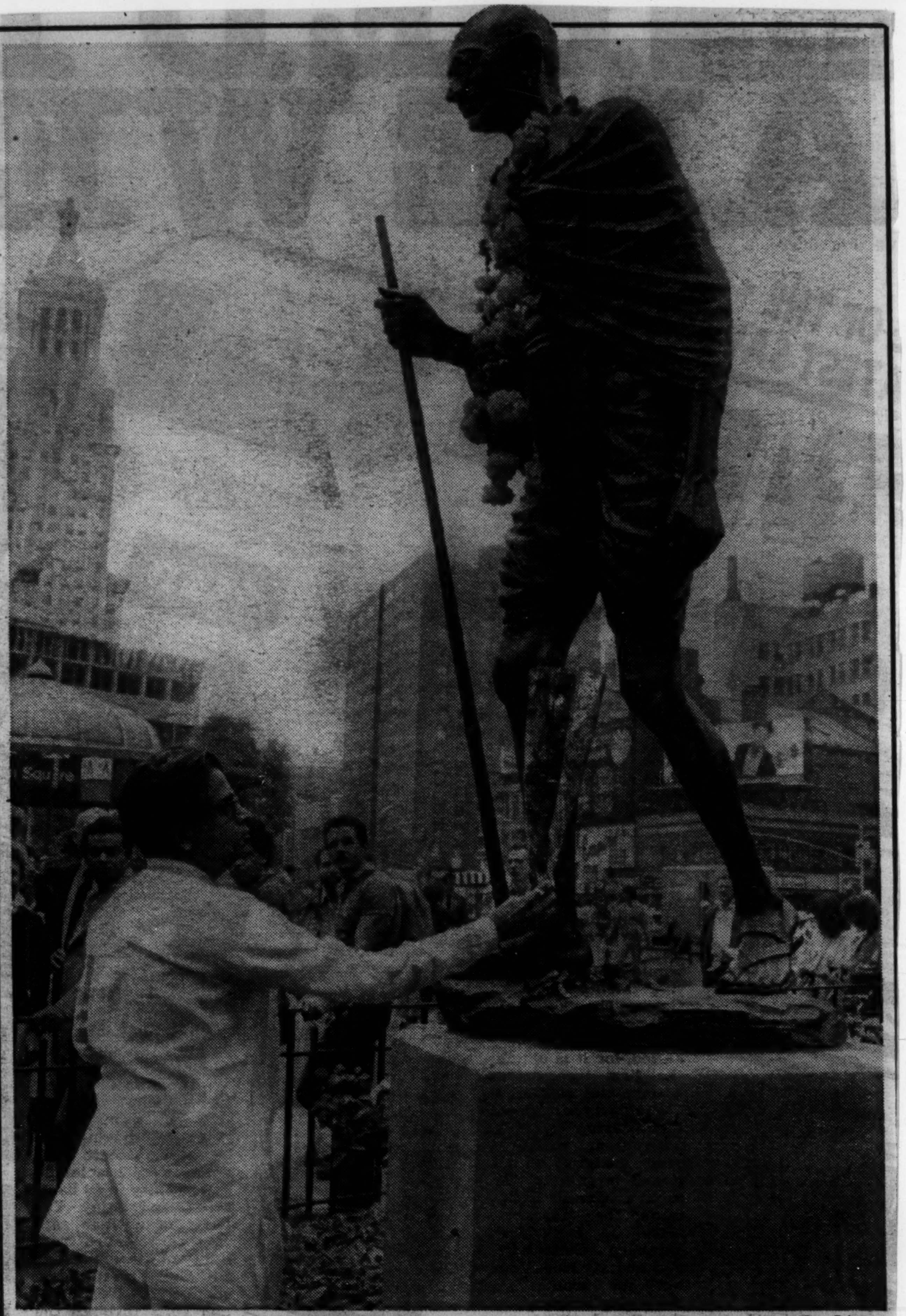
FOR INFORMATION CONTACT:

Gandhi Foundation
273 E. 10th Street,
New York, New York 10009
(212) 323-8050



Photograph of the statue of Mohandas K. Gandhi to be unveiled in Union Square on October 2, 1986.

PRINTING: SANDHYA, JAMAICA, NY (718) 523-6900



New York Post: Dan Brinzac

***GANDHI IN N.Y.* . . .** An 8-foot bronze statue of Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) is unveiled in Union Square Park yesterday on the 117th anniversary of the Hindu social reformer's birth. Gandhi descendants joined city, Indian and civil rights leaders to dedicate the work by H.K. Patel and financed by fashion tycoon Mohan Murjani.

Gandi Quote

CHOICE

There are two major ways of understanding the significance of choice. Whichever way we use, one certainty emerges--choice perhaps more than any other human quality not only defines humanity but the absence of choice is at a fundamental cost to the essence of what it is to be human.

The two ways of examining the significance of choice are either negative or positive. To use the negative one first enables us quickly to see the consequences of denying an individual or a people the availability of choice. There are few societies so totalitarian that they do not permit a wide range of choices. The ones which are denied are those which are politically consequential. Therefore, even in the most totalitarian of societies one has to examine life in a slave labor camp, a gulag, a nazi concentration camp. In each of these, even if life itself is not at risk, virtually no choice is permitted. The now substantial literature of live in the nazi concentration camps, Solzhenitsyn's monumental Gulag Archipelago or even his small masterpiece, One Day in the Life of Ivan Dennisovich, make it undeniably clear that the absence of choice rapidly reduces life to a stark and simple struggle for survival, to a level of degredation nearly animal in nature.

How rapidly humanity itself is destroyed is perhaps best illustrated by the ease with which in such environments, gifted, sensitive human beings will accept tasks which will assure their own survival even with the full knowledge that the individuals involved are playing a role useful in accomplishing the death of others. I can think of few episodes which more clearly demonstrate this than the willingness of talented and sensitive musicians to be members of an orchestra (in I believe the camp was Auschwitz) as part of the integral process of seducing others toward the gas chambers. In a sense, of course, these musicians who were prolonging their own lives were exercising choice. In that sense choice, even in concentration camps or slave labor camps is permitted because it intensifies the very process of depersonalizing or dehumanising the individual toward which the entire enterprise is focused.

The following story may be apocryphal but I am told that a taped music system provides music throughout the New York Times building but precisely because Mozart was a favorite choice of the musicians who played the deadly music in Auchwitz, no Mozart may be included in the selections which are heard in the Times building.

Those who seek to deny choice even in these most brutal of environments are aware that there still remains a receptacle for choice which is not readily controlable by them. The inside of the individual's mind still remains elusive, still is free to think the variety of ideas, recollections, aspirations, fantasies. It is not surprising that even this helpless auditorium of ideas becomes a special target for annihilation. The most devestating and widespread evidence of this can be found in the extensive use of psychiatric hospitals in the Soviet Union where every expedient known to the jailor and the scientist is employed to reshape, control and, if necessary, destroy the content of that vagrant mind. Yet there is political purpose not sheer bestiality which moves the jailor or more probably the judge who imposes the penal sentence in a psychiatric institution. This punishment is essentially reserved for those whose minds are politically dangerous, the dissenters, the "refusniks".

It was a matter of shame for a considerable period of time in the early years after the end of World War II for many Jews in the west who had never experienced what the victims did to learn the variety of roles Jews were willing to play not only in the concentration camps but even in such freer prisons as the Warsaw Ghetto. A piece of bread was often sufficient payment for betrayal. A host of activities essential to achieve community order were willingly assumed by Jews who thereby enjoyed certain privileges, the most important one of which was the illusion that their lives would be spared, as indeed they finally were not.

In a sense the Warsaw Ghetto also illustrates the profound differences between a prison in which a fair measure of daily choice remained available almost to the very end in contrast to a concentration camp where all choice was denied the moment one entered. That very difference acutely illustrates the link between choice and humaneness. The uncredibly courageous and often compassionate daily actions which at great risk were undertaken by some including the ultimate courage of the final resistance in the Ghetto in the very moments of its destruction find no parallel in a slave labor camp, a gulag, a concentration camp.

Jews in the west who have not experienced these circumstances had great difficulty living with the undeniable fact that in the death camps there was no resistance. Deny choice and you deny virtually all the human qualities. Permit it, even within narrow limits as it was in the Warsaw Ghetto, and the human qualities remain to the very end. While almost all of the literature devoted to these abysmal institutions concentrates on the physical denials, it is, in fact, quite clear that the mind as much as the body and in some cases more than the body is what is under assault.

Thus, for example, from the time of the Korean War, enormous energy was employed by the captors to sharpen the techniques involved in brainwashing. In the new economic zones in Vietnam, the re-education centers in that country and in Laos, as in Korea a generation earlier, where physical deprivation is extreme, it is clear that the physical denials are purely an instrument in the process of rearranging toward more permissible ends the content of the minds of those physically denied.

In our century the singly most extreme illustration of this technique was that which was employed by the Khmer Rouge during the three years of its control of Cambodia. It is even possible to say of the concept which moved Pol Pot and his colleagues that they were following an ideal--they stated it explicitly and it was to create a new human being. In order to do that, every vestige of previous culture, education, learning, literature, had to be expunged first. In pursuit of the ideal all those who had more than marginally been exposed to the previously decadent culture were simply arbitrarily destroyed. Their function was utterly immaterial. It was as dangerous to the creation of the new man to permit the survival of a doctor or teacher as to permit the survival of a politician, businessman, Buddhist priest or military leader. The ruthlessness of this undertaking is clear when one learns that anyone who was found either wearing or possessing eyeglasses was put to death. The eye glasses were prima facie evidence of literacy and all previous literacy had to be obliterated or the deadly danger of an unwelcome choice would remain a contagious threat.

For all of those who escaped this automatic punishment, a regimen of exhausting, often unnecessary work accompanied by a separation of husband and wife and of all children from their parents, was considered essential if the mind which would survive were to contain the regimen of thought which was daily implanted.

Let me move from the negative examination of denying choice to the affirmative significance of the existence of choice. Since choice is so closely linked to all the human attributes, the evil as well as the benign, the civilized as well as the cruel, it is in my judgment not an overstatement to say that choice and humaneness are identical. From earliest childhood, the object of caring parents is to progressively widen the range of available choice as the necessary educational means of progressively freeing the child and shaping its purposes toward maturity. Rules for children are clear cut, at least until that point when there is room to believe that the rationale behind the permission or prohibition is more or less understood. I believe it was Freud who said that the ultimate test of maturity is the ability to live with ambiguity. (I am not certain and I will try to check whether the author of this concept which I have accurately stated was in fact Freud or Reinhold Niebuhr.)

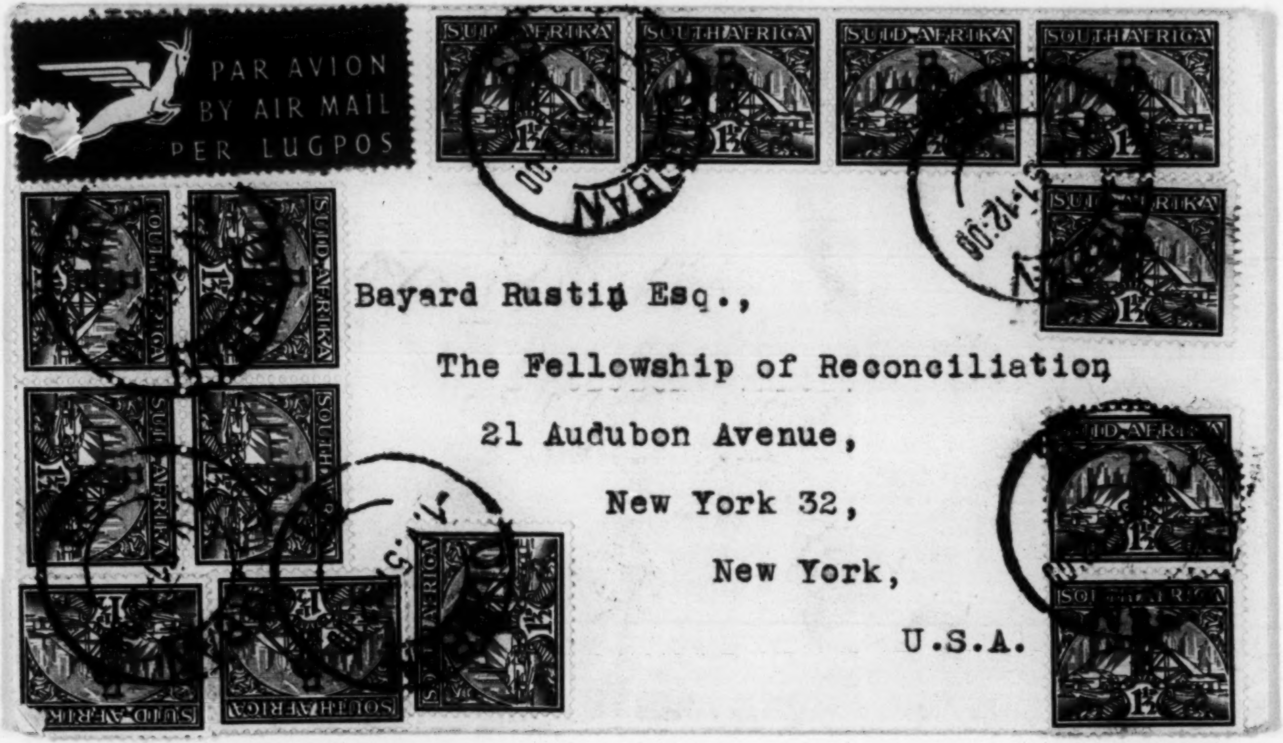
The ability to live with ambiguity is only another way of defining the very pinnacle toward which choice aims. The perception that virtually nothing is clear cut, that life's most difficult moments are unclear, that mankind's most profound aspirations have costs as well as benefits, that good and evil are fictions, these test one's ability to choose or that additional choice--not to choose--in the most agonizing way.

Choice is the progression towards which civilization has developed. At the apex of several civilizations which are part of humanity's history were those times and places in which choice and difference were widest. There has been no perfect civilization. There has been no environment which has not in certain very significant ways limited choice. As best we know, choice is the one fundamental distinction between animal and human life.

Ethics does not exist without choice. No philosophy worth its name has ever preoccupied scholars or students unless the examination of the quality and character of choice lay at the heart of that philosophy.

The development of religious philosophy has moved from concepts which emphasized predestination, fate, obedience, taboo, to those which increasingly have offered a range of subjective possibilities--love, justice, mercy, charity, self-denial, dedication to the welfare of another. Choice is, in fact, the ultimate novel contribution of the Judeo-Christian concept.

Choice widens the vision of humanity. Choice teaches, hence, it enlarges even as it deepens. Choice requires thought, commitment, risk, the agony of uncertainty. The absence of choice simply requires compliance.



PAR AVION
BY AIR MAIL
PER LUGPOS

Bayard Rustin Esq.,
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
21 Audubon Avenue,
New York 32,
New York,
U.S.A.

AIRMAIL

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New York,
U.S.A.

MANILAL GANDHI
EDITOR: 'INDIAN OPINION.'

APR 23 1951

P/BAG, PHŒNIX,
Natal.

April 18 1951

My dear Friend.

I am deeply grateful to you for your very kind message of good wishes during my fast. It was a source of great comfort and encouragement to me.

Today is the 12th day of my fast and I am feeling none the worse for it. The grace of God has sustained me, and it is my fervent prayer that He will always guide me in the right direction.

Yours most sincerely,
Manilal Gandhi

I read about your activities in New York with great interest. I have given a report to the Press. Nothing about it was published here so far.

M.

Mimeo 200 9/9/1951 Add what B. wrote to Al on same sheet if it will fit.

Dec. 9, 1952

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE,

Son of Gandhi Fights Against Discrimination

Uses Father's Non-Violence Policy in Battle to Kill South Africa Race Laws

DURBAN, South Africa (AP).—In a remote cottage among the rolling sugar growing lands of South Africa's Natal coast, a soft-spoken Indian with graying temples seeks divine guidance in a crusade against apartheid—the race segregation policy of Prime Minister Daniel F. Malan's Nationalist government.

To Manilal Gandhi, fifty-nine, son of the late Mohandas R. Gandhi, Indian statesman-martyr, the segregation measures are "immoral laws." He fights them with the same weapons his father used, non-violence.

The Malan government on the other hand, believes that the future of Western civilization can be safeguarded only by strict segregation.

Dominating the room in which Mr. Ganhdi and his family gather for prayers is a picture of his father, the Mahatma, whose dreams of freedom for his people and country were nutured in these very surroundings half a century ago.

The resemblance between father and son is striking. Like his father, Mr. Gandhi is a gentle individual, a strict vegetarian, a total abstainer from alcohol and a non-smoker.

Deeply Religious

He is modest and deeply religious, sincere and selfless. He has no secret dreams of attaining his father's fame, but he is conscious of the value of the Mahatma's name in focusing world attention on his own efforts to check the policy of apartheid.

He is a disciple of the Mahatma's passive resistance ideology. In a recent newspaper interview he said: "It is folly to believe that an unarmed man is helpless. He has more strength than one armed to the teeth, provided he has unshakable faith in the power of God."

Mr. Gandhi was catapulted into world prominence when he undertook a fast to prepare himself for his crusade.

On the eve of the ordeal he declared: "Life has become intolerable for any self-respecting person. The government's apartheid policy is creeping like a fiend in every walk of life. The only course I have to choose, if I want to live as a self-respecting person, is to fight against this state of affairs."

Lost 20 Pounds

Water was all that Mr. Gandhi would allow himself during his fourteen-day fast. His already small frame became wasted, and toward the end he was confined to bed. Supporters made pilgrimages to his cottage for prayer meetings. Messages of encouragement came from all parts of the world.

In the fortnight Mr. Gandhi lost twenty pounds, but he emerged from the test more resolute than ever.

"I have no power to work a miracle that would bring an end to all the sufferings of the oppressed people in this land," he [illegible] "We have a herculean task before us and it requires a herculean effort to perform it."

Before taking his next step, Mr. Gandhi appealed to the Prime Minister, declaring that if he failed he would court arrest by defying the segregation laws. All he received was a formal acknowledgment.

Mr. Ghandi began the new phase of his campagn "against injustice and oppression" with a warning that "European civilization is being put to the test."

Since then he has broken various apartheid regulations numerous times, sometimes in company with his wife, Sushila, but so far no official action has been taken. Whether or not the authorities ignore his activities, however, he intends to continue his campaign.

Born in India

Mr. Gandhi was born Oct. 28, 1892, at Probandar, in the Province of Kathiawar, India. He was brought to South Africa as a child and grew up at Phoenix on an eighty-acre "back to nature" settlement founded by his father, then a comparatively unknown lawyer. The settlement was named "Kasturba Bhuvan" for Mohandas Gandhi's wife.

By a deed of trust in 1913, settlers were to earn their livings by handicrafts and agriculture without the aid of machinery. They were enjoined to work publicly to promote better understanding between Europeans and non-Europeans in South Africa.

Only Mr. Ghandi and his wife, with their son Arun, seventeen, and their daughters, Sita, twenty-two, and Ela, remain at "Kasturba Bhuvan." Here Mr. Gandhi edits and produces "Indian Opinion," a weekly founded by his father in 1903. It is devoted to the principles of life and conduct expounded by Mohandas Gandhi.

Papagos Calls Yugoslavs Key to Defense of Area

ATHENS, Dec. 8 (AP).—A Greek military hero was quoted today as saying that Yugoslavia is the key to meeting and turning back any combined Soviet-satellite attack in this sector.

Field Marshal Alexander Papagos, in the last of a series of interviews published by the conservative newspaper "Embros," said Greece would have to fight a defensive holding operation if Yugoslavia is not allied with the Western cause against Soviet-led aggression.

But if Yugoslavia joined with Greece and Turkey, Mr. Papagos said, the offensive movements and direction of the three nations' armies might converge with the possibility of forming a line north of the Salonika bridgehead, which, with Allied help, might eventually be expanded to the Danube.

Adenauer Back in Bonn

Says 6-Day Brtish Visit 'Led to Real Success for Germany'

BONN, Germany, Dec. 8 (AP).—Cancellor Konrad Adenauer returned today from a six-day state visit to Great Britain and told newspaper men his discussions with British leaders "led to real success for Germany."

The first German Chancellor to visit Britain since 1931, Mr. Adenaur talked with Prime Minister Churchill, Foreign Secreary Anthony Eden and other British officials and had a half-hour audience with King George VI at Buckingham Palace.

At his airport interview, the West German Chancellor did not amplify his statement on the success of his talks, but said he had "good and sufficient discussions with British statesmen."

Policeman Too Fast, Also

BOSTON, Dec. 8 (UP).—Policeman William J. Beswick, twenty-seven, was suspended from the Boston Police Department for three months and ordered to do 420 hours of extra duty when he returns because he tried to kiss a twenty-year-old college co-ed he stopped for speeding.

Canada Lists Casualties

OTTAWA, Dec. 8 (CP).—The Canadian Army today issued its eighty-first casualty list of the Korean war, reporting one man killed in action, four men wounded and one man injured in action. The latest list brought to 579 the number of casualties among Canadian troops in Korea.

ENER & MARY CLOTHES

MANILAL GANDHI
EDITOR: 'INDIAN OPINION.'

P/BAG, PHŒNIX,
Natal.

April 30 1953

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
The Fellowship of Reconciliation,
21 Audubon Avenue,
New York 32,
New York, U.S.A.

My dear Bayard Rustin,

It is a week since I completed my fourteen -day fast. I am well on the way to complete recovery. If ever I have felt the presence of God it was during my fast. He was with me f from the first to the last day. He revealed Himself to me in many ways. Loving messages of encouragement were pouring in everyday and the climax was reached when just on the day I broke my fast I was greeted with good wishes from the Fellowship of Reconciliation Retreat, Pennsylvania. What a strange coincidence that the message was placed in my hands just when I was sipping my first fruit juice after fourteen days. And during the whole period, people from all over came daily to inquire about me and participated in the daily prayers. It was all an act of God. If we have faith in Him and follow His law, He will carry us through the gravest of difficulties, I have placed my implicit trust in Him and shall wholly surrender to Him and whenever I find myself in difficulties. May he never forsake me is my daily prayer.

And now to thank you from the bottom of my heart for all you have done and are doing for our cause. Yourdemonstration was wonderful. I have published all that you sent me.

Let me not forget to tell you also that the Press here too was exceedingly kind to me. As a rule it is not too eager to give publicity to our cause but in my case they made daily inquiries and gave me very good publicity. All this was because of the sincerity of purpose.

My love and deepest thanks to dear A.J.Muste. I feel so heartened that I am not alone in the fight for human rights for all oppressed people. I shall keep you informed of my moves. At present I am deliberating with our own people here to see what support I shall have from them. They all seem to be suffering from a fear complex. They are fearing the present Government instead of fearing God! I only pray that God will give them wisdom and courage.

Once again I thank you most sincerely for all your support.

Most sincerely yours,
Manilal Gandhi

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A. Philip Randolph
Educational Fund
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

February 25, 1985

Edward I. Koch
Mayor
City of New York
City Hall
New York, N.Y. 10007

Dear Ed,

I understand from meeting with representatives of the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights that you are in the midst of a lobbying effort to pass the long overdue lesbian and gay rights bill in the City Council this Spring. I'd like to help in any way that I can and have several proposals.

Since the Black members of the Council are 4-2 against the legislation at present, I am sending them each personal letters, thanking the supporters and urging the opponents to reconsider. If you plan to call any of them in for a meeting on this matter, I would be happy to attend if you feel my presence would be of help and my schedule permits.

The Coalition is working on having the bill called up for a "discharge" motion vote in May if efforts to dislodge the bill from committee are unsuccessful. First, if the bill does come up for a hearing I would like to testify. If all we are left with is the discharge motion, I feel we should call attention to the fact that the legislation is being filibustered (much the way civil rights bills were held up by Southerners in the past) and that it deserves a fair vote. We could call together a group of prominent citizens in support of the bill and hold a press conference the day before the vote. Is there a room we could use at City Hall for this purpose? Perhaps the Council Chamber itself?

Please let me know how I can aid your efforts.

Thanks for your work on this issue.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin

Chron.

✓ Gay Rights

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE NYC LESBIAN AND GAY RIGHTS BILL

When the now defunct Gay Activists Alliance proposed adding the words "sexual orientation" to New York City's human rights law in 1970, it was a revolutionary idea. Our City Council was the first legislative body anywhere to consider such legislation. Since then, forty American cities have enacted such laws. Our bill has been fought for through five City Councils and three Mayoral administrations (Lindsay, Beame, and Koch) as Intros 475, 2, 554, 384, 1017, and now as Intro 1.

Intro 2 came closest to passage in 1974 when it was voted out of the General Welfare Committee by a 7-1 vote in April. When it came to a floor vote in May, it lost 19-22, the first bill in the Council's history to pass a committee and lose in the full Council. The defeat was attributed at the time to a campaign of distortion by the Catholic Archdiocese of New York. Since then, the Majority Leader of the Council, Thomas Cuite, has seen to it that the bill has stayed bottled up in committee.

In 1981, Intro 1017 was defeated 6-3 in a Committee that was stacked against it, but almost made it to the floor when a motion was made to discharge the bill to the full Council. That motion failed by four votes. Intro 1, despite the fact that it was introduced at the request of the Mayor, Comptroller, and Council President, was defeated in Committee and the motion in the full Council to discharge the bill failed by two votes. Thus, the bill has not had a full Council vote since 1974. Its defeats have been rigged by a manipulative Majority Leader who is obsessed with keeping it from becoming law. (Indeed, the City's representatives to other legislative bodies are overwhelmingly in favor of lesbian and gay rights. In 1983, the City's delegation to the State Assembly voted 42-14 in favor of state gay rights legislation. The City's State Senate and Congressional delegations are similarly disposed in favor. The Council's anomalous behavior is the political shame of the City.)

Lobbying for the bill over the years has included petitioning, letter-writing campaigns, gay and lesbian freedom rides on buses that toured the City on behalf of the bill, massive demonstrations, sit-ins at the offices of recalcitrant Councilmembers, editorials from the print and broadcast media, and much more.

Public hearings on the bill, while invariably tumultuous, have always brought out the best in our community and from our supporters and the worst in the opposition. In 1972, Presidential candidate George McGovern submitted written testimony in favor. New York's Episcopal Bishop Paul Moore, Jr. has often represented the official position of his church in favor of the bill. In 1978, former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark spoke in support. Opponents, on the other hand, have ranged from the ridiculous (a woman who said the bill would lead to sex with trees) to the dangerous (a man who applauded the 1980 murders of gay men on West Street). Despite the bottom line political defeat, our community has always presented a strong and moving case for passage.

COALITION FOR LESBIAN AND GAY RIGHTS

Post Office Box 1760, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163 • (212) 302-0862

Walter

Member Groups

Americans for Democratic Action/
 New York State
Bronx Lesbian and Gay Independent Democrats
Chelsea-Village NAACP
Chelsea Gay Association
Church of the Beloved Disciple
Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against
 Sterilization Abuse (CARASA)
Congressional Union
Committee of Lesbian and Gay Male Socialists
Dignity/Brooklyn
Dignity/New York
Dignity/Queens
Gay and Lesbian Independent Democrats
 (GLID)
Gay Community at Queens College
Gay Men's Alliance/Hunter College
Gay Nurses Alliance of NY
Gay Officers' Action League
Gay People at Baruch
Gay People in Health Care
Gay People's Union/NYU
Gay Synagogue
Gay Teacher's Association
Gay Women's Alternative
Georgetown Gay and Lesbian Alumni
Gray Panthers/New York
Identity House
Integrity/New York
Lesbian and Gay Catholics
Lesbian Feminist Liberation
Lambda Democrats of Brooklyn
Lesbian and Gay Political Action Club of Queens
Lesbian Herstory Archives
Lesbians at Barnard
Lesbian and Gay Law Students at NYU
Lesbian Switchboard
Lesbians Rising/Hunter College
Metropolitan Community Church/New York
National Association of Broadcast Engineers
 and Technicians (NABET)/Local 16
New Democratic Coalition/Executive Council
National Organization for Women/New York
New York City Union of Lesbians and Gay Men
New Jewish Agenda
Coalition for a People's Alternative
Presbyterians for Lesbian and Gay Concerns
Salsa Soul Sisters
School of General Studies Gay Students'
 Group/Hunter College
Village Independent Democrats
Women's Center Collective/Hunter College
Woodstock Gay People
Workers World Party
Youth Against War and Fascism

Spokespersons

Steven Ault
Eleanor Cooper
Joyce Hunter
Andrew Humm
Betty Santoro

Counsel

Christopher Lynn

Treasurer

Ermanno Stingo

Secretary

Chuck Fraser

March 2, 1985

RECEIVED MAR 7 1985

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

We want to thank you again for your time on February 20th. We think your involvement in this issue can make a real difference in 1985.

Since we met there have been several new developments. First, the Council made some new committee assignments. The new Councilmember from Queens, Walter Crowley, has been given Tom Manton's (now in Congress) seat on the General Welfare Committee that is responsible for Intro No. 1. We met with Crowley and his sponsor, Queens Boro President Donald Manes (a supporter, albeit a weak one, of ours) and Crowley would make no commitment on the legislation. He is a Roman Catholic with 15 children and tends to see things conservatively. We are concentrating on getting him to agree to vote the bill to the floor even if he opposes its substance.

Councilmember Sal Albanese of Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, a fence-sitter on this issue, has been assigned to the General Welfare Committee also. A replacement for opponent Susan Alter, Albanese was taken off the Education Committee (he was a school teacher himself) and put on the General Welfare hot seat as a punishment for opposing his county leader, Howard Golden, in the Brooklyn political wars. Twelve Councilmembers protested this shift, but it went through. Albanese is one of the few Councilmembers vulnerable to a Republican opponent in the fall. His opponent will be a virulent homophobe, Michael Long, and Albanese is loathe to give him this issue to beat him over the head with. He would like to vote with us, but needs encouragement.

We are still pointing to a vote in May, probably late May. When a date is set, it would be good to schedule a day for our press conference of prominent supporters so that they can reserve the date. (That idea of yours was very well received at the Coalition as was the notion of portraying Council inaction as a filibuster.)

We're anxious to know of any progress you're able to make with your lobbying letters. We will keep you posted on any developments from our end.

Thanks again for all your help.

Sincerely,

Andrew Humm

Andrew Humm
Spokesperson

Philip HP Reed

Philip H.P. Reed

ah

BAYARD RUSTIN
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

March 11, 1986

As one who has worked for the extension of freedom and justice for all Americans for over 50 years, I urge you to vote in favor of the so-called "Gay Rights Bill". Contrary to the most devastating arguments advanced for the defeat of this bill, it does not endorse any particular lifestyle nor confirm special status or privilege on any particular group. Rather, this bill protects all citizens from discrimination based on sexual preference. It will establish a responsible procedure, under law, by which victims of such dscrimination can seek relief - a right to which every American is entitled. Our entire legal structure is undermined and endangered unless everyone has access to constitutional means to remedy such discrimination. Therefore, New Yorkers who reject injustice must oppose every effort to defeat this bill, a bill which is essential for the extension of freedom in our democratic society.

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin

in the World Court.
Why care about international law? Because disrespect for law breeds

Daniel Ortega Saavedra is President of Nicaragua.

of millions

Mr. Reagan calls these terrorists "freedom fighters." His Administration tries to cover up their atrocities, dismissing these as "Sandinista

ties participated. The
ties received more than
the vote and now hold 35 of 96

NY TIMES 3/13/85

Sexual Identity Is Private

By Erwin Chemerinsky

Why can't gay rights be discussed without the speaker's sexual preference becoming an issue? In the last few months, I have been asked to appear on a number of television and radio programs around the country to discuss the constitutional rights of homosexuals. These media appearances followed my being quoted in an article about a case pending before the Supreme Court concerning an Oklahoma law that prohibits teachers from advocating homosexuality. The interviews have been a disquieting experience that have told me a lot about society's attitudes towards homosexuals.

First, it was surprising that in each appearance the interviewer assumed I was gay because I was advocating protection of homosexuals' rights. One interviewer repeatedly referred to gays as "your people," while others simply made clear through their questions and their tone that they presumed I was gay.

I did not attempt to speak for homosexuals. Rather, I was speaking as a constitutional law professor concerned about the need to expand legal protection for a group that is discriminated against. Certainly, everyone accepts that white people can argue for the rights of blacks and men can argue for equal rights for women. But race and gender are visible and sexual preference isn't. The interviewers had no way of knowing my sexual preference and just assumed that one who argues for legal protection of homosexuals must be one.

Second, I was surprised that virtually every interviewer announced his own sexual preference, declaring, "I'm not gay, but . . ." Why was there such a perceived need to be sure that the audience knew the interviewer's heterosexuality? If it was an interview about the rights of handicapped persons, would the interviewer in a radio program state, "I'm not handicapped, but . . .?" I doubt it.

I always found the interviewer's declaration of his heterosexuality unsettling. I never was quite sure how to react. These comments indicated to me how much public perceptions of a person's sexuality matter — even when the audience is completely impersonal and anonymous. It made me aware, in a way I hadn't been before, how hard it must be for gays to disclose or discuss their homosexuality.

Finally, I was surprised by the degree of ignorance people have about the laws concerning the rights of homosexuals. Most interviewers were unaware that most states still have statutes prohibiting private homosexual behavior between consenting adults. None knew that Federal laws that prevent discrimination in housing and employment do not apply to discrimination on the basis of sexual preference.

My basic message is simple: there's nothing more private and intimate than a person's sexual desires and who a person chooses to make love with. I hope this is a principle the Court will recognize as part of the constitutionally protected right to privacy. I would think that it is a principle that all people can support, regardless of their own sexual preference. Yet, my experience of being interviewed makes me worry that society may be a lot further from adopting this principle than I thought. ☐

Erwin Chemerinsky is associate professor of law at the University of Southern California.

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By Harri

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Harrison J. Goldin is c
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Officers
Bayard Rustin
President
Norman Hill
Executive Director
Charles Bremer
Associate Director
Mrs. Arthur C. Logan
Treasurer
Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

March 22, 1985

Honorable Mary Pinkett
City Council
City Hall
New York, N.Y. 10007

Dear Councilmember Pinkett:

As an American who for 50 years has worked to expand the rights of all Americans - women, blacks, Hispanics, Japanese-Americans, the handicapped, the aged, etc. - I am writing to applaud your previous support of Intro One (also known as the "Gay Rights Bill"), and to urge your continued support of this legislation.

As you know, despite the support of top elected officials of the city and state, this legislation has not made it to the floor for full Council vote since 1974. Instead, it has remained tied-up in the General Welfare Committee, a situation tantamount to the filibustering that succeeded in blocking the Civil Rights Legislation in the U.S. Congress from 1876 until 1964.

Much of the opposition to this bill is based on false assumptions and unfounded fears, some of which are similar to those which were cited in the attempts to block previous civil rights legislation. During the past 11 years similar legislation has been passed in many of the major metropolitan areas of our country. A survey of these cities would indicate that the fears and assumptions which have contributed to the defeat of this legislation in New York City are without foundation.

I know you agree with me that justice requires that the Bill be brought before the full Council for a vote. I urge your support for a discharge motion in the event that the General Welfare Committee fails to vote the Bill out of Committee.

Should you have any questions of me or any ideas as to how I can further support this effort, please let me hear from you.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Chron.
✓ Gay Rights

653

Officers
Bayard Rustin
President
Norman Hill
Executive Director
Charles Bremer
Associate Director
Mrs. Arthur C. Logan
Treasurer
Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

March 22, 1985

Honorable Wendell Foster
City Council
City Hall
New York, N.Y. 10007

Dear Councilmember Foster:

As an American who for 50 years has worked to expand the rights of all Americans - women, blacks, Hispanics, Japanese-Americans, the handicapped, the aged, etc. - I am writing to applaud your previous support of Intro One (also known as the "Gay Rights Bill"), and to urge your continued support of this legislation.

As you know, despite the support of top elected officials of the city and state, this legislation has not made it to the floor for full Council vote since 1974. Instead, it has remained tied-up in the General Welfare Committee, a situation tantamount to the filibustering that succeeded in blocking the Civil Rights Legislation in the U.S. Congress from 1876 until 1964.

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Should you have any questions of me or any ideas as to how I can further support this effort, please let me hear from you.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

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Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

March 22, 1985

Honorable Priscilla Wooten
City Council
City Hall
New York, N.Y. 10007

Dear Councilmember Wooten:

It has been brought to my attention that you have not supported Intro One (also known as the "Gay Rights Bill"). Beyond this I understand that you have failed to vote for a discharge motion to place this matter before the full City Council.

As one who has worked for 50 years to expand the rights of all Americans - women, blacks, Hispanics, Japanese-Americans, the handicapped, the aged, etc. - I feel that you will understand my wishing to discuss the current status of Intro One with you.

I am particularly disturbed by two aspects of the debate: The first is that most of the opposition to this bill is based on assumptions and fears which, I believe, have been proven false in a number of metropolitan areas where similar legislation has been passed.

Secondly, that this legislation has been tied-up in the General Welfare Committee and not been permitted to go before the full Council - a situation tantamount to the filibustering in the U.S. Congress that succeeded from 1876-1964 in frustrating the will of the Congress by not permitting Civil Rights Bills to go to the floors of the House and Senate.

In light of this unhappy and long experience which did grave damage to blacks in our society, I would urge you (whether or not you agree with the content of the bill) to vote for a discharge motion that would make it possible for the full Council to act. This you can do without, in any way, indicating agreement with the content of the bill. Yet, by voting for discharge you will make it possible for all members of the Council to express their position on the bill. At the same time you are free again to express yours.

I should appreciate hearing from you regarding this matter.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Officers
Bayard Rustin
President
Norman Hill
Executive Director
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Associate Director
Mrs. Arthur C. Logan
Treasurer
Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

March 22, 1985

Honorable Archie Spigner
City Council
City Hall
New York, N.Y. 10007

Dear Councilmember Spigner:

It has been brought to my attention that you have not supported Intro One (also known as the "Gay Rights Bill"). Beyond this I understand that you have failed to vote for a discharge motion to place this matter before the full City Council.

As one who has worked for 50 years to expand the rights of all Americans - women, blacks, Hispanics, Japanese-Americans, the handicapped, the aged, etc. - I feel that you will understand my wishing to discuss the current status of Intro One with you.

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I should appreciate hearing from you regarding this matter.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

653

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Mrs. Arthur C. Logan
Treasurer
Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

Honorable Fred Samuel
City Council
City Hall
New York, N.Y. 10007

Dear Fred:

It has been brought to my attention that you have not supported Intro One (also known as the "Gay Rights Bill"). Beyond this I understand that you have failed to vote for a discharge motion to place this matter before the full City Council.

As one who has worked for 50 years to expand the rights of all Americans - women, blacks, Hispanics, Japanese-Americans, the handicapped, the aged, etc. - I feel that you will understand my wishing to discuss the current status of Intro One with you.

I am particularly disturbed by two aspects of the debate: The first is that most of the opposition to this bill is based on assumptions and fears which, I believe, have been proven false in a number of metropolitan areas where similar legislation has been passed.

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I should appreciate hearing from you regarding this matter.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

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Treasurer
Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

March 22, 1985

Honorable Enoch Williams
City Council
City Hall
New York, N.Y. 10007

Dear Councilmember Williams:

It has been brought to my attention that you have not supported Intro One (also known as the "Gay Rights Bill"). Beyond this I understand that you have failed to vote for a discharge motion to place this matter before the full City Council.

As one who has worked for 50 years to expand the rights of all Americans - women, blacks, Hispanics, Japanese-Americans, the handicapped, the aged, etc. - I feel that you will understand my wishing to discuss the current status of Intro One with you.

I am particularly disturbed by two aspects of the debate: The first is that most of the opposition to this bill is based on assumptions and fears which, I believe, have been proven false in a number of metropolitan areas where similar legislation has been passed.

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In light of this unhappy and long experience which did grave damage to blacks in our society, I would urge you (whether or not you agree with the content of the bill) to vote for a discharge motion that would make it possible for the full Council to act. This you can do without, in any way, indicating agreement with the content of the bill. Yet, by voting for discharge you will make it possible for all members of the Council to express their position on the bill. At the same time you are free again to express yours.

I should appreciate hearing from you regarding this matter.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

653

BAYARD RUSTIN'S STATEMENT ON PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO LAW BANNING DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION

April 17, 1986

I am Bayard Rustin, Chairman of the Randolph Institute and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights which is composed of over 150 national groups dedicated to human rights for all. As one who has been active in the struggle to extend democracy to all Americans for over 50 years I am opposed to any attempt to amend the recently enacted law banning discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

I have been arrested 24 times in the struggle for civil and human rights. My first arrest was in 1928 merely for distributing leaflets on behalf of Al Smith's candidacy for President in a climate of anti-Catholic hysteria. Since that time I have fought against religious intolerance, political harrassment and racism both here and abroad. I have fought against untouchability in India, against tribalism in Africa, and have sought to ensure that refugees coming to our shores are not subject to the same types of bigotry and intolerance from which they fled. As a member of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council I have fought anti-Semitism not only in the United States but around the world.

On the basis of such experiences, I categorically can state and history reveals that when laws are amended to provide "legal loopholes" that deny equal protection for any group of citizens, an immediate threat is created for everyone, including those who may think they are forever immune to the consequences of such discrimination. History demonstrates that no group is ultimately safe from prejudice, bigotry, and harrassment so long as any group is subject to special negative treatment. The only final security for all is to provide now equal protection for every group under the law.

I therefore call upon all New Yorkers to give this new law a chance before considering any revisions.

I call upon the City Council to reject amendments to the law that would deny to lesbians and gay men protections that are enjoyed by all other citizens.

I call upon Mayor Koch to veto any amendments designed to weaken this law should such amendments be passed.

END

urging Mayor Koch

BAYARD RUSTIN'S STATEMENT ON PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO LAW BANNING DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION

April 17, 1986

throughout America

I am Bayard Rustin, Chairman of the Randolph Institute and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights which is composed of over 150 national groups dedicated to human rights for all citizens. As one who has been active in the struggle to extend democracy to all Americans for over 50 years I am opposed to ~~any attempt to ame~~nd ~~the~~ recently enacted law banning discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

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I call upon Mayor Koch to veto ~~any~~ those amendments designed to weaken the law ~~should such amendments be passed~~. passed on March 20th that provided equal protection regardless of sexual orientation.

END

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BAYARD RUSTIN'S STATEMENT ON PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO LAW BANNING DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION

April 17, 1986

As one who has been active in the struggle to extend democracy to all Americans for over 50 years I am opposed to any attempts to amend the new law which bans discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

I have been arrested 24 times in the struggle for civil and human rights. My first arrest was in 1928 while I was distributing leaflets on behalf of Al Smith's candidacy for President amidst a climate of anti-Catholic hysteria. Since that time I have fought against religious intolerance and racism both here and abroad. I fought against untouchability in India, against a variety of tribalisms in Africa, and have sought to secure that refugees coming to our shores are not subject to the same types of bigotry and intolerance from which they fled. As a member of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council I have fought anti-Semitism at home and around the world.

On the basis of such experience I can categorically state that when laws are amended to provide "legal loopholes" that deny equal protection for any group of citizens, an immediate threat is created for everyone, including those who may think they are today immune to discrimination. History demonstrates that no group is ultimately safe from prejudice, bigotry, and harrassment so long as any group is subject to special treatment. The only security for all is to provide equal protection for every group under the law.

I therefore call upon all New Yorkers to give this new law a chance before considering any revisions.

I call upon the City Council to reject amendments to the law that would deny protections that are enjoyed by other citizens to lesbians and gay men.

I call upon Mayor Koch to veto any amendments that would weaken this law.

END

Questions and Answers About Intro 1

What is the basic thrust of the bill?

It proposes to ban discrimination in jobs, housing, and public accommodations on the basis of a person's sexual orientation. The human rights law already bans such discrimination on the bases of race, creed, color, national origin, ancestry, sex, marital status, and physical handicap.

Would this bill protect people who commit illegal sex acts?

The bill has nothing whatsoever to do with legalizing, approving, or sanctioning sexual acts of any kind. It protects people on the basis of their orientation, not their activity. Just as a person is protected on the basis of their creed (their beliefs) they are not protected from prosecution if their religious beliefs lead them to commit illegal acts (such as bigamy, ritual sacrifice, etc.). They are entitled to believe it is good to marry more than one person, but they are not entitled to do so. Similarly, a person may not be discriminated against for having a certain sexual orientation if the bill is passed, but they will still be responsible for their sexual practices.

Will the bill require affirmative action by employers?

No. The human rights law of the City does not provide for affirmative action. Indeed, some of the groups protected under the law--women and racial minorities--have elsewhere been extended the help of affirmative action programs. But that's been it. Such programs have not been extended to religious, ethnic, or marital status minorities. Beyond that, we are dealing here with a unique minority that cannot always be accurately identified. It would be completely impractical to advocate for such a program.

Does the bill cover 2-family houses?

No. This question comes up again and again despite the fact that the Corporation Counsel of the City has ruled repeatedly that this law in all cases applies only to buildings of six or more units.

Won't this bill give teachers the right to speak out on homosexuality in their classrooms?

Utter and complete nonsense. Any teacher--gay or straight--who talks about sex outside of the prescribed curriculum is in trouble and will continue to be in trouble. A gay teacher would have no more right to talk about sex than a straight teacher does now, i.e., not at all except where the curriculum dictates.

But isn't a gay person a bad role model for students?

Students cannot have their sexual orientations altered through modeling. The question is, Is it better for students to have the image of gay people as sleazy, self-hating people or to know decent lesbians and gay men in their lives? Obviously, some opponents of this bill have an investment in preserving stereotypical notions of who gay people are. The bill will not produce more homosexual people if passed, but it can start on producing gay people who are more accepting of themselves and straight people who are more tolerant of gay people.

But is that a desireable goal and a legitimate state interest?

Definitely. If gay people are forced to hide and lie about who they are, many end up covering up by dishonestly but understandably entering into heterosexual relationships for cover. Most of these relationships end up breaking up because of the homosexuality of one of the partners. If children are involved, the broken home doubles this avoidable tragedy. Indeed, the annulment courts of the Catholic Church will tell you that one of the primary reasons for annulling marriages is the homosexuality of one of the partners. What it comes down to is this: Do you want your straight sister to marry one? Of course not. Then stop contributing to the social sanctions that keep gay people hidden.

But aren't homosexuals big disease carriers?

Not because they're homosexual. There is no health crisis in the lesbian community, so obviously there's nothing inherently diseasous in being homosexual. The fact that there is a health crisis among some very sexually active gay men is all the more reason for passing this bill. Straight people who are very sexually active with more than one partner get less sick because they are more likely to come forward and seek treatment. Many gay men are simply afraid to let even their own doctors know they're gay. This allows diseases to spread unchecked more easily and for people to suffer more serious consequences from the diseases they contract. A government that has the health interests of all of its citizens in mind, should be extremely interested in seeing to it that people take proper care of themselves and seek proper treatment when ill. If you couldn't care less about gay people than at least you should care that gay people take care of themselves lest they carry disease into other communities.

Most of the gay people I know have jobs. What's the big deal?

But how do those gay people do on the job if they're known or thought to be gay? Few gay people, even in New York, are able to be out on their jobs. This produces a level of psychological stress that few non-gay people understand though there are some people who hide their ethnicity, religion, or marital status if they feel it will help them advance career-wise. The point is that most people don't hide these things and if they get fired or mistreated because of these things they have recourse under our human rights law. Gay people need th same recourse though we hope that passage of the bill will inhibit employers from discriminating in the first place. Agai keeping gay people hidden only denies all of us their best efforts as energy is wasted in leading a double life.

Beyond that, governmental protections should eventually lead to gay people seeking employment and housing in areas that they might have written off at one time because they did not feel that a gay person could survive or advance there.

Are there other social benefits to the bill?

One important one is gaining the cooperation of gay people who are victims of or witnesses to crimes. In the past, police found gay people reluctant to cooperate even in cases of crimes against themselves because they feared being known as gay. As more gay people have carved out open lives for themselves, police work in solving crimes--against both straight and gay people--is becoming easier. But if the authorities want our cooperation on a popular basis, they are going to have to show good faith by at least extending civil rights protections to lesbians and gay men.

The basic spirit of the existing human rights law is to relieve antagonisms among the City's diverse groups. First, there's no denying that lesbians and gay men are a significant minority in New York. Second, it's clear that there are antagonisms between gay people and non-gay people and that the state has an interest in relieving these tensions for the benefit of all. Most of the antagonism against gay people, we would assert, is based on a lack of understanding. The only way for this problem to be resolved is for gay people to be known as who they are so that stereotypes can be replaced with understanding.

But I'm a religious person? Why should I have to work with someone I consider morally evil?

No religion holds that the state of being homosexual is intrinsically evil. Some religions do indeed proscribe certain sexual acts, but gay people aren't asking to be able to be open about what they do in bed, but simply to be known as who they are. What gay people do in private is their own business unless it infringes on someone else's rights. Having to work with a gay person who may or may not be guilty of what your religion considers sinful is not an infringement on your rights. Some people may think your religious practices (excluding women from certain offices, eating certain foods, etc.) are morally wrong. That does not give them the right to deny you a house, or a job, or a hotel room.

Does this bill force my religious group to work for acceptance of homosexuality?

No. The bill does ask all kinds of groups to get involved in eliminating unjust prejudice against the different peoples covered in the bill. It does not force them to do so. However, we're sure that all groups are interested in eliminating bigotry of all kinds. (Basically, the bill calls on gay groups to get involved in eliminating prejudice against gay people, not religious groups.)

Isn't the sexual orientation term legally vague?

It's the term used in more than half of the 50 such bills that have become law in American cities and the state of Wisconsin. The purpose of the term is to emphasize orientation over practice--who one is as opposed to what one does.

BAYARD RUSTIN URGES MAYOR KOCH TO VETO AMENDMENTS TO HUMAN RIGHTS LAWS WHICH WOULD DENY EQUAL PROTECTION UNDER LAW TO LESBIANS AND GAY MEN

May 23, 1986

I am Bayard Rustin, Chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights which is composed of over 150 groups throughout America dedicated to human rights for all citizens. As one who has been active in the struggle to extend democracy to all Americans for over 50 years I am opposed to those amendments recently passed by the City Council which apply different standards to the gay community than to other members of our society.

As I stated in my original testimony, I have been arrested 24 times in the struggle for civil and human rights. I have fought against religious intolerance, political harrassment and racism both here and abroad.

On the basis of my long experience I am convinced and I believe that history reveals that when laws provide "legal loopholes" that deny equal protection for any group of citizens, such action is an immediate threat to all other segments of society. Ironically, it threatens even those who support those loopholes, although they may think they are immune to the consequences of their legally endorsed discrimination. History demonstrates that no group is ultimately safe from prejudice, bigotry, and harrassment so long as any group is subject to special negative treatment. The only final security for all is to provide equal protection for every group under the law.

Therefore I urge Mayor Koch to veto those amendments designed to weaken the law passed on March 20, that provided equal protection regardless of sexual orientation.

End

Mayor
Elected officials
L & G's

BAYARD RUSTIN URGES MAYOR KOCH TO VETO AMENDMENTS TO HUMAN RIGHTS LAWS WHICH WOULD DENY EQUAL PROTECTION UNDER LAW TO LESBIANS AND GAY MEN

May 23, 1986

England
- Austria
- Poland
- Russia
- Germany

I am Bayard Rustin, Chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights which is composed of over 150 groups throughout America dedicated to human rights for all citizens. As one who has been active in the struggle to extend democracy to all Americans for over 50 years I am opposed to those amendments recently passed by the City Council which apply different standards to the gay community than to other members of our society.

24 Times

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x x x x

Therefore I urge Mayor Koch to veto those amendments designed to weaken the law passed on March 20, that provided equal protection regardless of sexual orientation.

End

(a) objective results
(b) dangerous president of double standard

violation of human rights

Officers
Bayard Rustin
President
Norman Hill
Executive Director
Mrs. Arthur C. Logan
Treasurer
Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

April 29, 1986

Hon. Edward I. Koch
Mayor
City Hall
New York, N.Y. 10007

Dear Ed:

On April 17, I testified before the General Welfare Committee regarding the proposed amendments to the so-called Gay Rights Bill. In my statement I cited the major lesson I had learned in fighting for human rights for 50 years for people all over the world. That lesson is simple: no group is ultimately safe from prejudice, bigotry, and harrassment so long as any group is subject to special negative treatment.

I'm enclosing a copy of my testimony in the hope that you will read it. I know that you have been a strong supporter of the bill and I urge you to reject any amendments that would weaken the law or that would deny lesbians and gay men the same rights available to all other citizens.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin
President

Chron.
✓ Gay Rights

April 29, 1986

Dear Councilmember _________________:

After a long, 15 year struggle, March 20 and April 2 of this year were significant days for all New Yorkers who believe in equal protection for all, under law. Finally, Intro 2, an amendment to the City's human rights law banning discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation was passed.

Now, less than a month after that bill was signed into law, and before its effects can be measured, amendments are being proposed which would in fact deny lesbians and gay men the very protection that the law intended.

On April 17, I testified before the General Welfare Committee citing the major lesson I had learned in fighting for human rights for 50 years for people all over the world. That lesson is simple: no group is ultimately safe from prejudice, bigotry, and harrassment so long as any group is subject to special negative treatment.

I enclose a copy of my testimony in the hope that you will read it. I sincerely urge you to reject any amendments that would weaken the law or that would deny lesbians and gay men the ~~same~~ rights ~~enjoyed by~~ available to all other citizens.

DRAFT: LETTER TO OPPONENT OF INTRO I

Dear ____________:

It has been brought to my attention that you have not supported Intro One (also known as the "Gay Rights Bill"). Beyond this I understand that you havee failed to vote for a discharge motion to place this matter before the full City Council.

As one who has worked for 50 years to expand the rights of all Americans - women, blacks, Hispanics, Japanese-Americans, the handicapped, the aged, etc. - I feel that you will understand my wishing to discuss the current status of Intro One with you.

I am particularly disturbed by two aspects of the debate: The first is that most of the opposition to this bill is based on assumptions and fears which, I believe, have been proven false in a number of metropolitan areas where similar legislation has been passed.

Secondly, that this legislation has been tied-up in the General Welfare Committee and not been permitted to go before the full Council - a situation tantamount to the filibustering in the U.S. Congress that succeeded from 1876-1964 in frustrating the will of the Congress by not permitting Civil Rights Bills to go to the floors of the House and Senate.

In light of this unhappy and long experience which did grave damage to blacks in our society, I would urge you (whether or not you agree with the content of the bill) to vote for a discharge motion that would make it possible for the full Council to act. This you can do without, in any way, indicating agreement with the content of the bill. Yet, by voting for discharge you will make it possible for all members of the Council to express their position on the bill. At the same time you are free again to express yours.

I should appreciate hearing from you regarding this matter.

Sincerely,

DRAFT: LETTER TO SUPPORTER OF INTRO I

Dear __________:

As an American who for 50 years has worked to expand the rights of all Americans - women, blacks, Hispanics, Japanese-Americans, the handicapped, the aged, etc. - I am writing to applaud your previous support of Intro One (also known as the "Gay Rights Bill"), and to urge your continued support of this legislation.

As you know, despite the support of top elected officials of the city and state, this legislation has not made it to the floor for full Council vote since 1974. Instead, it has remained tied-up in the General Welfare Committee, a situation tantamount to the filibustering that succeeded in blocking the Civil Rights Legislation in the U.S. Congress from 1876 until 1964.

Much of the opposition to this bill is based on false assumptions and unfounded fears, some of which are similar to those which were cited in the attempts to block previous civil rights legislation. During the past 11 years similar legislation has been passed in many of the major metropolitan areas of our country. A survey of these cities would indicate that the fears and assumptions which have contributed to the defeat of this legislation in New York City are without foundation.

I know you agree with me that justice requires that the Bill be brought before the full Council for a vote. I urge your support for a discharge motion in the event that the General Welfare Committee fails to vote the Bill out of Committee.

Should you have any questions of me or any ideas as to how I can further support this effort, please let me hear from you.

20 REASONS FOR VOTING FOR INTRO 1

1. Lesbians and gay men need protection of their basic civil rights.

2. Government should stand on the side of the victims of prejudice, not for those who would discriminate or persecute.

3. Government has a legitimate interest in people being known as who they are rather than encouraging dishonesty and hiding.

4. It is legislation that has passed in 50 cities and the state of Wisconsin with nothing but positive effects.

5. Everyone has a sexual orientation and this bill would protect straight people as well as lesbians and gay men.

6. People should not be presecuted for who they are. Since the bill covers orientation and not actions, people would still be responsible for living their sex lives legally and responsibly.

7. The people want it. Poll after poll--even in presumably conservative areas--show that the public supports an end to anti-gay discrimination.

8. It is the politically wise thing to do. The vocal minority that is against gay rights does not treat it as a single issue when voting the way people do on, say, the abortion issue. Lesbians and gay men--who live in every district in this City--will never vote for a candidate who votes against their rights.

9. It would enhance New York City's reputation as a tolerant and open city.

10. Lesbians and gay men are not going to go away. They will achieve protection of their civil rights sooner or later. Those who stand in the way now will become targets for defeat in the next election. With gay political organizations in every borough now, those who vote against us now will only be helping those clubs to begin the work against them earlier.

11. No Councilmember has ever lost his or her seat because of voting for this bill. On the other hand, many opponents of gay rights have lost elections and, coincidentally, four Council opponents were removed for malfeasance in office.

12. No one runs for higher office in this City without supporting lesbian and gay rights. The bill is supported by all Citywide officials, most of the Assembly delegation, most of the State Senate and Congressional delegations, Sen. Moynihan, Gov. Cuomo, Attorney General Abrams, and so on. If you think you're going anywhere in politics with an anti-gay record, think again.

13. The violence against lesbians and gay men is a scandal and outrage. The thugs who prey on gay people think they are justified because lesbians and gay men have no civil rights protection. The bill doesn't address the violence problem specifically, but passage

-over-

would certainly signal people that the government stands on the side of those who are victimized.

14. The discharge motion should be passed so that the full Council can express its true opinion on this issue. The 6-3 Committee defeat certainly doesn't reflect the full Council's feelings on this issue. This bill has not had a floor vote since 1974 when it was the first bill in the history of the Council to pass Committee and lose on the floor. Justice demands that the issue be given a fair debate in the full Council. No one will be allowed to hide behind voting against the dsicharge motion purely on procedural grounds. Rule 7.10 of the Council provides that discharge is simply an alternate route to bring a bill to the floor--not a violation of the Committee system. No Committee should be premitted to bottle up a bill for nine years when everyone in the Council has strong opinions on it.

15. If you have children and they turn out to be gay or lesbian, would you want them to grow up in a place where their basic civil rights were not respected?

16. It is the position of the national Democratic Party, adopted in convention in 1980 and 1982, that discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation be brought to an end. All the major Democratic candidates for President support gay rights.

17. Lesbians and gay men are contributing members of this society. It is imperative that we protect their basic civil rights.

18. The bill has the support of most religious denominations including the Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian Church, the American Baptist Church, the National Federation of Priests Councils (Catholic), the National Assembly of Religious Brothers (Catholic), the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the American Jewish Committee, the National Council of Churches, the Lutheran Church in America, the Quakers, the United Church of Christ, the North American Jewish Student Network, the Social Action Office of the Diocese of Brooklyn, the Conference of American Nuns, and many more. No matter where these religions stand on the practice of homosexuality--and many of them prohibit it--they understand sexual orientation as morally neutral and feel that discrimination on the basis of sexual orien ation is unjust.

19. It brings gay people into the mainstream of society and discourage ghettoization and a lack of trust in government.

20. It is the right thing to do.

Officers
Bayard Rustin
President
Norman Hill
Executive Director
Mrs. Arthur C. Logan
Treasurer
Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

May 12, 1986

Mr. Andy Humm
Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights
P.O. Box 1760
Grand Central Station
New York, N.Y. 10163

Dear Andy:

I received an invitation to the party honoring you at Harry Lirtzman's on May 17th. Unfortunately I will be in Des Moines receiving an honorary degree that day. I am sorry that I will not be on hand to pay tribute to your tireless efforts on behalf of New York's Gay and Lesbian communities.

I forwarded a letter to Mayor Koch asking that he veto the amendments to the new law. Whatever the outcome, let's talk about it before too long.

Sincerely,

Bayard

Bayard Rustin
President

Chron.
/ Gay Rights

RECEIVED MAY 22 1986

(F)

THE COUNCIL
OF
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

RUTH W. MESSINGER
COUNCIL MEMBER, 4TH DISTRICT, MANHATTAN
CITY HALL
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10007
212-566-0719

DISTRICT OFFICE
486 AMSTERDAM AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10024
212-799-7400

COMMITTEES:
EDUCATION
TRANSPORTATION
GENERAL WELFARE
WOMEN
SUBCOMMITTEE: CHAIRPERSON,
TRANSPORTATION FOR DISABLED

May 14, 1986

Mr. Bayard Rustin
President
A. Philip Randolph
Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I would like to thank you for your letter regarding the amendments to Intro 2. It reminded me of how much I appreciated your excellent statement before the General Welfare Committee of the City Council; such a strong stand helps all of us who support civil rights for all individuals to convince our colleagues of the need for such legislation.

The vote on the amendments was not capable of being influenced even by such powerful arguments as yours. I do wish, though, that the Mayor would veto them.

Again, thank you for testifying at the hearing.

Sincerely,

RUTH W. MESSINGER

RWM:mr

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10007

May 14, 1986

Mr. Bayard Rustin
President
A. Philip Randolph
Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

Many thanks for your letter and for the copy of your testimony on the Gay Rights Bill.

I am in absolute agreement with your feelings that no group is safe from prejudice unless they are protected by the law, and I was particularly delighted to sign the gay rights legislation guaranteeing this protection to New York's gay and lesbian citizens.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Edward I. Koch
MAYOR

pg

Walter

RECEIVED JUN 5 1985

THE COUNCIL
OF
THE CITY OF NEW YORK
CITY HALL
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10007

ARCHIE SPIGNER
COUNCIL MEMBER, 17TH DISTRICT, QUEENS
114-71 FARMERS BOULEVARD
ST. ALBANS, N. Y. 11412
776-3700
566-4276

CHAIRMAN:
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

COMMITTEE MEMBER:
STATE LEGISLATION
GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS
CONSUMER AFFAIRS

May 31, 1985

Mr. Bayard Rustin
President
A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I have received your letter expressing your support of Intro One "Gay Rights Bill" and it was good hearing from you.

Be assured when this bill is again taken up by the Council your views will be given every consideration.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely,

Archie

AS:gj

RECEIVED APR 16 1986

COALITION FOR LESBIAN AND GAY RIGHTS

Mailing Address: Post Office Box 1760, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163 • (212) 627-1398
Office at: 208 West 13th Street, New York, NY 10011

Church

Equal Protection

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

APRIL 10, 1986

STATEMENT OF THE COALITION FOR LESBIAN AND GAY RIGHTS ON ATTEMPTS TO AMEND CITY COUNCIL LAW BANNING DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION

On March 20, 1986, after fifteen years of often bitter struggle, Intro 2, a simple amendment to the City's human rights law banning discrimination on the basis of a person's sexual orientation, was passed by a vote of 21-14 in the New York City Council. Now, just a few days after that bill was signed into law by Mayor Koch, many opponents and some supporters of Intro 2 are moving in the Council to amend the new law.

Those of us in the gay and non-gay community in New York who struggled for passage of Intro 2 have already accepted many amendments that serve to clarify exactly what the new law will and will not do. We are open to new amendments along these lines. But we must oppose amendments that would deny gay people or any other group of citizens the equal protections of the City's human rights law.

Lesbian and gay rights are protected by law in more than 50 American cities and in the state of Wisconsin. None of these places has seen fit to deny protections to gay people that are granted to other groups. ① We call upon the City Council and the citizens of New York City to give this new law a chance before considering any revisions. During the years of debate over the lesbian and gay rights bill, Council Members and others opposed to previous versions of the bill -- including the Archdiocese of New York -- were invited to help draft the bill so that their concerns could be accommodated. Many who chose not to participate in that process are now pushing for amendments to the new law that would deny to gay people protection guaranteed to other groups. They offer no compelling social reason for amending the law in this way other than a need to demonstrate that gay people do not deserve equal protections under law. This is a violation of the spirit of the human rights law which seeks to bring New York's diverse groups together and to protect the civil rights of all.

② We call upon the City Council to reject amendments to the new law that would deny protections to lesbians and gay men that are enjoyed by other citizens. ③ We call upon Mayor Edward Koch to veto any amendments that would weaken this law that we and he have worked to enact for fifteen years.

Coalition Spokespersons: Steve Ault, Eleanor Cooper, Joyce Hunter, Andy Humm, and Betty Santoro

CONTACT: Eleanor Cooper, CLGR Office - 212-627-1398
Andy Humm - 212-302-0862

MEMBER GROUPS

Americans for Democratic Action/New York State
Bar Association for Human Rights of NY
Bronx Lesbian and Gay Independent Democrats
Chelsea-Village NAACP
Christopher Street Festival Committee
Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA)
Community Free Democrats
Congressional Union
Dignity/Brooklyn
Dignity/New York
Dignity/Queens
Gay Alums of Columbia
Gay Community at Queens College
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Gay Men's Alliance/Hunter College
Gay Officers' Action League
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Gay Veterans Association
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Georgetown Gay and Lesbian Alumni
Gray Panthers/NY
Identity House
Integrity/New York
Lambda Democrats of Brooklyn
Lesbian Feminist Liberation
Lesbian and Gay Catholics
Lesbian and Gay Law Students at NYU
Lesbian and Gay Political Action Club of Queens
Lesbian Herstory Archives
Lesbian Switchboard
Lesbians at Barnard
Lesbians in City Government
Lesbians Rising/Hunter College
Metropolitan Community Church/NY
Metropolitan Community Church/Brooklyn
National Association of Broadcast Engineers and Technicians (NABET)/Local 16
New Democratic Coalition/Executive Council
National Organization for Women/New York City
New York City Union of Lesbians and Gay Men
New Jewish Agenda
Presbyterians for Lesbian and Gay Concerns
Rapid AIDS Mobilization
Salsa Soul Sisters
School of General Studies Gay Students' Group/Hunter College
Village Independent Democrats
Women's Center Collective/Hunter College
Woodstock Gay People
Workers World Party

SPOKESPERSONS

Steven Ault
Eleanor Cooper
Joyce Hunter
Andrew Humm
Betty Santoro

COUNSEL

Christopher Lynn

TREASURER

Ermanno Stingo

SECRETARY

Chuck Fraser

COALITION FOR LESBIAN AND GAY RIGHTS

Mailing Address: Post Office Box 1760, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163 • (212) 627-1398
Office at: 208 West 13th Street, New York, NY 10011

Memo regarding proposed amendments to the lesbian and gay rights bill

Intro 2 as it is presently written and signed into law by Mayor Koch gives lesbians and gay men the same protections as the other minorities covered by the Human Rights Law.

We expect to be able to support the amendments being introduced by Mayor Koch. Although they are basically redundant, they do clarify what is already in the law.

There are some amendments being proposed to Intro 2 that would defeat the whole purpose of the bill by reducing our rights under this law. They stigmatize us as a minority not worthy of the same rights as others by giving greater leeway to landlords and employers in discriminating against lesbian and gay citizens.

Attached is an annotated copy of Noach Dear's amendments as examples of the type of amendments that weaken the bill by making special limitations on the sexual orientation category. They must be strongly opposed if Intro 2 is to have any meaning.

In regard to the housing amendments: we call to your attention that under current New York State housing law tenants in dwellings under six units are not entitled to leases or any other protections unless they are senior citizens, handicapped, or under rent control.

Amendments such as Dear's are unnecessary for the "protection" of small building owners who already have extensive rights (e.g., they do not have to give or renew leases and may keep the tenants on a month to month basis).

-- Please come to the sponsors' meeting on April 10th at 4:00 pm at 250 Broadway in the conference room on the 23rd floor and share your concerns and your reasoning regarding the amendments.

yours truly,

Andy Humm, Eleanor Cooper,
Betty Santoro, Steven Ault and Joyce Hunter
Spokespeople for C.L.G.R.

MEMBER GROUPS

mericans for Democratic Action/New York State
Gay Association for Human Rights of NY
Bronx Lesbian and Gay Independent Democrats
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Christopher Street Festival Committee
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Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA)
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Gray Panthers/NY
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Lesbian Feminist Liberation
Lesbian and Gay Catholics
Lesbian and Gay Law Students at NYU
Lesbian and Gay Political Action Club of Queens
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Lesbian Switchboard
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Metropolitan Community Church/Brooklyn
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National Organization for Women/New York City
New York City Union of Lesbians and Gay Men
New Jewish Agenda
Presbyterians for Lesbian and Gay Concerns
Rapid AIDS Mobilization
Salsa Soul Sisters
School of General Studies Gay Students' Group/
Hunter College
Village Independent Democrats
Women's Center Collective/Hunter College
Woodstock Gay People
Workers World Party

SPOKESPERSONS

Steven Ault
Eleanor Cooper
Joyce Hunter
Andrew Humm
Betty Santoro

COUNSEL

Christopher Lynn

TREASURER

Ermanno Stingo

SECRETARY

Chuck Fraser

AMENDMENTS TO ADMINISTRATIVE CODE:

Dear

1. No city agency shall be permitted to develop or in any way participate in the development of courses of instruction relating in any way to the provisions of Section B1-7.2 of the Administrative Code, or in any way present or participate in the presentation of such courses to city and private employees, in public and private schools, public libraries, museums or in any other places.

2. Remedial action following a finding of discrimination based on a violation of Section B1-7.2 of the Administrative Code shall not include quotas, goals, timetables or affirmative action of any kind.

3. No employer, landlord or any city agency shall be permitted to inquire into the sexual orientation of any person.

4. Section B1-7.2(1)(c) shall not apply to owner-occupied dwellings with less than ~~five~~ six unit ~~tenant~~s, not including the owner or owners therec

5. The provisions of Section B1-7.0 shall not be construed to restri any religious or denominational institution or organization operated for charitable or educational purposes, which is operated, supervisec or controlled by or in connection with a religious organization from discriminating on the basis of sexual orientation.

ALITION FOR LESBIAN AND GAY RIGHTS
Mailing Address: Post Office Box 1760, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163 • (212) 627-1398
Office at: 208 West 13th Street, New York, NY 10011

Comments on Noach Dear's proposed amendments to the Lesbian and Gay Rights Bill (Intro 2)

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Americans for Democratic Action/New York State
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Chuck Fraser

Amendment #1 -- This amendment applies only to Intro 2 and therefore stigmatizes lesbians and gay men. It also does not clarify but rather alters the role of the Human Rights Commission.

Amendment #2 -- The content of this amendment is best covered by the clarifying amendments suggested by Mayor Koch.

Amendment #3 -- The passage of Intro 2 into law makes this amendment entirely unnecessary.

Amendment #4 -- This amendment applies only to Intro 2 and defeats the purpose of the bill. It stigmatizes lesbians and gay men as not deserving of the same protection that other minorities are given under the Human Rights Law. It would allow perceived sexual orientation to be used as a legally justifiable excuse to deny housing to anyone, including all the other protected minorities, in buildings under six units. (Landlords of these buildings are already under no requirement to even give a lease to the tenants). This amendment would weaken the whole Human Rights Law.

Amendment #5 -- It legislates discrimination by increasing the religious exemption to cover employment that is totally unrelated to religion and applies this increased exemption only to Intro 2. Again, perceived sexual orientation could be used as justification for discrimination in employment against anyone, including the other minorities already protected under law. This amendment would also weaken the whole Human Rights Law.

Eleanor Cooper
Eleanor Cooper

Joyce Hunter
Joyce Hunter

Andrew Humm
Andrew Humm

Betty Santoro
Betty Santoro

Steven Ault
Steve Ault

OALITION FOR LESBIAN AND GAY RIGHTS
Mailing Address: Post Office Box 1760, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163 • (212) 627-1398
Office at: 208 West 13th Street, New York, NY 10011

Comments on Noach Dear's proposed amendments to the Lesbian and Gay Rights Bill (Intro 2)

Amendment #1 -- This amendment applies only to Intro 2 and therefore stigmatizes lesbians and gay men. It also does not clarify but rather alters the role of the Human Rights Commission.

Amendment #2 -- The content of this amendment is best covered by the clarifying amendments suggested by Mayor Koch.

Amendment #3 -- The passage of Intro 2 into law makes this amendment entirely unnecessary.

Amendment #4 -- This amendment applies only to Intro 2 and defeats the purpose of the bill. It stigmatizes lesbians and gay men as not deserving of the same protection that other minorities are given under the Human Rights Law. It would allow perceived sexual orientation to be used as a legally justifiable excuse to deny housing to anyone, including all the other protected minorities, in buildings under six units. (Landlords of these buildings are already under no requirement to even give a lease to the tenants). This amendment would weaken the whole Human Rights Law.

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Eleanor Cooper
Eleanor Cooper

Joyce Hunter
Joyce Hunter

Andrew Humm
Andrew Humm

Betty Santoro
Betty Santoro

Steven Ault
Steve Ault

MEMBER GROUPS
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Betty Santoro

COUNSEL
Christopher Lynn

TREASURER
Ermanno Songo

SECRETARY
Chuck Fraser

DRAFT FOR DISCUSSION PURPOSES ONLY
3/31/86

Koch

A LOCAL LAW

To amend the administrative code of the city of New York, in relation to unlawful discriminatory practices

This applies only to sexual orientation

Be it enacted by the Council as follows:

Section 1. Paragraph b of subdivision two of section B1-7.2 of title B of chapter one of the administrative code of the city of New York, as added by local law number two for the year nineteen hundred eighty-six, is amended to read as follows:

b. Authorize or require employers to establish affirmative action quotas based on sexual orientation, to establish goals and timetables as the functional equivalent of such quotas, or to make inquiries regarding the sexual orientation of current or prospective employees, or authorize or require the commission to impose sanctions for failure to meet such quotas, goals or timetables;

This applies to whole Human Rights

§2. Subdivision one of section B1-5.0 of such code, as added by local law number fifty-five of nineteen hundred fifty-five, is amended to read as follows:

(1) To work together with federal, state and city agencies in developing courses of instruction, for presentation to city employees and in public and private schools, public libraries, museums and other suitable places, on techniques for achieving harmonious intergroup relations within the city of New York. Nothing in this section or any other provision of this title shall require the teaching of any particular course of instruction, or the inclusion of any material or subject matter in the curriculum of any public or private school or other educational institution; nor shall anything in this section require or authorize the commission to require the teaching of any particular course of instruction, or the inclusion of any material or subject matter in the curriculum of any such school or educational institution.

§3. This local law shall take effect immediately and shall be deemed to have

COPY

extension courses, and all educational institutions under the supervision of the regents of the state of New York, supported in whole or in part by public funds or by contributions solicited from the general public; nor shall it apply to any educational institution supported by a corporation incorporated under the benevolent orders law or described in the benevolent orders law but formed under any other law of this state; nor shall it apply to educational institutions supported by a religious corporation incorporated under the education law.

Section 3. This local law shall take effect immediately.

LS#301
JH:rk
3-26-86

Confidential
COPY

Int. No.

By the Vice-Chairman (Council Member Vallone)

A LOCAL LAW

To amend the administrative code of the City of New York, in relation to unlawful discriminatory practices.

Be it enacted by the Council as follows:

Section one. Paragraph (c) of subdivision two of section B1-7.2 of title B of chapter one as added by local law No. 2 of 1986, is amended to read as follows:

c. Limit or override the present exemptions in the human rights law, including those relating to employment concerns having fewer than four employees, as provided in subdivision five of section B1-2.0, owner-occupied dwellings, as provided in paragraph (a) of subdivision five of section B1-7.0 except that for purposes of this law the provisions of subdivision five of section B1-7.0 shall only apply to owner occupied buildings which contain five or more units; or any religious or denominational institution or organization, or any organization operated for charitable or educational purposes, which is operated, supervised or controlled by or in connection with a religious organization, as provided in subdivision nine of section B1-7.0;

Section two. Subdivision two of section B1-7.2 of title B of chapter one as added by local law no. 2 of 1986 is amended by adding a new paragraph (f) to read as follows:

f. For purposes of this section the provisions of Section B1-5.0 shall not apply to nursery schools, kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, elementary, junior high, or high schools, both academic and non-academic, colleges and universities,

COALITION FOR LESBIAN AND GAY RIGHTS

Mailing Address: Post Office Box 1760, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163 • (212) 627-1398
Office at: 208 West 13th Street, New York, NY 10011

April 15, 1986

Dear Council Person:

Lesbians and Gay Men want equal protection under the law. Nothing less and nothing more.

Intro 2, which was signed into law on April 2, gives Lesbians and Gay Men the same protection as granted to other minorities currently covered by the Human Rights Law.

Much language was already added to the Bill to clarify exactly what it can and cannot do. Mayor Koch has offered similar amendments which serve only to clarify the Bill and repeat what is already in it. We do not oppose this kind of amendment.

We have called on Mayor Koch to veto any amendments that would weaken the law that we have worked so long to pass.

We urge the City Council to reject any amendments, such as increasing housing or employment exemptions, that legislate discrimination against us or stigmatizes us as a group. Legislation similar to Intro 2 has been passed in 50 American cities and in the State of Wisconsin. None of these laws has denied protections to Lesbians and Gay Men that were already granted to other groups. No dire consequences have resulted.

Please feel free to call if you have any questions.

Yours truly,

Steve Ault
Steve Ault

Eleanor Cooper
Eleanor Cooper

Andy Humm
Andy Humm

Joyce Hunter
Joyce Hunter

Betty Santoro
Betty Santoro

CONTACT: Eleanor Cooper, CLGR Office - 212-627-1398
Andy Humm - 212-302-0862

675-0584

MEMBER GROUPS

- Americans for Democratic Action/New York State
- Bar Association for Human Rights of NY
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- Chelsea-Village NAACP
- Christopher Street Festival Committee
- Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA)
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- Metropolitan Community Church/Brooklyn
- National Association of Broadcast Engineers and Technicians (NABET)/Local 16
- New Democratic Coalition/Executive Council
- National Organization for Women/New York City
- New York City Union of Lesbians and Gay Men
- New Jewish Agenda
- Presbyterians for Lesbian and Gay Concerns
- Rapid AIDS Mobilization
- Salsa Soul Sisters
- School of General Studies Gay Students' Group/Hunter College
- Village Independent Democrats
- Women's Center Collective/Hunter College
- Woodstock Gay People
- Workers World Party

SPOKESPERSONS

- Steven Ault
- Eleanor Cooper
- Joyce Hunter
- Andrew Humm
- Betty Santoro

COUNSEL

Christopher Lynn

TREASURER

Ermanno Stingo

SECRETARY

Chuck Fraser

[redacted]

THE GAY & LESBIAN ALLIANCE AGAINST DEFAMATION, INC.

Gregory Kolovakos
Chair

Marcia Pally
Vice Chair

F

RECEIVED OCT 10 1986

October 7, 1986

Mr. Bayard Rustin
President
A. Philip Randolph Education
Fund
260 Park Avenue South
New York, NY 10010

Dear Bayard Rustin:

On behalf of The Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation, let me take this opportunity to thank you for addressing our rally at Foley Square last evening, Monday, October 6.

It is especially heartening that someone of your stature in the civil rights movement has come forward to welcome the gay and lesbian community into the fold of the struggle for human rights. We can never be reminded too often of the ties that bind all minority people to each other. You stated this last night far more eloquently than I could possibly attempt and I am stronger in my commitment after hearing your words. The warm response of those present assures me that I was not alone in feeling that you, a man who has lived a crucial part of American history in our time, has shared with us a fundamental truth.

Thank you for lending us the great force of your moral support.

Yours sincerely,

Allen Ellenzweig

Allen Ellenzweig
Executive Administrator

GLAAD Box 809 263-A West 19th Street New York, N.Y. 10011 (718) 237-4141

[redacted]

THE GAY & LESBIAN ALLIANCE AGAINST DEFAMATION, INC.

Gregory Kolovakos
Chair

Marcia Pally
Vice Chair

October 7, 1986

Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Education Fund
260 Park Avenue South
New York, NY

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you so much for speaking at our October 6 demonstration. When I invited you, I knew that your presence alone would be a symbolic statement of great importance regarding the indivisibility of justice and the importance of speaking out for equal rights. I was even more pleased to hear you raise exactly the themes I hoped for, of course so eloquently.

Many of the people who attended yesterday have commented on the good spirit and real inspiration that prevailed throughout the demonstration. I am only sorry you were not able to stay through the entire protest (although you were lucky to get into the warmth, let me tell you!).

Let me just add what a personal thrill it was to meet you after all these years of reading about Dr. King and the movement you led.Having you there meant a great deal.

Sincerely,

Evan

Evan Wolfson

P.S. Please do not hesitate to contact me if I can ever be of service to you.

GLAAD Box 809 263-A West 19th Street New York, N.Y. 10011 (718) 237-4141

Officers
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Norman Hill
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A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

January 14, 1987

Howard N. Meyer
375 West End Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10024

Dear Mr. Meyer:

Thank you for your letter of December 27th.

The last sentence of the 2nd paragraph of my earlier letter (December 8) was not meant to convey that I intend no action, but only that I was unaware of any demonstration.

If in the future you think there is anything I can do regarding such matters, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Chron.
✓ Gay Rights

Greensboro (N.C.) News & Record 3 December 1986 (A14)

Half a Constitution

Tar Heel Talk

By DAVID DuBUISSON
Editorial Writer

It seems important to keep reminding everyone that 1987, fast approaching, is the bicentennial of the signing of the United States Constitution. In contrast to the pageantry of 1976 and the Statue of Liberty hoopla this year, there's a strong feeling in some quarters that the Constitution's anniversary ought to be an occasion of reflection, insight and rededication. Perhaps with some verbal fireworks.

DuBuisson

A national essay contest is perfectly in order. It's a way of inducing students to read, think and inquire about the remarkable document upon which their society is built. Just such a competition is under way for nation's high school students. It's sponsored by the constitutional bicentennial commission headed by former Chief Justice Warren Burger, in cooperation with the American Bar Association and USA TODAY.

Here's the theme: The Constitution: How Does the Separation of Powers Help Make It Work? It's a good, fundamental approach from which to analyze the document, and one that can be as fresh as today's headlines.

Here's the catch: The replica of the Constitution distributed for the competition is incomplete. It lacks any reference to amendments — the Bill of Rights or any of the key post-Civil War amendments. Unless this is the result of an incredible oversight, the aim seems to be to have our young people study a version of the Constitution that was obsolete four years after its ratification.

Is this another manifestation of the Edwin Meese campaign to resurrect "original intent?" Has the attorney general set out to train a generation to believe the Constitution was a *fait accompli* on Sept. 17, 1787?

It might be argued that the durable concept of the separation of powers was fully developed in the first three articles of the Constitution, and so for the purpose of this contest no more than the main body of the document is needed. But that's a little like saying that one can learn to drive by studying the theory of internal combustion engines. True, practical understanding requires much more.

Actually, the document ratified on Sept. 17, 1787, was not a finished product but the starting point. To make any sense of the Constitution today one has to examine what has happened *during* the last 200 years. Some of it is to be found in Supreme Court opinions and some in the proceedings of Congress. But the starting point for a student is the amendments.

Only by an understanding of the amendments, especially the Civil War 14th, can a student hope to appreciate the flaws in the original Constitution. The most important of them, of course, were the weaknesses and ambiguities that led inexorably to the Civil War. So it's hardly an exaggeration to say that the post-war amendments are the key to the Constitution's survival for 200 years.

Howard N. Meyer, a constitutional scholar and a former special assistant to the attorney general, is among those leading the protest of the distribution of hundreds of thousands of incomplete Constitutions. He quotes Carl Sandburg's succinct testimony to the importance of the "second constitution."

"Before the Civil War," Sandburg wrote, "the United States *were*; since the war and the 14th Amendment, the United States *is*."

At Meyer's instigation, there is now pressure on state constitutional bicentennial commissions to enlarge the scope of the celebration and specifically to remedy the incomplete document circulated by the federal commission and USA TODAY. McNeill Smith, the Greensboro attorney, was to plead the case to fellow members of the North Carolina commission this week.

It may be too late. Whether by ignorance or design (and not likely the former), the commission may already have succeeded in perverting what should have been a national rededication to constitutional government into a petty propaganda exercise.

Please turn
over

commentary

A constitutional bicentennial: a respectful dissent

When we celebrate a birthday, we salute the person that the honoree has become—not the rudimentary being that the infant was at the date of its birth. As to institutions that were created by human effort and ingenuity, it is what they have achieved and come to be that we acknowledge on an anniversary—not longevity, per se, or the possibly flawed initial production.

These considerations are particularly persuasive in respect of that very human artifact, the Constitution of the United States. The era of its Bicentennial approaches as 1987 draws closer. Shall we salute it for what it was 200 years ago, or for what it has become? Would we, in our post-industrial society, want to live under the 1787 document, created just before the industrial revolution began?

Even as amended by the addition of the 1791 Bill of Rights, the product of the Philadelphia convention, simply as viewed in the hindsight of history, was a seriously defective document. Its Preamble expressed a purpose to "form a more perfect Union": by 1861, the country was riven into two separate armed camps, each with its own flag, president, army and anthem. It claimed to "establish justice": absolute injustice was the lot of Americans of African descent, and states were untrammeled in abridging the freedoms of those nonblacks who objected. It intended to "insure domestic tranquility": for decades the conflict of slavery and freedom disturbed the peace.

These faults were aspects of what can fairly be called the "old federalism," which described a relation between the nation, the states, and their people that rapidly became obsolete in the first half of the 19th century. To alter, and indeed abolish that system, which had made civil war unavoidable, the New Federalism of the Fourteenth and its sister amendments was created in the war's aftermath. Its founders, the Framing Fathers of 1866, were acutely conscious of the flawed character of the 1787 charter that had so dismally failed to achieve its grandly stated purposes.

Slavery and its attendant evils (such as repression of abolitionist speech, cruel and unusual punishment for resisters, denial of due process to fugitives) were a greater stain on our history than most chroniclers of our past concede. But it was not only these varied wrongs that the Fourteenth Amendment was designed to eliminate. In addition to providing for the "new birth of freedom" that Lincoln called for at Gettysburg, they sought to put to rest any further dallying with notions of "sovereign" statehood or threats to secede: a new nation in fact was created by a unitary national citizenship. As Carl Sandburg wrote: "Before the Civil War, the United States *were*; since the war and the 14th Amendment, the United States *is*."

The consequence, in truth, was the creation of a new or "Second" Constitution. We have had two Constitutions in the course of our history; the original document was superseded in 1868 by the addition of the first and fifth clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Who should know this better than the bar? It is a bread-and-butter ingredient of our equipment to know that "the most consequential part of the federal Constitution" is the Fourteenth Amendment. The great senior Judge of the federal Fifth Circuit, John Minor Wisdom, in the course of a 1976 "Bicentennial Conference" at Philadelphia, bluntly said: "We have had at least two Constitutions."

We must respectfully dissent, therefore, from the approach taken in a publication, co-sponsored by the American Bar Association, entitled National Forum. In a recent issue, 17 essays appeared under the title, "Toward the Bicentennial. . . ." They contain little that could aid in enhancing public understanding and much that can be counterproductive. There is the unthinking reiteration of Gladstone's misled and misleading comment on the U.S. Constitution as the "most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time. . . ." Obsession with "durability" is downright misleading (apart from the fact that it's not very enlightening), once one grasps the implications of the "two Constitutions" concept.

It is as if the editor and principal contributors were hostile to the significance of the Civil War amendments, and the use they have at last been put to in humanist terms in recent decades. An aspect of this is incredibly explicit in one essay, written for President Reagan: "The unamended Constitution is itself a Bill of Rights." Even worse, deplorably incompatible with remedying public ignorance or lack of sympathy, is the complaint of Senator Orrin Hatch, which is worth a protest rather than a mere dissent. "Litigants," he writes, "have flooded federal courts with relentless requests for new individual rights." One would think that the oath we all take to support the Constitution can be faithfully fulfilled only by being relentless.

—*Howard N. Meyer*

Howard N. Meyer, Special Assistant to Attorney General Francis Biddle, was a Pulitzer-prize nominee for "The Amendment that Refused to Die," on the Fourteenth Amendment.

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e directed to any Pattis Office, or to Nora Whitford at the American Bar Association (312/988-6056).

Volume 13, Number 1, Fall 1985

HOWARD N. MEYER
375 WEST END AVENUE (12D)
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10024

(212) 724-3235
(212) 724-3389

16 November 1986

Dear Bill Moyers,

Would you check your recollection against mine, or have someone audit the tape of the NCSS telecast on a point that you may agree is rather important. ?

I thought I heard Chairman Burger say "We," (meaning the Court) "overruled the Dred Scott case." If he did, that is not merely a reflection on his own ability. It's serious enough to warrant correction by the sponsoring organization.

It does not require citation, but in any case a quick glance around my library shows that Professors Tribe, Lusky and Judge Loren Miller agree that one of the purposes of the XIVth Amendment was to overrule Dred Scott. Then the Slaughterhouse case of 1873 frustrated the original intent -- -- and its legacy of evil has only gradually been undone, and only in part.

The near-death of the XIVth at the hands of the Slaughterhouse Court (stressed in The Amendment that Refused to Die) being at the very root of present Constitutional confusion, Meese's mischief-making, public misconception about the Warren Court's supposedly having given "new" rights,(when in reality it gave back what the founders of 1866, the XIVth's draftsmen designed) it seems pretty important that 10,000 or so teacher-listeners should get a correction.

Don't you agree ?

Sincerely,

Howard N Meyer

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260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

December 8, 1986

Howard N. Meyer
375 West End Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10024

Dear Mr. Meyer:

Many thanks for your letters of October 26 and November 11 regarding the Hardwick decision. I am sorry that I have not gotten back to you sooner, but I have been travelling quite a bit lately, most recently to Vienna as a citizen observer at the review of the Helsinki accords. Consequently, I am a bit behind in my correspondence.

I was glad to participate in the vigil at Foley Square. I felt that the demonstration was well organized and clear in its objectives. I was not aware of, nor did I ever receive any information on a demonstration planned for November 15. I was not asked to participate in nor help organize any demonstration on that day.

I agree with you that for any movement to make progress today, it must have the support of a strong coalition of groups, and it must be working, fundamentally, for the protection of everyone's rights. In appealing to various groups for their support, we must be able to convey that their support for our cause is really in their best interest. That in fighting for our rights they are fighting for the protection of their own.

I did not see anything in the press regarding Justice Burger's visit on the 15th. Did a demonstration actually take place? If you have any press on this, I would appreciate receiving it.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Chron.
✓ Misc. Corr.

Dear Bayard Rustin,

This is a reminder about my 26 Oct. letter and enclosures: New York opportunity to have the 14th Amendment included as part of the Constitution to be honored and obeyed, as an element of celebration of tne "whole" Constitution, is this Saturday Nov. 15.

Is there anything left of a "Civil Rights Movement" to be invited ?

Sincerely,

Howard M.

Howard N Meyer
(212) 724-3389

375 West End Av
New York N Y 10024

Whistles, songs, skits asssail chief justice in 'Burger Roast'

By Julia Cass
Inquirer Staff Writer

One block from where Chief Justice Warren E. Burger was speaking of the value of the U.S. Constitution, gay men and lesbians were holding a demonstration in the longstanding tradition of that document.

Speaking late yesterday afternoon at a "Burger Roast" in the park behind Independence Hall, Gil Gerald, head of the National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays, declared: "No, the American Revolution is not over. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance and this is our watch. We gay and lesbian people are under attack so we are the ones standing guard on freedom."

He spoke to a crowd of at least 700 who cheered and blew whistles and held up signs that read: "Sodomites for Democracy," "We Are the People" and "Keep Your Laws Off My Body."

"This is an assembly to demand and affirm lesbian and gay human rights," said Rita Addessa, executive director of the Philadelphia Lesbian and Gay Task Force, which organized the demonstration. "It is also a protest of Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren Burger who, on June 30, 1986, as part of the Supreme Court's sodomy decision, denied to gay people the constitutional right of privacy all other Americans expect."

In that case, the court ruled 5-4 that a Georgia statute outlawing sodomy was not unconstitutional. Warren wrote, "In Constitutional terms, there is no such thing as a fundamental right for homosexuals to make love."

Also on the program were a number of satirical skits, including one by the black-robed and white-wigged "Supreme Injustices." To the tune of "Stop in the Name of Love" they were singing, "Stop that kind of love, before you break the law" when people on the periphery saw the chief justice getting into a car. They ran toward Fifth Street and, as the car was pulling away, others followed.

That was not on the program. The plan was to march around the official gathering and back to Independence Hall, avoiding Fifth Street — an agreement the organizers had made with the police.

But there they were, standing up against the barricade, shouting and blowing whistles provided by the Philadelphia Gay News. Behind the barricades stood a row of policemen and park rangers. Farther back, well-dressed people attending a reception for Burger sipped on their drinks and watched.

"We are everywhere. We are everywhere," the crowd chanted. When the police began moving them back, the crowd sat down in the street and set up another din with their whistles.

Addessa then grabbed a bullhorn. After saying, "We will not stop fighting until everyone is free to love who we choose," she told the group, "It is important that we return to Independence Hall and continue with the march in peace because we, unlike the Supreme Court and the Pentagon, are gentle, loving people."

The crowd then marched around the official gathering as planned and returned to Independence Hall to sign a document called the Lesbian and Gay Bill of Rights. Among other demands, it asks for the repeal of all sodomy laws, amendment of Pennsylvania's anti-discrimination statute to include sexual orientation as a protected category, elimination of discrimination against lesbian and gay parents in child custody, visitation and adoption rights and adequate funding to combat AIDS.

The Philadelphia Inquirer / VICKI VALERIO

A demonstrator gestures at Chief Justice Warren E. Burger's limousine after the celebration.

One of its chief supporters, Warren Burger, hails the Constitution

CONSTITUTION, from 1-A

ful rally behind Independence Hall, rushed across Fifth Street and, halted at barricades manned by National Park Service rangers, began screaming and whistling at Burger.

The protest did not disturb the reception, where many from Philadelphia's more historic families mingled.

Mary Martin and Carol Channing were there, too, before going off to perform in the comedy *Legends!* at the Forrest Theater.

Recalling that she had once starred in the play *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*, Channing presented a diamond ring to Burger.

It was at a luncheon at which he was honored by Invest-in-America, an Philadelphia organization that funds studies in economics for elementary and secondary school teachers across the nation.

"Why did we need a Constitution?" Burger asked his luncheon audience. "To glue our people, the people of those 13 states together ... and not have the war that went on between and among the states when they stopped fighting England."

Burger said that the Articles of Confederation, which were the law of the land from the end of the Revolutionary War in 1781, today seem "like a multilateral treaty

that particularly those of you in the private sector, in business, will understand."

Burger noted that until the Constitution was ratified, "if you wanted to send your oil from one state to another ... you couldn't send it freely, unless the other state wanted to receive it.

"It was just like Europe until a few years ago," before the Common Market allowed freer trade among nations.

"Sometimes I pause in moments when I'm working on the practical problems of trying to get this bicentennial commemoration started," Burger said.

RECEIVED DEC 30 1986

27 December 1986

Dear Mr Rustin,

In answer to your 8 December letter, there was no response to Burger's participation in the Social Studies Teachers' meeting,-- at least by way of overt demonstration. I was later told that a group led by Amy Bauer of GLAAD was present "waiting for him to say something outrageous" and that they decided he did not do so.

My feeling that the Commission is doing "something outrageous" is reflected in the column of the Southern columnist enclosed, based on an article in ABA's "Human Rights," which I wish more teachers could see, or know the contents of. As to "outrageous"- I wrote to Moyers as indicated in the other enclosure. The last sentence of your second paragraph seems to indicate that you at present are taking no initiatives, which I regret.

Fraternally

Howard N Meyer
375 West End Av
New York 10024

Mr Bayard Rustin

RECEIVED OCT 30 1986

HOWARD N. MEYER
375 WEST END AVENUE (12D)
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10024
(212) 724-3235
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26 October 1986

Mr Bayard Rustin
A Philip Randolph Inst.
260 Park Ave So
New York N Y 10016

Dear Mr Rustin,

Your remarks, as delivered at the Foley Square Gay Rights vigil, were instructive and moving. Reference to the movement that was accelerating in response to the Hardwick case as representing something corresponding to the 1961 sit-ins, suggests a further opportunity for use of a demonstration for educational purposes, when ex-Chief Burger, and some of his Reagan-selected Bicentennial Commission colleagues appear in New York 15 November at The Sheraton Centre to mark what NCSS has chosen to call Constitution Day.

The first enclosure identifies that. The second, a letter from Mr Randolph was a comment on an essay on the Civil War Centennial, in The Commonweal, abstracted in Interchurch News, the next enclosure. Other enclosures are comments, two published and an excerpt from one so far unpublished, with parallel comments on the oncoming limited-vision (as presently planned) Constitution Bicentennial,--- thus far limited to the unamended Constitution of 1787, that William Lloyd Garison called "A Covenant With Death."

A demonstration on November 15th should not be only against the Hardwick decision, it should be FOR the Fourteenth Amendment. It should be composed of not only Gays, but Blacks, Women, Hispanics, the poor,-- in short, all those unrepresented in 1787, who gained (at least on paper,) Equal Protection of the Laws in 1868 when the Fourteenth was ratified.

I hope you are still young enough to imagine and lead the organization of such a demonstration. At 72 years of age. I am young enough to carry a banner saying, "We Celebrate the Constitution that forbids denial "to ANY PERSON ... THE EQUAL Protection of the Laws."

Fraternally,
Howard Meyer
Howard N Meyer

PREVIEW

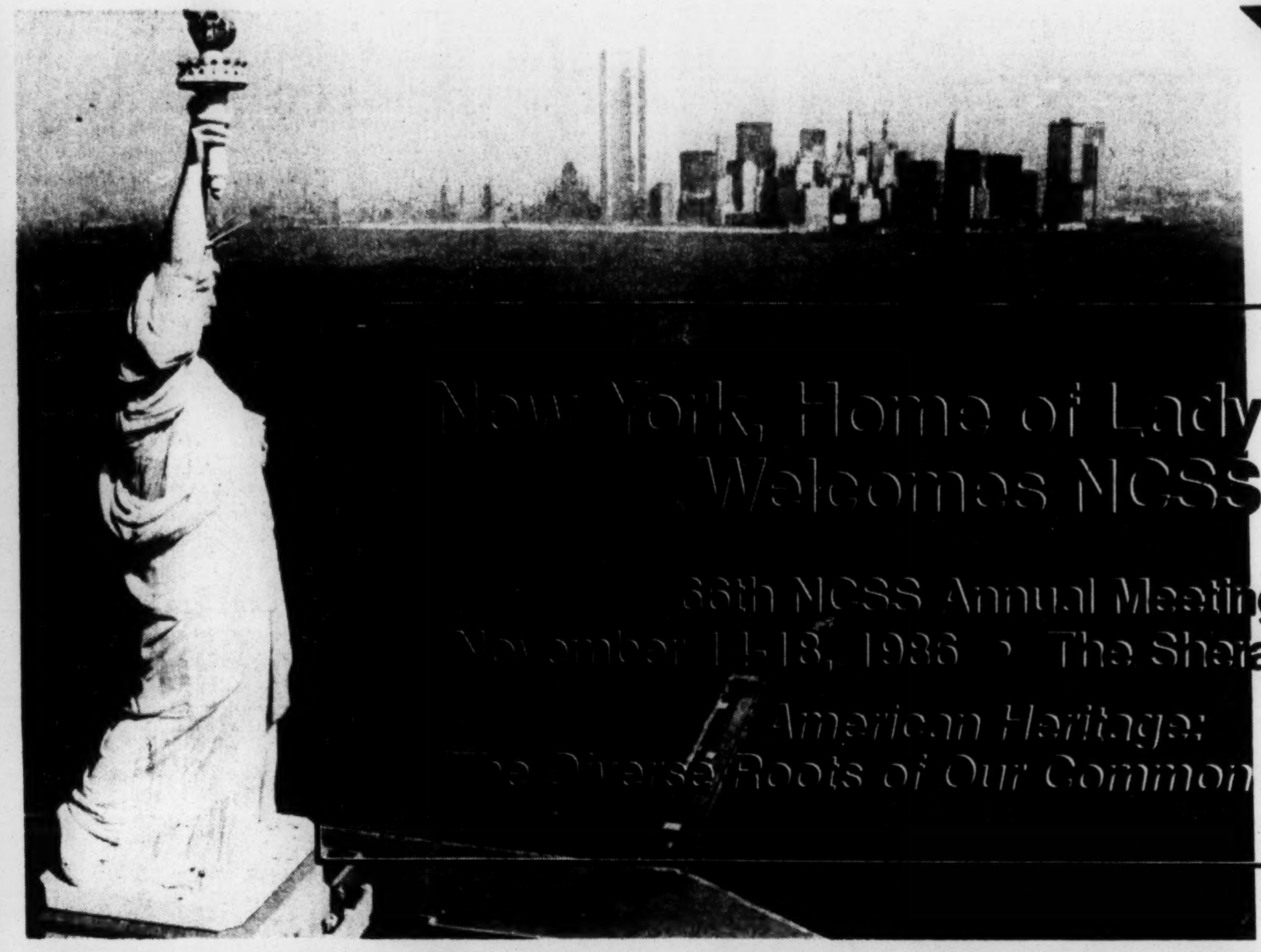
NCSS 1986 ANNUAL MEETING ADVANCE PROGRAM

Special
scount Airfares
Reserve your air travel through
American or Eastern Airlines.
See details, page 3

New York, Home of Lady Liberty, Welcomes NCSS

66th NCSS Annual Meeting
November 14-18, 1986 • The Sheraton Centre

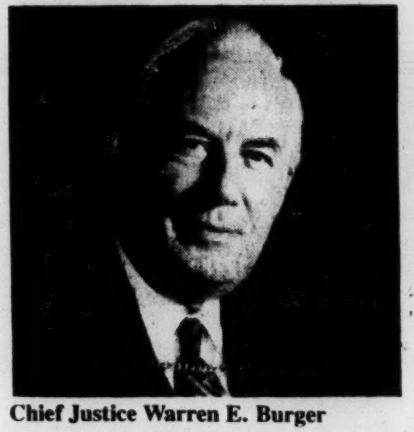
American Heritage:
The Diverse Roots of Our Common Experience



Chief Justice Burger to Deliver Keynote Address

In commemoration of the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, NCSS presents Constitution Day, Saturday, November 15. The day's highlights will feature a one-hour televised program from New York City with simultaneous teacher workshops throughout the United States.

The address by Chief Justice Burger will be followed by questions from the audience. A panel of Bicentennial Commissioners will discuss the Constitution, including Rep. Lindy Boggs (D) Louisiana; Lynne Cheney, Chairman, National Endowment for the Humanities, and William Lucas, Republican candidate for governor of Michigan. Bill Moyers of CBS News will moderate the session.



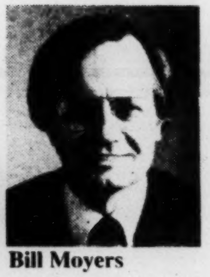
Chief Justice Warren E. Burger

The televised keynote General Session, originating live from the conference headquarters hotel, The Sheraton Centre, will begin with the speech by Burger and conclude with the panel of Commissioners, discussing questions posed by students and teachers in a pre-taped segment.

Lynne V. Cheney

Rep. Lindy Boggs

William Lucas



Bill Moyers

Teachers from throughout the United States attending workshops on the Constitution organized and conducted by NCSS's state and local councils will view the session as part of the workshop agenda.

The live telecast will begin at 12:00 noon in the Imperial Ballroom at The Sheraton Centre. The ballroom doors will close at 11:30 a.m. and no admittance will be allowed after that time in preparation for the broadcast.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
International President

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1st International Vice-President
3947 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago 53, Illinois

BENNIE SMITH
2nd International Vice-President
1308 Broadway, Room 305
Detroit 26, Michigan

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St. Louis 15, Missouri

B. F. McLAURIN
Eastern Zone Supervisor

July 13, 1961

Mr. Howard N. Meyer
76 Tarence Street
Rockville Centre, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Meyer:

Just a word to thank you for your letter of July 10, 1961, and a copy of The Commonweal containing your article on the Civil War Centennial commemoration.

I think your article is logical and eminently sound. I am indeed glad to get a copy and will draft a letter to the press concerning your opinions set forth in same. There is no doubt that this whole Civil War Centennial commemoration is a stupendous brain-washing enterprise to make the Civil War leaders of the South heroes on a par with the Civil War leaders of the North, and to strike a blow against men of color and human dignity.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:dn

The INTERCHURCH NEWS
A monthly publication of the Office of Information
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475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y.
Executive Director and Editor: Fletcher Coates
Managing Editor: Elsa Kruuse
Staff: Bruno Kroker
239

Abraham Lincoln, by Daniel Chester French

In Memoriam

July 1-3, 1863

FOUR score and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate — we cannot consecrate — we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men living and dead who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.

It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain — that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.

—A. Lincoln
Gettysburg,
Nov. 19, 1863

Rally Round What Flag?

By Howard N. Meyer

THE INITIAL phase of the Civil War Centennial commemorative program had its climax on April 12 at Charleston, S. C., with a "National Assembly" of participating organizations, the opening sales of a U.S. postage stamp designed to mark the firing on Fort Sumter, and the dedication of a monument to the Southerner who fired the first shot at his country's flag a century ago.

The relationship of the Civil War to civil rights is, of course, intimate, ironic and tragic. Yet it was privately decided in the Centennial planning to suppress all reference to the moral and political issues at stake—and decided, one had thought—in the War. The Commission revealed in a report to Congress in 1958, which went unchallenged, that the heirs of the secessionists in the state governments of the South were to control the ideological content of all ceremonies: "Such observances should not be directed from Washington; they should spring into being in response to the wish of the people in each political subdivision." The result was that, as may be seen in the plans unfolding now, only military events and human tragedy are to be commemorated, not the extension of American liberty to all men.

In a slick-paper two-color brochure called "Facts About the Civil War," the word "Negro" is not used, nor is it mentioned that human slavery was involved in the conflict. Although the brochure offers a compendium of every conceivable statistic about the War, the reader will not learn that Negro soldiers made up 12 per cent of the victorious Northern Army and that they sustained 18 per cent of the Union fatalities. There is no mention in the nine pages of detailed statistical summary of the 120 Negro infantry regiments, nor of the twenty-two Negro artillery regiments nor of the seven Negro cavalry regiments that helped defeat the rebellion.

What will the Civil War Centennial be like? It will last four years. Battles will be re-enacted, many on a huge scale. One of the most famous is that of Bull Run. Next summer the sights and sounds of the 100-year-old battle will be recreated. Some 3,000 men will restage the battle for an audience that will include the President, the Governor of Virginia and many other dignitaries. General Lee's memorable cry will once more ring out over the historic field: "There stands Jackson like a stone wall!"

The stone wall of 1961, it might be said, is one that keeps little children out of the schools that the Constitution has been held to entitle them to attend. For it has been estimated that if school desegregation continues at the pace of the last seven years, it will take 4,000 years before every child in the South is placed in a classroom in conformity with Federal Constitutional requirements. That creeping pace is determined now by those in the South who have seceded from obedience to Court rulings, and the plans of the Centennial Commission, to date, are aid and comfort to them.

The Civil War should be commemorated, but not in a manner that drains it of all meaning in military dumb shows, and not in a manner which emboldens those guilty today of offenses identified with the Secession. It does not serve America well, in the world of 1961, to ignore the evil and iniquity of slavery in marking the Centennial of the conflict. Our country is still torn at home and dishonored abroad because of the victory snatched from the jaws of Reconstruction by the side that lost the War. The victory was the establishment of the prerogative of the former slave states to impose segregation, in place of chattel slavery, as the basis of race relations.

When the firing on Fort Sumter was re-enacted in a setting of live oaks and magnolias, who was there to remind the play-actors, in ever so small a voice, that the original shot was, after all, treason?

—From an article in The Commonweal, June 9, 1961. *Mr. Meyer is a former Special Assistant to the U. S. Attorney General.*

The Victory Is Not Won

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1983

Letters

When the 'Real' Bicentennial Comes Along

To the Editor:

The headline "Real Bicentennial" (both news and Op-Ed columns, Sept. 3) is questionable. Real bicentennial of what ? Nineteen seventy-six *was* the "real" bicentennial of our *de facto* independence and its stirring declaration. And 1983 is the "real" 200th anniversary of *de jure* recognition of that independence.

But properly speaking, neither date can be used to mark our national birthday. The United States of America, successor to the loose alliance of successfully rebellious former colonies linked by "Articles of Confederation," came into being in 1789. This followed the 1788 ratification of the Constitution that created a new nation, drawn up at the 1787 convention in Philadelphia.

A variety of plans, both in and out of government, are well under way for the celebration of the "Bicentennial of the Constitution of the United States" in 1987. The National Endowment for the Humanities is awarding grants; the legislative, judicial and executive branches are discussing the structure of an "official" commission to direct the affair.

There are legitimate grounds for concern that the celebration of 1987 will be comparable to that of 1961, which marked the Civil War centennial. The latter was shamefully devoid of any illumination of the moral and political significance of the war. The only widely distributed official publication, "Facts About the Civil War," did not mention slavery, and its detailed factual summary omitted the 120 black infantry regiments, 22 artillery and seven cavalry, that made up 12 percent of the Union Army and supplied its margin of victory.

Early indications are that programs celebrating the Constitution's anniversary will be little more than a prolonged eulogy. They may merely perpetuate the comfortable conservative concept of the Constitution as a static document with unchanging values that came into existence as a kind of holy writ.

In particular, one must think of the absolutely staggering significance of the Civil War amendments, which brought the Constitution into line with the Declaration of Independence. Not only did the 13th abolish slavery and the 15th grant universal manhood suffrage, but the 14th revolutionized the character of the federalism that made the states into a nation in 1789.

It put into our basic law the startling concept of abolitionist agitators that it was the duty of the national government to insure equality before the law of all persons and to protect us all against violations of the First Amendment and the other key provisions of the Bill of Rights, when infringed by state as well as nation.

Occasions like a really important bicentennial such as this offer a matchless opportunity for public education on a subject on which there is gross public ignorance: the dynamic growth and evolution of our Constitution by amendment and the development of canons of interpretation immensely superior to those that prevailed until half a century or so ago.

Warning signals as to how the occasion will be used by those now in charge in Washington are the rejection by the National Humanities Endowment of the American Bar Association's request for a grant to promote better understanding of constitutional rights, and the focus in the Senate report (April 28) by Chairman Thurmond of the Judiciary Committee on a Bicentennial Commission on the "unchanging principles" of the document, citing Senator Hatch's encomium as to its durability "not because it is an evolving or flexible document but because it addressed principles that were enduring."

HOWARD N. MEYER
New York, Sept. 5, 1983

ABA Special Committee on Youth Education for Citizenship

CURRICULUM UPDATE BICENTENNIAL ISSUE

Books

■ ***The Amendment That Refused to Die*** (1978), by Howard N. Meyer. Secondary, Teacher Resource. Paperback, 253 pp. $5.95. (Beacon Press, 25 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108).

Despite intermittent attacks by a Supreme Court often more diligent about protecting property rights than human rights, the Fourteenth Amendment enters its hundred and twelfth year having been seriously wounded in a number of skirmishes, but apparently resilient and determined to win the war.

The Amendment That Refused to Die gives a comprehensive history of the Fourteenth. Meyer covers early proposals that the Bill of Rights be made to apply to the states as well as the federal government, then reviews the political realities after the Civil War which made the amendment necessary. Much of the book is devoted to interpretations of the amendment by courts.

Taking you behind the scenes, Meyer introduces little remembered but important characters like John A. Bingham, an Ohio congressman instrumental in getting the Fourteenth passed through Congress, Albion Tourgee (Plessy's lawyer), and the first John Marshall Harlan, the original great dissenter.

Increasing activities by the Ku Klux Klan, combined with some curious interpretations of the Fourteenth Amendment by a seemingly indifferent Supreme Court, illustrate the problems of enforcing an amendment whose intent was apparently very clear to the drafters.

Written in a richly anecdotal style, reminiscent of the classic *Simple Justice* (the history of *Brown v. Board of Education*), Howard N. Meyer's book deserves to be on every law-related educator's bookshelf. Because of its easy to understand style, this book is recommended for students tenth grade and up.

commentary

A constitutional bicentennial: a respectful dissent

When we celebrate a birthday, we salute the person that the honoree has become — not the rudimentary being that the infant was at the date of its birth. As to institutions that were created by human effort and ingenuity, it is what they have achieved and come to be that we acknowledge on an anniversary — not longevity, per se, or the possibly flawed initial production.

These considerations are particularly persuasive in respect of that very human artifact, the Constitution of the United States. The era of its Bicentennial approaches as 1987 draws closer. Shall we salute it for what it was 200 years ago, or for what it has become? Would we, in our post-industrial society, want to live under the 1787 document, created just before the industrial revolution began?

Even as amended by the addition of the 1791 Bill of Rights, the product of the Philadelphia convention, simply as viewed in the hindsight of history, was a seriously defective document. Its Preamble expressed a purpose to "form a more perfect Union": by 1861, the country was riven into two separate armed camps, each with its own flag, president, army and anthem. It claimed to "establish justice": absolute injustice was the lot of Americans of African descent, and states were untrammeled in abridging the freedoms of those nonblacks who objected. It intended to "insure domestic tranquility": for decades the conflict of slavery and freedom disturbed the peace.

These faults were aspects of what can fairly be called the "old federalism," which described a relation between the nation, the states, and their people that rapidly became obsolete in the first half of the 19th century. To alter, and indeed abolish that system, which had made civil war unavoidable, the New Federalism of the Fourteenth and its sister amendments was created in the war's aftermath. Its founders, the Framing Fathers of 1866, were acutely conscious of the flawed character of the 1787 charter that had so dismally failed to achieve its grandly stated purposes.

Slavery and its attendant evils (such as repression of abolitionist speech, cruel and unusual punishment for resisters, denial of due process to fugitives) were a greater stain on our history than most chroniclers of our past concede. But it was not only these varied wrongs that the Fourteenth Amendment was designed to eliminate. In addition to providing for the "new birth of freedom" that Lincoln called for at Gettysburg, they sought to put to rest any further dallying with notions of "sovereign" statehood or threats to secede: a new nation in fact was created by a unitary national citizenship. As Carl Sandburg wrote: "Before the Civil War, the United States *were*; since the war and the 14th Amendment, the United States *is*."

The consequence, in truth, was the creation of a new or "Second" Constitution. We have had two Constitutions in the course of our history; the original document was superseded in 1868 by the addition of the first and fifth clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Who should know this better than the bar? It is a bread-and-butter ingredient of our equipment to know that "the most consequential part of the federal Constitution" is the Fourteenth Amendment. The great senior Judge of the federal Fifth Circuit, John Minor Wisdom, in the course of a 1976 "Bicentennial Conference" at Philadelphia, bluntly said: "We have had at least two Constitutions."

We must respectfully dissent, therefore, from the approach taken in a publication, co-sponsored by the American Bar Association, entitled National Forum. In a recent issue, 17 essays appeared under the title, "Toward the Bicentennial. . . ." They contain little that could aid in enhancing public understanding and much that can be counterproductive. There is the unthinking reiteration of Gladstone's misled and misleading comment on the U.S. Constitution as the "most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time. . . ." Obsession with "durability" is downright misleading (apart from the fact that it's not very enlightening), once one grasps the implications of the "two Constitutions" concept.

It is as if the editor and principal contributors were hostile to the significance of the Civil War amendments, and the use they have at last been put to in humanist terms in recent decades. An aspect of this is incredibly explicit in one essay, written for President Reagan: "The unamended Constitution is itself a Bill of Rights." Even worse, deplorably incompatible with remedying public ignorance or lack of sympathy, is the complaint of Senator Orrin Hatch, which is worth a protest rather than a mere dissent. "Litigants," he writes, "have flooded federal courts with relentless requests for new individual rights." One would think that the oath we all take to support the Constitution can be faithfully fulfilled only by being relentless.

— *Howard N. Meyer*

Howard N. Meyer, Special Assistant to Attorney General Francis Biddle, was a Pulitzer-prize nominee for "The Amendment that Refused to Die," on the Fourteenth Amendment.

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e directed to any Pattis Office, or to Nora Whitford at the American Bar Association (312/988-6056).

Volume 13, Number 1, Fall 1985

The cult of Jefferson Davis and Robert E Lee, and the mystique of the confederate flag have slipped since 1961. Our nation then celebrated the centennial of the Civil War as if it had been a stellar sporting event. In this writer's essay, "Rally Round What Flag ?" it was noted that Stonewall Jackson was remembered more fondly than Ulysses S. Grant and that the "stone wall" of 1961 was the barrier that "kept little children out of the schools that the Constitution had been held to entitle them to attend."

Those preparing to cash in on 1987 should remember that a hefty majority of the American people will restrain their enthusiasm about our First, or "unamended" Constitution. That majority will be made up of the groups unrepresented, as Vincent Harding noted in his "There is a River," at the all white, all male, all Anglo, mostly well-to-do conclave at Philadelphia 198 years ago.

In his major, his life's work, rounding up a dozen seminal law review essays Howard Jay Graham dubbed the Fourteenth Amendment "Everyman 's Constitution," and so the book was called. It was published in 1968, centennial of the Fourteenth, not otherwise marked save by a scholarly N.Y.U. symposium, whose papers were later published under the editorship of Bernard Schwartz.

"Everybody's Constitution," as the first draft became when the Fourteenth began life, -- long after it was put on paper,-- the basic law to which Blacks and Hispanics, the women and the young and the old, the teachers and the students, the poor and the alien and the gay, can look for their rights, is not nearly 200 years old ! Its heart only began to beat, softly, in 1917, when official residential segregation was pronounced illegal; it took fifty years or so more, sometimes at two steps forward, one step back, before it was Born Again.

Howard N. Meyer is a labor arbitrator and former Special Assistant to the United States Attorney General. He is the author of The Amendment That Refused to Die, *the history of the XIVth Amendment which was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize, and other historical and biographical works.*

Henry Abelove

Freud, Male Homosexuality, and the Americans

Anybody inquiring about Freud's attitude to homosexuality will soon come across a letter he wrote in April 1935. The letter is now almost famous. It was first printed in 1951; it has been reprinted since many times; and it is conveniently available in Ernest Jones's standard biography. Freud wrote it in English as a courtesy to his correspondent, who was an American, a mother, distressed and embarrassed because her young son was homosexual. What the letter tells her is that she has less cause for distress than she may think and none whatsoever for embarrassment.

> I gather [Freud says] . . . that your son is a homosexual. I am most impressed by the fact that you do not mention this term yourself in your information about him. May I question you, why you avoid it? Homosexuality is assuredly no advantage, but it is nothing to be ashamed of, no vice, no degradation, it cannot be classified as an illness, we consider it to be a variation of the sexual function produced by a certain arrest of sexual development.

He goes on to say more:

> Many highly respectable individuals of ancient and modern times have been homosexuals, several of the greatest men among them. (Plato, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, etc.) It is a great injustice to persecute homosexuality as a crime and a cruelty too. If you do not believe me, read the books of Havelock Ellis.
>
> By asking me if I can help, you mean, I suppose, if I can abolish homosexuality and make normal heterosexuality take its place. The answer is, in a general way, we cannot promise to achieve it. In a certain number of cases we succeed in developing the blighted germs of heterosexual tendencies which are present in every homosexual, in the majority of cases it is no more possible. It is a question of the quality and the age of the individual. The result of treatment cannot be predicted.
>
> What analysis can do for your son runs in a different line. If he is unhappy, neurotic, torn by conflicts, inhibited in his social life, analysis may bring him harmony, peace of mind, full efficiency, whether he remains a homosexual or gets changed. If you make up your mind he should have analysis with me—I don't expect you will—he has to come over to Vienna. I have no intention of leaving here. However, don't neglect to give me your answer.
>
> Sincerely yours with kind wishes,
>
> Freud[1]

The American mother said that she was grateful for the letter, sent a copy eventually to the sex researcher Alfred Kinsey, and told him that Freud was a "great and good" man. Presumably she found the letter helpful, maybe also comforting, even though it had probed her fearfulness and prejudice. Jones is probably right to describe the letter, in his biography, as a remarkable "kindness."[2] After all Freud had no previous acquaintance with the woman. Yet he took the time to write to her when he was himself deathly ill.

But the letter was more than just a "kindness." It was also the considered expression of a viewpoint that Freud had long deeply felt and tenaciously held. Everything about homosexuality that he says in the letter had been an article of conviction with him for more than 30 years. Summarized: that homosexuality is no advantage; that it is also no illness; that it should neither be prosecuted as a crime nor regarded as a disgrace; that no homosexual need be treated psychoanalytically unless he also, and quite incidentally, happened to be neurotic. Freud had expressed himself on the subject before, often, and on occasion very publicly.

As early as 1903 he had given an interview to the Vienna newspaper *Die Zeit*, which was doing a feature story on a local scandal: a prominent Vienna professional man was on trial, charged with homosexual practices. A reporter had come to get Freud's reaction, and Freud had said:

> . . . I advocate the standpoint that the homosexual does not belong before the tribunal of a court of law. I am even of the firm conviction that homosexuals must not be treated as sick people, for a perverse orientation is far from being a sickness. Wouldn't that oblige us to characterize as *sick* many great thinkers and scholars whom we admire precisely because of their mental health?

He had then repeated himself, apparently for the sake of emphasis: *"Homosexual persons are not sick, but they also do not belong in a court of law!"* He had added finally, and by way of qualification, that if, however, a homosexual molested a child below "the age of consent," then he should of course be charged in the courts, just as a heterosexual should be charged under analogous circumstances.[3]

In 1930 Freud again spoke in the Vienna public press on the subject of homosexuality. This time he appeared as a cosignatory to a statement addressed to a joint Austro-German legal commission, which was considering the revision of the penal code. Among the other signatories were Arthur Schnitzler, Franz Werfel, and Moritz Schlick. The statement noted that the commission was reported as deadlocked over a proposal to repeal the laws penalizing homosexual relations between "consenting adult males." But the deadlock should be broken. "Humanity, justice, and reason" all required the repeal, and it should be agreed to immediately. "Homosexuality," the statement continued, had "been present throughout history and among all peoples." The laws that penalized it represented an "extreme violation of human rights." For they denied homosexuals "their very sexuality." They also gave a wide opening to "blackmail" and indirectly drove some homosexuals to "suicide." There was yet another bad consequence of these laws. By stigmatizing homosexuality as "criminal," they often forced homosexuals into "antisocial" postures and attitudes. The statement concluded with the "demand" that homosexuals be allowed the same "rights" as everyone else.[4]

These were Freud's public interventions; privately he took a similar line. For instance, he held that there was no good reason why homosexuals should necessarily be refused permission to become psychoanalysts. Freud's position turned out to be objectionable to most of his associates. The issue surfaced in 1920. The Dutch Psychoanalytic Association had an application for membership from a doctor known to be "manifestly homosexual." Uncertain how to respond, they turned for advice to a member of Freud's inner circle, Ernest Jones, the same who later wrote the standard biography. Jones kept Freud informed by letter. "I advised against it," he said, " and now I hear . . . that the man has been detected and committed to prison." He then asked whether or not Freud thought that always to refuse homosexual applicants would be "a safe general maxim to act on." Freud consulted with another member of the inner circle, Otto Rank, who was also a close friend; and then Rank and Freud jointly wrote back to Jones and censured his propriety:

> Your query, dear Ernest, concerning prospective membership of homosexuals has been considered by us and we disagree with you. In effect we cannot exclude such persons without other sufficient reasons, as we cannot agree with their legal prosecution. We feel that a decision in such cases should depend upon a thorough examination of the other qualities of the candidate.

Rank and Freud wrote, of course, from Vienna. Jones, who got their letter, was in London. Within about a month news of the exchange had reached the analysts of Berlin, whereupon three of them, Hanns Sachs, Karl Abraham, and Max Eitingon, all alarmed, wrote to Freud in criticism of his position.

The criticism was put tactfully but firmly: "We have not yet decided," they began, "about the question of admitting homosexual analysts to our Society. . . . " This was no doubt meant to remind Freud that the decision, at least in Berlin, was constitutionally theirs rather than his. "But," they went on, "we have had some thoughts on this matter." Their "thoughts" were that "homosexuality appears in many forms as part of a neurosis," that in such instances the homosexuality "should be analyzed," that neurotic homosexuals might and often did refuse to let their analysis go deep, and that when they so refused they could hardly turn out to be good analysts themselves. Sachs, Abraham, and Eitingon then concluded: "We agree that we only should accept homosexuals into our membership when they have other qualities in their favor." This conclusion both restated Freud's position and modified it subtly. His letter had stipulated that homosexuality ought to be a neutral factor or a nonfactor in the evaluation of applicants; their letter, on the other hand, suggested that homosexuality might well make for a presumption against an applicant but that he should nevertheless be admitted if he were judged good enough. The wording of both letters is, however, close; and Freud chose to be, or had to be, content with their response.[5]

As a clinician, Freud refused to treat homosexuals, unless he thought them markedly neurotic, too.[6] Otherwise there was nothing to treat. Homosexuality was not in his view an illness, and whenever associates who assumed that it was an illness tried to refer homosexuals to him for treatment, he turned them away, if he knew in advance that they were merely homosexuals. He could not always know in advance, and he must on occasion have had to see, if only for a single session, a patient who was homosexual and relatively unneurotic but forced to consult him by a psychiatrist, a family doctor, a friend, or a relative, like the American mother with whom Freud corresponded in 1935.

It would be interesting to know how he handled such patients; but he has left us no account of his dealings with any of them. For him they were not cases, and so there was no reason to write up a case history. But there is one account of a single session with Freud, written by a patient who may fit into this category. It is hard to be entirely sure; the account is moving as a portrait of the psychoanalyst but disappointingly sparse about the patient himself, whose name was Bruno Goetz. At the time Goetz consulted Freud, he was a student at the University of Vienna, an aspiring poet, poor, afflicted with eye trouble and bad headaches, and apparently sexually unconventional, too. One of his professors, who was worried about Goetz, had arranged for the consultation and sent Freud some of the man's poems as well. Goetz did not want to go, but the professor's authority was sufficient to make him, and he went.

Once Goetz got to Freud's office, he began to feel better immediately. The headaches disappeared, and he talked eagerly about his life and loves. He talked about masturbating, about once loving a woman older than himself, about his fascination with the sea, about his attraction to sailors, whom he wanted "to kiss," and about his not marrying. Freud said (as Goetz reports), " 'And the matter with the sailors has never upset you?' " Goetz answered, " 'Never . . . I was very much in love. And when you're in love, everything is fine. Right?' " Freud replied, " 'For you certainly . . .' and laughed." Toward the end of the consultation, Freud asked Goetz when he had last eaten a steak. Goetz said four weeks before. Freud then handed him a sealed envelope, told him it was a " 'prescription,' " and then turned "shy" as he concluded the session by saying: " 'Please accept this envelope and allow me to play your father this time. A small fee for the joy you have brought me with your poems and the story of your youth.' " When Goetz left and opened the envelope, he found that it contained money, 200 kronen, more than enough to buy a big steak dinner.[7]

Freud was perfectly consistent on the subject of homosexuality. What he told the American mother in his letter of 1935, that it was neither advantage, crime, illness, nor disgrace, he had long believed and long acted on. His viewpoint was not wholeheartedly shared by most of his fellow analysts, though no analyst so far as I know directly and avowedly rejected it during Freud's lifetime. But his colleagues did show some hesitation about it, some edginess. The Dutch wondered whether or not a homosexual should be admitted to practice analysis; Jones, in England, thought not; the Berliners said maybe yes, maybe no, but were probably inclined to say no; and some analysts referred relatively unneurotic homosexuals to Freud for treatment, though he of course thought there was no need. Jung too may have felt rather differently from Freud on the subject of homosexuality. His viewpoint, during the years when he was still associated with psychoanalysis, is hard to reconstruct fully; but there is a suggestive comment in one of his letters.

Jung and Freud were corresponding about where a certain essay of Freud's was to be published. The *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, a journal edited by a homosexual, had been mentioned, and Jung advised against using it. "If the '175ers' are in charge, that will hardly be a guarantee of its scientific attitude," Jung wrote. In the German law code the number of the clause in which the penalities for homosexual practice were specified was 175.[8] The term "175ers" meant homosexuals and was derogatory. Jung's comment, in substance, was also, of course, prejudicious. Freud replied by saying that he had not intended the essay for the *Zeitschrift*, which might become the voice of the homosexual emancipation movement in Germany, and therefore might be too political. He said that he had intended the essay for the *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*—another journal edited by the same homosexual who edited the *Zeitschrift*. Jung made no further comment.[9]

So far as I can tell, only three analysts can be tentatively identified as sharing perhaps without reservation in Freud's viewpoint on homosexuality. They are Rank, who cosigned the letter to Jones calling for the admission of qualified homosexuals to the practice of psychoanalysis, Isidor Sadger, whose position can be deduced from some essays he published,[10] and Victor Tausk. One of Tausk's colleagues reported him as saying this in about 1914 on the treatment of a particular neurotic homosexual: "... his therapeutic goal for the patient was to rid him of feelings of guilt about his homosexuality so that he could be free to satisfy his homosexual needs."[11] But if Rank, Sadger, and Tausk stood in this matter firmly with Freud, they were the exceptions. Most analysts had room for other thoughts.

It was in America, however, that Freud's viewpoint on homosexuality was least accepted or maybe most resisted. Jung may in a careless moment have let slip a prejudicious slur; Jones may have wanted to draw the line at having homosexual colleagues; the Dutch and Germans may also have felt some of his reserve; but from the very beginnings of the transplanting of psychoanalysis onto these shores, American analysts have tended to view homosexuality with disapproval and have actually wanted to get rid of it altogether. As early as 1916, when Freud was still very active, Smith Ely Jeliffe, a prominent New York analyst and a founder of the *Psychoanalytic Review*, declared that "individual training" and "education" should control the "homogenic" tendency and "direct it" to a "normal, well-adjusted sexual life" so that there need be no homosexuality.[12]

Jeliffe's declaration is perhaps distinctively American; it reflects the outlook that historians usually call moralistic and that has always dominated psychoanalytic thinking in this country. It is an outlook that Freud knew, despised, and opposed, but never succeeded in overcoming or even mitigating. Why he never succeeded may require an explanation. He was after all a domineering leader, with little patience for any deviationism; and presumably he could have cut off the offending American analysts, just as he eventually cut off such Europeans as Adler and Jung. Perhaps he was afraid that too much severity on the American front would put the whole future of psychoanalysis at risk. It was clear, certainly by the 1930s, that the movement was going to grow fastest in America. He may also have held back partly out of a kind of indifference. What Americans said and thought was less important to him than what his fellow Europeans said and thought. Then, too, he believed that the American analysts' outlook was not accidental but necessary, derived directly from what he took to be the root conditions of American life. If that were true, what good could come of cutting off particular analysts?

Still he argued with them, teased, parried. His most frequent butt was James Jackson Putnam of Harvard, the American analyst whom he liked most or maybe disliked least. Their correspondence, stretching over a period of about seven years, was on Freud's part one long effort to get Putnam to relinquish his moralism (specific allusions to homosexuality, or indeed any sexuality, hardly came up, so elevated were Putnam's ideas, so obliging was Freud as a correspondent); on Putnam's part it was one long refusal.

Putnam met Freud in 1909 and had on that occasion apparently been firmly told that he should not try to hold up before his analytic patients some ethical goal of his own. "It still appears to me," he wrote later that year, "that . . . the psychoanalytic method needs to be supplemented by methods which seek to hold up before the patient some goal toward which he may strive." Putnam went on to note that he was currently treating a "lady" who was "a great sufferer from morbid self-consciousness and blushing," that he was making "good headway" in tracing out the origins of her "symptoms," but that he had found himself confronted by the "difficulty" that she had "lost all interest in life and living." Should he not try, in a hortatory way, to provide her with such an interest? Freud replied that no analyst could "compensate" a patient for giving up an "illness." But that was not the analyst's fault.

> What would you have us do when a woman complains about her thwarted life, when, with youth gone, she notices that she has been deprived of the joy of loving for merely conventional reasons? She is quite right, and we stand helpless before her, for we cannot make her young again. But the recognition of our therapeutic limitations reinforces our determination to change other social factors so that men and women shall no longer be forced into hopeless situations.

This was Freud at his most militantly political; American moralism always brought it out in him. But the militancy made no apparent impact on Putnam, who soon wrote back that patients need "more than to simply learn to know themselves," they need also to know the "reasons why they should adopt higher views of their obligations." He then wrote back yet again, "As I study patients and try to relieve them of their symptoms, I find that I must also try to improve their moral characters and temperaments." Soon after, he told Freud one of his childhood fantasies—it was of a happy family life—and asked for an interpretation. This request gave Freud an opening that he gleefully took:

> On the whole I see that you are suffering from a too early and too strongly repressed sadism expressed in over-goodness and self-torture. Behind the fantasy of a happy family life, you would discover the normal repressed fantasies of rich sexual fulfillment.

Later Freud responded again on a note less personal but still very naughty, gibing at the Christian rhetoric that lay just below the surface of Putnam's letters:

> You make psychoanalysis seem so much nobler and more beautiful: in her Sunday clothes I scarcely recognize the servant who performs my household tasks.

Next, undaunted, Putnam wrote to say that he wanted to compose something rather big on the subject of "sublimation," with special reference "to the work of Dante and Emerson."

Freud replied that he looked forward to it "with great interest." Putnam then wrote more about his personal commitment to sublimation and to the task of helping his patients achieve it satisfactorily. Freud replied this time with bitterness rather than irony: "As soon," he wrote, as analysts take on "the task of leading the patient toward sublimation, they hasten away from the arduous tasks of psychoanalysis so that they can take up the much more comfortable . . . duties of the teacher and paragon of virtue." Finally Freud turned very direct. He dropped all obliquity, all his tones except candor, and in one of the last few letters he wrote to Putnam, shortly before Putnam's death separated them forever, attacked his moralism straight on:

> Sexual morality as society—and at its most extreme, American society—defines it, seems very despicable to me. I stand for a much freer sexual life.

That too made no apparent impact on Putnam, and in his next letter he ignored altogether Freud's remark about America.[13]

If Freud thought that American sexual morality was despicable, he also thought he knew how it had come to be that way. He visited America only once, in the fall of 1909, when he came here to deliver five introductory lectures on psychoanalysis at Clark University to an audience that, incidentally, included both William James and Emma Goldman. During his stay he got to see New York, New Haven, Boston, Worcester, and Niagara Falls, and he also spent some time in the Adirondacks. Still the trip was brief, the itinerary limited, and his conclusions were exceptionally positive and firm. No doubt he had made up his mind at least tentatively before the trip had begun, largely on the basis of his reading and his personal contacts with individual Americans, partly probably on the basis of the prejudice against America that is always common in European intellectual circles.

When asked once he returned to Vienna what exactly he thought was wrong here, he would usually treat the question as unserious and respond lightly. He hated the food. It gave him indigestion. Or he might say he hated the accent. Only the British knew how to speak English right. But sometimes he treated the question as serious and responded accordingly; and there is no difficulty now in making out his actual view. First of all he thought that Americans were extraordinarily overrepressed. He found them sexually vapid, flavorless. As his Viennese colleague Paul Federn tactlessly reported years later when in 1947 he spoke in New York at the dedication of a Freud bust in the headquarters of the New York Psychoanalytic Society, Freud had always held that in America there was not "enough libido actually to be found and felt by him."[14] Why were the Americans such nonentities sexually? Because they sublimated their sexual energy so completely. As for their despicable moralism, that was the rationale for the sublimation. And was the goal of American sublimation the production of art, science, law, architecture, music, literature? No: the goal was cash, acquisition, accumulation. All the energy that was not loosed sexually was going toward making money and toward very little else. Jones, in his biography, put the point delicately: Freud had an "unfavorable impression" of America. "I imagine," Jones said, "that the aversion had something to do with a feeling that commercial success dominated the scale of values in the United States. . . . "[15]

Freud himself put the point still more delicately, but nonetheless very definitely, while actually speaking to his one American audience at Clark. To be sure, his primary rhetorical strategy in those five lectures was to flatter his hearers in the hopes of securing their favorable interest in what he had to say concerning psychoanalysis. He told them that theirs was a "New World"; he added that in the old, benighted European world there was unreasoning prejudice against psychoanalysis; and he intimated that in the New World no such prejudice was likely. He told them that he had originally planned to speak chiefly about "dream interpretation" but upon consideration had rejected the plan. It seemed to him, he said, somehow wrong to focus on dreams in a country so admirably "devoted to practical aims." He told them that "hysteria" might perhaps be best understood as analogous to a kind of overinvolvement in history.

Imagine, Freud said, a "Londoner" unable to live joyfully in the present because he could not escape from the clutch of the past and so spent all his time mourning at spots like "Charing Cross" or "the Monument," consecrated to ancient losses. In developing this analogy, Freud was hinting broadly and quite mendaciously that since Americans had much less history than, say, Londoners, they were much better off. All this was flattery, and thickly applied, too. But in the midst of the flattery, Freud also managed to say what he thought. His moment came when he explained how jokes were to be interpreted psychoanalytically. First he gave an example of a joke:

> Two not particularly scrupulous businessmen had succeeded, by dint of a series of highly risky enterprises, in amassing a large fortune, and they were now making efforts to push their way into good society. One method, which struck them as a likely one, was to have their portraits painted by the most celebrated and highly paid artists in

> the city. . . . The precious canvasses were shown for the first time at a large evening party, and the two hosts led the most influential connoisseur . . . up to the wall on which the portraits were hanging side by side. He studied the works for a long time, and then, shaking his head, as though there was something he had missed, pointed to the gap between the pictures and asked quietly: "But where's the Savior?"

The audience laughed. Freud went on:

> Clearly what the connoisseur meant to say was: "You are a couple of rogues, like the two thieves between whom the Savior was crucified." But he did not say this. Instead he made a remark which seems at first sight strangely inappropriate . . . , but which we recognize later as an *allusion* to the insult that he had in mind. . . .

Having explained how to interpret the joke, Freud proceeded to ask: "Why" did the connoisseur "not tell the rogues straight out what he wanted to say?" Why did he tell them only indirectly via the joke? He then answered his own question. The connoisseur had "excellent counter-motives working against his desire to say it to their faces. There are risks attendant upon insulting people who are one's hosts."[16]

It takes but a moment's reflection to realize that at Clark, Freud himself was the honored guest, the Americans were his hosts, and that he was insulting them, though indirectly, with the joke he told. They were the unscrupulous businessmen; they were the thieves. From this opinion of them, or rather of us, as thieves—and as consequently also sexless and despicably moralistic—Freud never budged.

What happened to homosexuals who found themselves in treatment with American psychoanalysts of the era of Putnam and Jeliffe? Putnam, who thought he should inspire his patients with his own ethical vision? Jeliffe, who thought that training and education should control homosexual feeling and reshape it into "normal, well-adjusted" sexuality? First of all, such patients could feel physically safe; they ran no risk, so long as they were in the hands of the analysts, of getting castrated. This disaster sometimes overtook homosexuals in nonanalytic treatment. Analysts only talked. Just what the talk was we of course cannot now know exactly and fully. But we can know partially, fragmentarily, a small sample of it, a sample that concerns an American homosexual named C. M. Otis, who in 1911 found himself in successive consultations with two different Boston analysts, Isador Coriat and Louville Emerson.

Emerson took notes that are still extant. From them we learn that Otis described himself as having never had intercourse with a woman, as having more than occasionally had sexual contact with boys, as having long felt both persecuted and sure that he could never become heterosexual. Emerson saw Otis for six therapy sessions. During the sixth Emerson ended their connection. In his notes he recorded the reason for his making so decisive and abrupt an ending: The patient "shows no adequate emotional reaction to my suggestions." He did not specify what the suggestions were.[17] Some eight years later Emerson published in the *Psychoanalytic Review* a brief and courteous critique of Freud. The point of the critique was that Freud was wrong to try to exclude "ethics" from psychoanalysis. All analysts must try to tell which social relations were, and which were not, "righteous."[18] Whatever were the suggestions that Emerson made and Otis rejected, we can surely conclude that Otis's experience with his analyst was significantly different from Goetz's with his.

To return to Freud's letter to the American mother. His motive in writing it was by no means just "kindness," nor was it just a determination to restate a position he had long held. He wanted also to hit back at us Americans, at our moralism and our misuse of psychoanalysis. He knew perfectly well that the letter would be noticed. He intended it to be noticed. It was a deliberate provocation, and perhaps the heart of it was the passage where he ended: "If you make up your mind he should have analysis with me—I don't expect you will—he has to come over to Vienna."[19]

Freud had no need of more patients, and the woman was a stranger. His object was to tell her, and everybody else, too, that her son could not be properly treated in America.

It may be surprising, in the light of what this paper has said so far, to find that Freud was very much at odds with the homosexual emancipation movement of his own day. But in fact he was. On one important matter he disagreed adamantly with the line taken by the movement, and he expressed the disagreement in his psychological writings on three separate occasions.

The movement was then based mostly in Germany, where it had originated during the latter part of the 19th century. Its progenitor had been Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825–95), a Hanoverian lawyer, who in a series of books had propounded the view that homosexuals constituted "a third sex," possessed of a "female soul" in a "male body." Ulrichs's spiritual successor and the movement's first great leader had been Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935), a Jewish doctor in Berlin, who as publicist, organizer, lobbyist, and clinical investigator had worked long and tirelessly for the repeal of the laws penalizing homosexuality and for public recognition of its widespread incidence. Like Ulrichs, Hirschfeld had also thought of homosexuals as a biologically and psychically distinct group. He had called them "sexual intermediates."[20]

As we have seen, Freud willingly endorsed the movement's law reform objectives. What he rejected was the theory that lay behind them, the theory of the "third sex," of "sexual intermediates." In *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905), he criticized Ulrichs directly, referring to him by name as "a spokesman of the male inverts," and mentioning his notion of "a feminine brain in a masculine body" in order to brush it aside.[21] In *Leonardo da Vinci* (1910), he again took note of the movement's line:

> Homosexual men, who have in our times taken vigorous action against the restrictions imposed by law on their sexual activity, are fond of representing themselves, through their theoretical spokesmen, as being from the outset a distinct sexual species, as an intermediate sexual stage, as a "third sex."

He added that this representation should be viewed with "some reserve." For it took no account of the findings of psychoanalysis. Later, in the 1919 edition, he inserted in a footnote a firmer critical comment: "... those who speak for homosexuals in the field of science have been incapable of learning anything from the established findings of psychoanalysis."[22] Yet again in *Introductory Lectures* (1917), he also had made much the same point. He said that homosexuals "through the mouth of their scientific spokesmen" were endeavoring to "represent themselves as a special variety of the human species—a 'third sex'...." This representation was, however, mistaken; psychoanalysis proved it wrong.[23]

But how did psychoanalysis prove it wrong? Freud thought that analysis showed that all people were "capable of making a homosexual object choice" and that all had "in fact made one in their unconscious." He thought that analysis also showed that

> ... libidinal attachments to persons of the same sex play no less a part in normal mental life, and a greater part as a motive force for illness, than do similar attachments to the opposite sex.[24]

With these findings in mind, he could hardly accept that homosexuals were "a distinct sexual species" or "a special variety of the human species." On the contrary, Freud held that all people were psychologically like the ones called homosexuals. No doubt, homosexual men would on the whole tend to have sex with men, while nonhomosexual men would on the whole tend to have sex with women. This difference, though of "practical significance," was of small "theoretical" significance.[25] What *was* theoretically significant, what must never be forgotten or denied or elided, was that everybody's sexuality was homosexual in large part.

Homosexuals, Freud insisted, were not "exceptions," and psychoanalysis was "decidedly opposed to any attempt" to separate them off "from the rest of mankind as a group of a special character."[26] To do so would be to reject, in fact to repress, the psychoanalytic theory of sex.

So Freud argued, but the movement was not much interested by his argument. Notions like the "third sex" or, to glance ahead for a moment to modern-day America, "gay people," can play an important role in enabling homosexual assertiveness. It is bracing to think of oneself as part of a group. One feels less odd, maybe less vulnerable, maybe even prouder.

Besides, groups can organize to advance their members' common interests. In a parliamentary culture, as the Germany of Freud's day in some measure was, or as modern-day America is, group-organizational strength can often translate directly into political influence. Freud understood all this, and he cannot have been surprised when the homosexual emancipation movement ignored him. But he took his stand against their line anyway, just as he had also taken his stand against American moralism, and for the same reason: both line and moralism were, as he saw the matter, in effect repressions.

Freud died in 1939, four years after he had written his letter to the American mother. Almost as soon as he was cremated, a host of revisionist essays started rolling off the psychoanalytic presses, especially in America. One of the subjects most eagerly canvassed was homosexuality. We may here review briefly and in a very foreshortened way what the American analysts said about it once they could be sure that Freud was gone.

Sandor Rado (1890–1972) of the Columbia Psychoanalytic Clinic in New York was the first to declare himself. In a series of pieces published in the 1940s, he argued that male-female pairing was healthy, that it was moreover the "standard pattern," that homosexuality was an illness based on a fear of women, and that it could often be cured in psychoanalysis.[27]

Following Rado's lead, Irving Bieber (b. 1908) conducted a big study in the 1950s and published his results in 1962. His purpose was not, he said, to establish that homosexuality was an illness. All "psychoanalytic theories," he went on, effectually ignoring Freud, "*assume* that homosexuality is psychopathologic." His purpose was rather to come to understand the etiology of the illness; and he argued that it derived primarily from a certain sort of bad family situation: a domineering mother, a cold father. He too was relatively optimistic about achieving cures.

Charles Socarides (b. 1922) went farthest perhaps of any of the American analysts. He argued, in a series of pieces published mostly in the 1960s, that homosexuality was in fact a severe illness, accompanied often by such psychotic manifestations as schizophrenia or manic-depressive mood swings. While heterosexual pairings could make for "cooperation, solace, stimulation, enrichment, healthy challenge and fulfillment," homosexual pairings could bring only "destruction, mutual defeat, exploitation of the partner and the self, oral-sadistic incorporation, aggressive onslaughts, attempts to alleviate anxiety, and a pseudo-solution to the aggressive and libidinal urges which dominate and torment the individual." Socarides also said that cures were possible.[28]

Influenced perhaps especially by Rado, the American Psychiatric Association in 1952 formally classified homosexuality as an illness. When the gay liberation movement grew strong in America in the 1960s, this classification, still very much on the books,[29] became a major issue for its members and they devoted much effort to getting it rescinded. Through a mix of agitation and argument, they eventually succeeded. In 1973 the Association removed homosexuality from its official list of illnesses.[30] In announcing the declassification, the president of the Association said that he hoped the result would be a "more accommodative climate of opinion for the homosexual minority in our country. . . ."[31] Here the word to note is minority. What the president assumed was that homosexuals were indeed a minority, a group of a special character. He assumed as much both because the gay liberation movement was predictably saying so and because their psychoanalytic allies were loudly agreeing.

Psychoanalytic allies? Yes: the movement had such allies, of whom the two most influential were Judd Marmor (b. 1910) and Robert Stoller (b. 1924). During the '60s and '70s, both these analysts clashed repeatedly with the Bieber–Socarides set. Both, denying that homosexuality was an illness, described it instead as the sexual orientation of a minority. In so describing it they of course rejected the view that Freud had thought theoretically crucial—the view that *everybody's* sexuality was in large part homosexual. Marmor put his rejection tactfully: Freud had held that homosexuality was a "universal trend." That view was not "illogical," but it was "non-operational" and should be discarded.[32] Stoller said much the same: By sticking to Freud's view we could never have clear grounds for saying of anybody that he was not homosexual. That would be troublesome. We would probably be well advised to revert to a "less complicated definition of homosexuality" and think of it as just the preserve of homosexuals, as "that state in which sexual practices are performed by preference, in conscious fantasy or in reality, with a person of the same sex."[33] So Marmor and Stoller both saw homosexuality as belonging to homosexuals alone, who were therefore different from everybody else, and thus a minority. But homosexuals were not necessarily ill any more than was any other minority—blacks, Hispanics, Jews—and they were entitled to be free of the stigma that official psychiatry had placed on them so unfairly. Of course, the corollary of the humane ascription of minority status was this: that people outside the minority need no longer think of themselves as in some important way homosexual, too.

At the Association meetings that had led up to the eventual decision to rescind the classification of homosexuality as an illness, all of the major protagonists had been analysts. On the one side, Bieber and Socarides; on the other, Marmor and Stoller. A strange spectacle: two sets of moralistic analysts, each opposing the other, each claiming to stand in the tradition of Freud, and each espousing a position that Freud had himself rejected as wrong and re pressive. In America, Freudianism continue as it began.

Notes

[1] "A Letter from Freud," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, April 1951, p. 786. A photostat of the holograph letter is reproduced here.

[2] Ernest Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, 3 vols. (New York: Basic Books, 1953–57), 3:195.

[3] Quoted by Herb Spiers and Michael Lynch, "The Gay Rights Freud," *Body Politic*, May 1977, p. 9.

[4] Quoted by Spiers and Lynch, p. 9.

[5] Quoted by Spiers and Lynch, p. 9. This set of letters is part of a group known as the "Rundbriefe," preserved in the Otto Rank Collection and deposited at the Columbia University Library. I quote from translations prepared, and kindly made available to me, by Professor James Steakley (Rank Collection IIa/238, IIa/243, and IIa/248). Probably the most crucial unpublished source for the history of psychoanalytic thought, the "Rundbriefe" are still very little known. But see Patrick Mahony, *Freud as a Writer* (New York: International Universities Press, 1982), pp. 97–98; M. Grotjahn, "Notes on Reading the 'Rundbriefe,'" *Journal of the Otto Rank Association* 8 (1973–74), pp. 35–38; and E. Salomon, "Reactions to Reading the 'Rundbriefe,'" *Journal of the Otto Rank Association* 8 (1973–74), pp. 89–91.

[6] See, for instance, Freud's letter of April 13, 1919 to Oscar Pfister, in *The Letters of Sigmund Freud and Oscar Pfister*, H. Meng and E. Freud, eds. (New York: Basic Books, 1963), p. 68.

[7] An excerpt from Goetz's memoir in English translation is printed in *Freud as We Knew Him*, H. Ruitenbeek, ed. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973), pp. 264ff. For the full text in the original German, see Bruno Goetz, "Erinnerungen an Sigmund Freud," *Neue Schweizer Rundschau*, May 1952, pp. 3ff. This translation, slightly modified by me, is Dr. Ruitenbeek's.

[8] See Jürgen Baumann, *Paragraph 175: Über die Möglichkeit, die einfache, nicht jugendgefährdende und nicht öffentliche Homosexualität unter Erwachsenen straffrei zu lassen* (Berlin/Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1968).

[9] *The Freud–Jung Letters: The Correspondence of Sigmund Freud and C. G. Jung*, W. McGuire, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), pp. 97, 125, 126. But about three years later in their correspondence, Jung let slip another slur. He was writing about a man named Römer, who was homosexual, and said: "He is, like all homosexuals, no delicacy." See *Freud–Jung*, p. 423.

[10] See, for instance, Isidor Sadger, "Ist die Konträre Sexualempfindung heilbar?" *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft* 1 (1908), pp. 712ff. I thank Professor Steakley for bringing this essay to my attention.

[11] The colleague was the Italian analyst Edoardo Weiss. See Edoardo Weiss, *Sigmund Freud as Consultant* (New York: Intercontinental Medical Book Corp., 1970), p. 9. On Tausk and his relation to Freud, see Paul Roazen, *Brother Animal* (New York: Knopf, 1969); K. R. Eissler, *Talent and Genius* (New York: Grove, 1971); and Neil Hertz, "Freud and the Sandman," *Textual Strategies*, J. Harari, ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), pp. 296–321.

[12] Quoted by Nathan Hale, *Freud and the Americans: The Beginning of Psychoanalysis in the United States, 1876–1971* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 339.

[13] *James Jackson Putnam and Psychoanalysis*, N. Hale, ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University

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Press, 1971), pp. 87, 90, 91, 95, 117, 130, 137, 152, 153, 161, 168, 171, 189.

[14] Ruitenbeek, p. 220.

[15] Ernest Jones, *Free Associations: Memoirs of a Psychoanalyst* (London: Hogarth, 1959), p. 190.

[16] *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, J. Strachey et al., trs. and eds., 24 vols. (London: Hogarth, 1966–74), vol. 11, pp. 9, 39, 33, 16, 17, 30, 31. I thank my student Andrew Tully, who made a comment in classroom discussion that helped me to focus my ideas about the *Five Lectures*.

[17] Martin Duberman, "The Therapy of C. M. Otis: 1911," *Christopher Street*, November, 1977, p. 33ff.

[18] Hale, *Freud and the Americans*, p. 346.

[19] See above, Note 1.

[20] I follow John Lauritsen and David Thorstad, *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement, 1864–1935* (New York: Times Change, 1974); James Steakley, *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement in Germany* (New York: Arno, 1975); and Timothy Roe Lyman, "Homosexual Movements in Perspective: The Emergence of Homosexual Identity in Germany, 1900–1933" (A. B. Honors Thesis, Harvard College, 1980). I thank Timothy Lyman for his kindness in permitting me to read his excellent thesis.

[21] *Standard Edition*, 7:142.

[22] *Standard Edition*, 11:98, 99.

[23] *Standard Edition*, 16:304, 307, 308.

[24] *Standard Edition*, 12:145.

[25] *Standard Edition*, 16:308.

[26] *Standard Edition*, 16:307; 7:145.

[27] Quoted by Ronald Bayer, *Homosexuality and American Psychiatry: The Politics of Diagnosis* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), pp. 28, 29. In my account of Rado, Bieber, and Socarides, I generally and gratefully follow Bayer. So perhaps I should note that I cannot follow his treatment of Freud. There Bayer goes wrong. He tends to accept that Freud believed what American analysts have said he believed.

[28] Bayer, pp. 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37.

[29] This classification was also reflected in the attitudes of a substantial number of American health-care professionals. As late as 1971, just two years before the classification was rescinded, a study of a random sample of 163 such professionals in the San Francisco area (63 social workers, 50 psychiatrists, and 50 clinical psychologists) showed that only 64% overall were prepared to say that homosexuality wasn't an illness. See Joel Fort, Claude M. Steiner, and Florence Conrad, "Attitudes of Mental Health Professionals toward Homosexuality and Its Treatment," *Psychological Reports* 29 (1971), p. 349. One way of gauging the enduring force of American moralism may be to compare these results with those of a rather similar study done the same year in England. A random sample of 300 health-care professionals (150 general practitioners, 150 psychiatrists) showed that 94.3% overall were prepared to say that homosexuality wasn't an illness. See Philip A. Morris, "Doctors' Attitudes to Homosexuality," *British Journal of Psychiatry* 72 (1973), p. 436.

[30] Bayer, p. 136.

[31] Quoted by Bayer, p. 138.

[32] *Sexual Inversion*, ed. J. Marmor (New York: Basic Books, 1965), pp. 2, 3, 4.

[33] Robert Stoller, *Sex and Gender* (New York: Science House, 1968), pp. 142, 143, 144. □

[redacted]

GAY Rights: Why All the Shouting?

City Must Not Bestow Any Moral Blessings

By Midge Decter

The battle over New York City's gay rights bill has been raging in the City Council for 15 years now. Raging is the exact word.

Indeed, we hardly notice anymore when citizens and officials of this otherwise miraculously pluralistic city hurl at one another in public hearings such epithets as "Nazi" and "murderer."

Yet if the bill should fail to pass, or even if it should pass, not very much in the outer life of either New York's homosexual or its heterosexual community would change. Despite the testimony of homosexual witnesses about their being beaten, put-upon or made to suffer emotionally in various ways, honest people recognize that the city is on the whole quite a comfortable place for homosexuals to live. Why, otherwise, would so many be living here?

The presence of homosexuals in New York City is taken for granted. Their cultural influence is assured — far more so, it is safe to say, than that of the Hassidic Jews who oppose them. Far less than those same Hassidim do they find it necessary to confine themselves to living in certain neighborhoods in order to maintain their own social style. If they are subject to some contumely and ridicule, they are not so much so, at least at the hands of the city's established social and cultural elite, as members of the working class — the "hard hats" of recent memory.

On the other side, repeated success at defeating the gay rights bill seems to have brought its opponents cold comfort. Should they defeat it again this week, they surely know that they will be required to go through the same process next year. As things go, the best they can ever achieve is a standoff.

Why, then, the passion — the demonstrations, the shouting, the name-calling, the ugliness?

Is the City Council, and perhaps the city itself, to be torn apart over an issue whose real weight is almost totally symbolic?

The answer, of course, is yes — and rightly so.

Symbols are far more potent in the life of a community than everyday circumstances. The gay rights fight is about something in its way more important than legal or material conditions, more important even than a demonstration of political power. The object of this battle is the making of one or another kind of moral statement by the community as a whole.

What the homosexuals are actually seeking — and what their opponents are with all the passion and power at their command seeking to deny them — is a declaration in the name of the collective citizenry of New York that henceforth homosexuality is in no way to be distinguished from heterosexuality. The real demand behind the idea of gay rights is that homosexuals are not only not to be persecuted or treated as criminals, but that they are not to be viewed as in any sense abnormal. That is, they are not only to be tolerated, their so-called "lifestyle" is to be approved.

There is much confusion on this point, confusion that comes from the manipulation by homosexual activists of the language of "discrimination" and "rights." We cannot help our sexual orientation, say the activists, any more than the blacks can help being black; we are entitled to the same legal protection against discrimination.

A seductive argument, for people who wish to be fair and just. But blackness and homosexuality are not the same. One is an accident of birth and the other is a form of *behavior*. The right not to be penalized for the color of one's skin is not the same as the "right" to achieve a major redefinition of the accepted standards of human conduct.

All of which is to say that the debate before the City Council is not a debate about whether a landlord, say, may refuse to rent to homosexuals as such. (It seems likely, in fact, that very few do.) The debate is about homosexuality itself, and about whether the city will agree officially to give it a clean bill of moral health.

If there is any doubt that this has been the real agenda of gay activism, just look around.

Under pressure from the gay rights movements, the psychiatric profession has seen fit to change its collective mind and decree that homosexuality is not an illness; gay and lesbian groups are offered the status of official student activities on most of the country's campuses; gay and lesbian couples fight in the courts for the right to adopt children, and sometimes even the right legally to marry; curricula for sex- and family-education courses include homosexuality as one of the acceptable "options" of sexuality and family organization; television shows on major networks carry the message that kind and decent people must always make their peace with it. Culturally speaking, it has become far more appropriate in many places to express contempt and loathing for the president of the United States than to suggest any reservation about the worthiness of the "gay life."

That is what the City Council is being called upon for the 15th time to make up its, and the city's, mind about: Are we capable of drawing one last feeble line between the virtue and value of those ordinary man-woman relations that result in ordinary traditional families and the sterility, promiscuity and moral lightness that accompany the denial of those relations?

It is, to say the least, an odd decision for us to leave to City Hall. But then we live in morally odd times, and have to take our stands and draw our feeble lines wherever the opportunity presents itself.

Midge Decter, executive director of the Committee for a Free World, lives in Manhattan.

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Tip of the week: On paragraphs: Speeches don't have paragraphs. The paragraph is an invention of the writer, not the speaker. It is a creature of the page rather than the ear. Listeners don't "hear" paragraphs, they hear ideas. The paragraph in a speech, then, can be of arbitrary length and should begin or end to serve the needs of the speaker. It should be designed to help the speaker scoop words up from the page. So paragraphs in a speech manuscript often bear little resemblance to the paragraph of the report or the news story. Paragraphs of one line or even one word can be far more common in a speech than in other forms of writing. If a writer needs to indicate which ideas hang together in a section of a speech, verticle space or dashes inserted between the short "paragraphs" will do the job.

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Dr. Stephen C. Rowe
Professor Philosophy
Chair, Liberal Studies Program
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Dear Dr. Rowe,

This is a written confirmation to you and the other members of the committee of my acceptance of your invitation to deliver the fourteenth annual William James Synoptic Lectures, in Allendale/Grand Rapids, Michigan, on March 25-26, 1985.

I am greatly honored to be thought of in this regard, and will keep in mind your kind offer of assistance in terms of information or other data, when I begin to prepare the two lectures for your program.

I also appreciate your offer to make the necessary travel and lodging arrangements; my office will be in touch with you closer to the date of my engagement. I am grateful for the offer of a twelve hundred dollar honorarium which, at the appropriate time, and in compliance with established policy here, should be given to the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund. Should you need it, however, my social security number is 107-14-3381A.

I am enclosing the requested biographical material and photograph. Please let me know if you need additional information.

Let me close by expressing my profound thanks for the honor you have accorded me. I look forward to being with you in March.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

filed: Chron
Schedule

BR/hrs
encl: yes ✓

GRAND
VALLEY
STATE
COLLEGE
Allendale, Michigan 49401 • 616/895-6611

march
24-26

RECEIVED NOV 8 1984

November 6, 1984

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I am writing to invite you to present our fourteenth annual William James Synoptic Lectures. Following in the tradition of James, this lecture series invites persons who are distinguished by having a comprehensive vision of life and by their capacity to integrate theory and practice. Past lectures that have been especially successful have been delivered by Kenneth Boulding, Alice Cook, Michael Harrington, Leo Hurowitz, and Francis Moore Lappe. Our Committee agrees that you are eminently qualified.

The program would involve two public lectures, one on our campus in Allendale, and one in Grand Rapids. The latter would be cosponsored by civic groups, and would be an especially good contribution to the life of the city.

The topic is intentionally broad--embracing your vision in the "synoptic" sense, and your way of integrating theory and practice. I would be very happy to supply you with any information about audience or the state of affairs in our area which might be helpful to you in the preparation of your talks.

We would hope for a two day visit with the two more formal occasions I mentioned plus a couple of seminar type meetings with faculty, students and civic leaders. The dates are flexible at this point; we like to have this program after the worst of the snow but before spring fever sets in--i.e. mid to late March. Of course we will make all the necessary travel and lodging arrangements, and will pay an honorarium in the neighborhood of twelve hundred dollars. Your presence would be a great contribution to the quality of our education and civic life. I hope you will accept our invitation. Because we are anxious to have this organized as soon as possible, I will plan to call you or Walter Naegle on Friday or Monday to see how things look.

Sincerely,

Stephen C. Rowe

Stephen C. Rowe, Ph.D.
Professor Philosophy
Chair, Liberal Studies Program

Mar 25-26

GRAND VALLEY STATE COLLEGE

Liberal Studies Program

presents

THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL WILLIAM JAMES SYNOPTIC LECTURE SERIES

with

BAYARD RUSTIN

Strategies for Social Change, 1955-85

Monday, March 25th

Morning: Press Conference

12:00 Lecture:
From Protest to Polititcs
Kirkhof Center, Grand Valley

Afternoon: Meeting with Grand Valley students and Faculty*

7:00 Lecture: From Race to Class
Fountain Street Church
(reception to follow)

Tuesday, March 26th

Morning: Meeting with Grand Valley students and Faculty*

2:00 Community Forum
Zonta Room
Grand Rapids Public Library

*open to members of the community, details to be announced.

Co-sponsored with: The Urban League, Temple Emanuel, and Fountain Street Church

GRAND
VALLEY
STATE
COLLEGE

Allendale, Michigan 49401 • 616/895-6611

7/12/85

Mr. Rustin,

We are very much looking forward to your visit. Enclosed is the program and a copy of the poster for the event.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions. I'll be in touch with Ms. Siani on the arrangements.

Sincerely,

Stephen C. Rowe

Walter

In his introduction Mr. Rowe said something very important which I would like to emphasize. As Vice-Chairman of the International Rescue Committee, it is my responsibility to go to Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America - to some 10 countries where we are doing relief work. For example, we are in charge of all the medical work for the two million Afghani refugees now living in Pakistan. We are also responsible for the medical care of those fleeing into Thailand from Laos, from Vietnam, etc. I have spent time in Latin America looking into the question of refugees there. Now, I have not told you this so that you may think that I get around, but rather because of what I am now going to say about the United States. For me to hail a taxi in New York City I had to learn a number of techniques. I am black and Harlem, for those of you who do not know, is the large black community in New York. Cab drivers do not like to drive up to Harlem, so if I want a cab I try to appear to be going south.

If you look at almost every African country, you can see tribalism carried to a logic which is, in many respects, as desperate as racism in the United States. I have twice to South Africa recently, and I discovered something very interesting. The people in South Africa who are fighting apartheid, and to a certain extent those who are not fighting it, are profoundly concerned about what the United States thinks of them. People like Helen Suzman and Bishop Tutu, care profoundly that we should keep up the pressure on the South African government. And the South African government, which is deeply concerned about holding on to apartheid, cares even more profoundly about what America thinks of them. Mind you, it has not changed their behavior very much. In my work with refugees, you have the phenomenon or the ruling classes in all of these countries looking upon the United States as the most backward and reactionary place on earth. But for the hungry, for the dispossessed, for the Ethiopians, for the Vietnamese, for the Laotians, for the Poles being persecuted for their membership in Solidarity, for those who are oppressed in Latin America - you may believe that all of them want to come here. They believe there is opportunity here. This belief outweighs the fact that we have been unjust to some of our citizens. Not only have we been unjust to blacks, but we were unjust to the Irish when they came, to the Italians when they came, to the Chinese when they came, etc. It is our responsibility to eradicate these problems, not only because it is unjust to mistreat black or Hispanic people, but because we must live up to the dream of the oppressed around the world who feel that only if they could come here, something real could happen for them. That is the first thing I should like to say. The second thing I should like to say is that as young people, you may not yet know it, but you shall soon learn that all problems are the result of solutions. If one does not know that one cannot have dreams, one cannot have idealism, one cannot maintain hope - for to work hard over and over again, only to be faced with a new proposition that needs to be cured, you must have a philosophy which will make that possible. You don't need to go to Buddha or to Bertrand Russell or Freud, or any of the great minds. You merely need to look around and see that the minute you solve a problem, the solution has created another. Recognizing that fact will give you staying power. While I shall be discussing the civil rights movement in this talk, I shall have you note that in a world where all are one, there is no solution to the problems of racial discrimination, segregation or mistreatment of anyone in our society. If we attempt to eradicate that problem by concentrating solely on the victims of that battle, there is no way that black people will ever have total freedom in this country unless women also have it, unless every ethnic group has it, unless homosexuals have it, much as some of you may not like that. It is a fact, there will be no freedom for Jews in our society unless all of the other groups I have mentioned are also free. There cannot be freedom for any of these groups if we are going to mistreat our aged. There can be no freedom for all of these groups if we continue to have massive transportation which handicapped people cannot use. I shall never forget when I was called before the Congress five years ago when the boat people coming out of Vietnam were being raped, murdered and robbed on the high seas. A number of people in the black and Hispanic community begged me not to go to the Congress to urge that these people, along with the Cubans and the Haitians, be admitted to enter this country. Their theory was based on what they considered good, common sense. They argued, "Mr. Rustin, how can you ask that a million more refugees come into this country, when unemployment amongst black youths is over 50%?" A very good question, but not a question from the heart. For what they failed to see is this: that if the United States did not have the compassion to rescue those who were dying at sea, to permit entry to the Haitians who were being brutalized by their government, to help the Jews wishing to emigrate from the Soviet Union, to grant asylum to the members of Poland's Solidarity Union, than ultimately the United States would not have the compassion to deal with black unemployment. It would not have the compassion to deal with the problems of Hispanics, women, or anyone else. The human spirit cannot be compartmentalized. If I have affection, it is affection. If I have social affection, it is not social affection if it only applies to those who look, sound, and act like me. I do not have it even for myself unless I have it first for others. One of the terrible ironies is that when some blacks left this country for Africa, crying out that they were brutalized by slavery, they created the state of Liberia. Not until the year 1930 could anyone run for the Presidency, the House, or the Senate of Liberia unless they were a descendent of a black American slave. That running from America to Liberia was not part of the dream, for the dream must include all.

Now let me talk about the civil rights movement in the United States for a bit. My first lecture has to do with the strategies that were used from 1619 when the first slaves came, until 1954 when the Brown decision was made by the Supreme Court. The first protests were poems. Phyllis Wheatley, a black women, was the first black poet in the United States and even before the American Revolution, she was describing her dream that all blacks should be free. It was followed by newspapers, by the abolitionists, long before the Civil War. There have always been whites in our society who protested what was happening to black people. Even some of the founding fathers who had slaves when they wrote the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, protested in their own way, given the nature of the times, as did Thomas Jefferson, by saying "on my death I want all my slaves freed." While there have always been whites fighting for the freedom of blacks, it was not until 1909 that blacks and whites joined together to establish the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It was stimulated by a great number of lynchings which took place just after the turn of the century. You should note that of its founding fathers, two were Jews, two were white Christians, one a very wealthy women who gave much of her fortune to the organization. It is important for us to remember that the great struggle has never been between blacks and whites, but between those who believed in the unity of mankind, and those who had not yet learned that. The NAACP followed what was know as a little method of protest. Year after year from 1909 until 1955 it went before the Supreme Court with one case after another, all designed to lead the Court to one day declare that blacks were citizens under the law, in every respect. That did finally occur. It is known as the Brown decision and most people think it had merely to do with education, but it was the first time that the Supreme Court stated, in unequivocal terms, that blacks were equal under the law. Now this is interesting.

In 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950 and 1951, a group of us had organized protests in the south and we had gotten whites and blacks together. We would sit with a black and white in the front of a bus and a black and white in the back of the bus. Sometimes the bus would stop, they would arrest us immediately, or sometimes the bus was held up for hours. My purpose in telling you this is to demonstrate how powerful the law is in a democratic society. When some blacks in the south heard that we were on the buses, "stirring up trouble" they would come to us. Some woman would bring along the black minister and they would urge us in the name of God, to get off. They said we were breaking the law. Then they said something that was very difficult to deal with. They said, "You are from up north, and when the lynch mob comes, you will be in jail or gone but they will burn the cross on our lawn. How dare you!" But that was before 1954. When on December 5th, a year after the Supreme Court spoke and Rosa Parks sat down in Montgomery, it was as if she had a copy of the Supreme Court decision in her pocket. Under those circumstances, the black community did what it had always wanted to do: to stand up and protest knowing that the law would hear their side. The entire situation broke loose when Mrs. Parks sat down. There was a feeling of tremendous relief and fear and sorrow and fright in both the black and white populations of this country because now you can never have a situation where whites are lording it over blacks who are afraid. There will always be a mixture. Injustice will terrify and break the heartstrings of people on both sides. Therefore, remember that December

5, 1955 was the beginning of the feeling that a new step had come. Now, instead of running to the Supreme Court which had really done about as much as it could do in creating the law, black people took up the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi and decided that it was not time to vote with our feet. You must remember that at this point, blacks south of Washington D.C., which accounted for 3/4 of the black population, had not right to vote. We created a miracle by using the three aspects of Gandhi's techniques. First we said that injustice is wrong. Secondly, since I have not right to cast a ballot to bring about justice, I will use my body to bring it about. Since the courts have not listened, I must create a situation were they must listen: I will get arrested. Since the district attorney will not move against those who are mistreating me, I will by-pass him and go into the courts and appeal to the judge. Thirdly, we accepted what Martin Luther King stated over and over again: that if there were to be people brutalized in this struggle, it would be we, not they. Thus a slogan began in the black community in 1955 and lasted, alas, until about 1965: touch not one hair on the head of any white person, but if necessary, go to jail, be beaten, let them bomb your churches. My friends, I don't know whether we blacks will ever be able to do that again. I would hope so, but that is not what is important. What is important is that the ability to take suffering onto one's self is ultimately the only redeeming factor in our society. I was talking with Mr. Rowe this morning about security. I said to him, there is only one security in this life: that is the voluntary acceptance of insecurity. Spiritually this means that you have to make your peace with the insecurity of life. Certainly this was true for millions of black mothers who had to care for children who were not their own, who were not married, who came from broken homes, who had to flee to parts unknown. But they were always there to be depended on. Now let's give a more concrete example. You go into a restaurant that is segregated. You sit down quietly with your white friends. They come and pour hot soup over you or they put cigarette butts down your back, or they chop off your hair, but you don't say a word. You just sit. Sooner or later others will join you and the restauranteur is faced with a choice: he can call the police and have all of you beaten and driven out or he can serve you. Sometimes I think I may have been the first man in America to have chemical warfare used against him. In a Washington, D.C. YMCA where a group of us were staging a sit-in they didn't bother to call the police. They simply took the air conditioner and filled it with ammonia. But what happened, eventually, in the south was that the restaurant, the library, the public park, etc. had to be closed in the name of order and it could not reopen until the courts permitted it to be opened to all. In other words, by voting with our feet when we did not have the ballot, we created the miracle of destroying an institution on one basis, and opening it up on another. It was no longer necessary to have this burden of segregation which was destroying us.

It is interesting that, in spite of all the predictions, this nation did not fall apart when the libraries, swimming pools, theatres, etc. became integrated. It didn't happen. And the progress we made was not only for ourselves. It advanced the society as a whole.

Now we should look at the problems we face today as compared with those of the early sixties. Those problems were more easily solved then our current dilemmas. First of all, it did not cost the government billions of dollars to do away with segregation in public accommodations, to give us the right to vote, to integrate the schools. Secondly, the problem was much simpler: blacks were merely asking for equality of opportunity - the opportunity to use public accommodations, to vote, to go to the schools of their choice. Even though it took the bombing of churches and the murder of innocents, it was fairly easy to get most Americans to understand that it was _un_-American to continue segregation.

What we face today, and what I will address in my next lecture is that for the black masses, indeed the masses in general, to get what many other Americans, including some blacks, have will cost billions and billions of dollars. What we are asking for today is not something that all white people have. We are asking now for education, medical care, jobs and housing - things that, numerically speaking, more whites need than blacks. Despite the fact that, on a percentage basis, blacks may be in more need than whites, we cannot, in our

political structure,

address these issues as primarily black concerns.

Then we face the question of those many white people who joined with us in the sixties but who are not prepared to form an alliance with us today. Now the easiest way to address that problem is to call them racists. But to do that is to say the problem is hopeless: if they are racists, what, really, can we do about that? But, if there is another reason why they have left the coalition, then something can be done. Let me point out why I believe we lost many white people. First, it was an attitude that many people in CORE and SNCC exhibited: we are big and mature now, and we can do it ourselves. White people did not leave, they were told, "we don't want you." Now there is no group in the United States who can do anything themselves. We are a democracy, a multi-cultural society, and we are made up of many groups. There is not a thing you can name, not a provision you can get through Congress where any one segment of the American population can do it alone. There must be coalition to do it. Not only did some blacks say "we don't want white people in the movement", but people like Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael and others took the view that blacks should go in a nationalist direction. That is to say that you should put everything within a nationalist framework, from the fact that we had to "go it alone" to the demand that we should have a certain number of black states. Then there were those who had not program at all but said, "we're finished with white people." The real problem, however, was a different one. The civil rights movement had for many years advanced the argument that the civil liberties community and the black community were one because we both stood for equal rights for individuals. Blacks might have come to this notion by having their race used against them, whites may have come to this notion as private, independent citizens. In either case, an effective political coalition could be put together because both blacks and whites felt that the individual was sacred. All the elements in the coalition could use the term "color blind".

But then a change took place. When respective motivations became more manifest and when our goals went beyond equality of opportunity to economic equality, tensions arose. If you get into economic equality you begin to see the differences between the sixties and the eighties. You can talk about getting rid of segregation - that doesn't cost anything. But when you talk about economic policy, you are talking about billions of dollars. President Lyndon Johnson complicated the matter in 1965 when he distinguished between equality of opportunity and equality of results. It was not sufficient, he said, to articulate the former equality of opportunity (portion missing)

Finally it came to a head in New York recently. I know there are some people here who are not going to like my discussing this matter, but I must. A group of blacks, whites and Hispanics sat down with a committee the Mayor had set up. The committee was to find an organization to devise a culturally unbiased test to be given to applicants for advancement in the police department. The committee found such an organization and the test they developed was deemed free of cultural bias. But the tests results were as follows: only 2% of the blacks passed, 4% of the Hispanics passed, and 10% of the whites passed. The black and Hispanic communities were up-in-arms. They said that although the test was non-discriminatory, the results were discriminatory. This brought to the front a very serious problem that the black and Hispanic leadership had not faced, and which I shall deal with in my next lecture. The solutions to the problems that black people face cannot be found if the strategies begin an examination of race. Now somebody is going to say, Mr. Rustin, are you trying to say there is no discrimination and racism in America? I told you about my little taxi deal, didn't I? Of course I know there is! The question is not whether there is, but what is the strategy for eliminating it. As a come on to my next lecture I would like to make three short statements. Go to Appalachia, turn all the poor whites there black. In terms of housing, jobs, education and health care will there lot be any worse? Go into Detroit, turn all the poor blacks there white. What will change for them in terms of housing, jobs, education, etc. I am not talking about an individual who because he is now white may weedle in somewhere. Blacks and whites are both unemployed for the same reasons and unless public policy is directed to those reasons, the problem will not be solved.

There has been some strain in Black-Jewish relations over the issue of quotas. Many whites have left the movement over the issue of affirmative action. The fact is, my friends, affirmative action and quotas cannot be applied to blacks where blacks need the most help. If you have 60% of the black youth unemployed, how can a quota employ them? Can you have affirmative action in the face of unemployment? You can get affirmative action easily when the labor market is such that an employer needs workers. The fundamental question then is what to do about expanding the job market.

I will conclude this part, ladies and gentlemen, by saying that I do not like simple solutions. The minute a solution to a problem is simple, it is, simultaneously wrong. Now I do not happen to like, as I am sure many of you mid-westerners may well do, the President of the United States. I think he has been disastrous in many respects. But I will not confuse the problem by making Mr. Reagan responsible for the degradation of the black lumpen, the creating of a black group of economic untouchables. I will not make him responsible for the horrible housing conditions for the poor for the very simple reason that they existed long before he got into office. But more importantly, for the reason that so long as we approach these matters without a strategy in the interest of the whole population, we can't win them. The days of Johnson and Kennedy, when you can get special interests for special groups, is no longer possible. Why has Mr. Reagan not touched social security, though he'd love to. Why has he not touched Medicare? Because everyone in America benefits from those two things. He has gotten away with cutting those things which look as it they are for special interests. Therefore, in the second lecture I would like to deal with how to build a strategy that looks at the basic economic and social factors that must be faced if blacks, women and other minoritieis are to improve their condition. It is very interesting that in Norway, Sweden, Britain, etc. when someone said to Winston Churchill "alright, there's going to be free medical care in Britain", he didn't like it. But he went along. And it was Churchill who struck out the argument that those earning more than X could not get the free medical care. Why give these rich people free medical care, some asked, and Churchill said because we need their vote to get it for those who need it. It is that approach that I shall take in that statement. Thank you.

This presentation tonight follows one which I made this morning. Therefore it is important for me to say just a few things about what I said then, so that there shall be some continuity. In this morning's discussion, I pointed out essentially the difference between the dramatic 1960's in which blacks got, under law, most of what whites had under law. There is no question that nowhere in the world, in a ten-year period, was there such dramatic change as occurred in the united States. People who had never been permitted to vote were given the right to vote. People who had been denied the right to public accommodation, libraries, restaurants, hotels, many of the things which make it possible for us to live and enjoy life, were restored to blacks after three hundred years. We achieved a great deal in regard to the possibility of educating our children in schools which are designed for improved education. And yet, my friends, it was precisely following the achievement of the right to vote, the right to go to school of our choice and the right to use public accommodations, directly following those achievements that the most brutal things began to happen to the black community. I'll just give you a few simple illustrations. In 1965 when the government of the United States and the people of the United States had decided that they were going to do away with most of the discrimination under law, one quarter of all ghetto families were headed by women. How do we account for the fact that just as those rights were given us, that fifteen years later it was not a quarter of black families headed by women, but closer to 45%. What happened? On the other hand, in 1965 the number of white families headed by women was about 11% and in 1980 it had risen only to 12%. How do we account for this fact? How do we account for the fact that as the nation declared it was prepared to have less segregation and less discrimination that the situation worsened. Let us look at another aspect of this. Teenage mothers. In 1959, in the midst of the hub-bub to give black equality, 15% of black children were born to unwed mothers. While in 1983, following the revolution of freedom for black people, over 55% of black children are born to teenage, unwed mothers. That is 9 times the number of illegitimate births among white teenage mothers. What happened? How could it be that at the very moment when we are making such tremendous progress, that our children 12, 13, 14 and 15 began having children? We must make honest answers to such questions. How do we account for the fact that in 1960 the number of blacks in prison was about 4% higher than the number of whites in prison, but that by 1980 the number of blacks in prison had tripled? Surely it is not because blacks love to have children illegitimately. It is not because we are prone to crime. From the Civil War until 1925 the number of black criminals in this country was far less than white criminals. During and after slavery, the black family was an extremely strong unit. I believe it is important for us, therefore, to go into what was happening that we didn't notice. Because we were so busy concentrating on race and discrimination, we failed to see other elements outside racial discrimination and segregation that were, and are still today, brutalizing the American poor, and even more viciously, the black American poor. There are a number of things happening. How do the poor Hispanics, the poor whites, the poor blacks find work in a society which no longer fundamentally produces goods which did not require skills, but services. When your white ancestors came here they had certain advantages which blacks do not and cannot have. Before I go into all of the disadvantages that blacks and other poor people in our country have, I should like to tell you why it was so much easier for the Irish, the Italians, the Hungarians, the Poles, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Jews, the Pithians (?). Now bear in mind I would be the last one to say that blacks are the only people who have faced difficulties. The Italians were mistreated, the Poles were mistreated, the Japanese were mistreated - every group that came into this country was mistreated. But despite the mistreatment the old immigrants had, they had other things to help them. Most immigrants from Europe arrived in this country when the industrial expansion was occurring. Blacks, on the other hand, came to demand their place economically in the United States, not in the face of industrial expansion but in the face of industrial decline that occurred just after we had been given our rights, under law. Masses of unskilled workers from all over Europe and Asia were welcomed and encouraged to come to this country, to be taken advantage of to be sure, in their first generation. But one of the genius' of our country was that balance between mistreating people and then giving them a hand-up. Most of these immigrants from Europe were mistreated in the first generation, horribly, but in the second generation were sending their children to college. The fact of the matter is, today nobody wants to buy muscle power from black and poor whites and Hispanics which was exactly what European whites used to rise in this country. Furthermore, one of the cheap means by which the poor white European immigrants made it in this country, was through a political machinery which looked after them. Now the fact of the matter is, none of us like political machines. We didn't like Daley, we didn't like Hague in Jersey City, we didn't like any of them, but they were godsends to immigrants. Because their boats were exchanged for favors and the local political party, therefore, served as a bridge. You never hear of campaigns to register and vote and get the immigrants to register and to vote. The old political machine saw to it that they went to the polls for the favors they got, and I did not necessarily like that, but that is a fact. When the old immigrants came, they did not pay city, state, nor local taxes and when blacks emerged with the civil rights laws behind them, it was precisely at that time that the tax structure was increasing. Many of your ancestors, if you live out in this part of the world and the further west you go the more true it is, never had to buy a piece of land, they simply got up one morning, raced some other people who were their equals, got there first, put a stake in the ground and had some land on which to farm. I often tell people that when they are deciding to divide up Central Park in New York, I am certain the blacks from Harlem will beat everybody there to get it, but that is not a possibility for them. Now industries today are becoming

else, because in the next ten years bookkeepers and typists will no longer be necessary. Most of those are not poor blacks. They are human beings that this society's breeding out of its ability to work.(?) Then there is robotization. Robotization is simply big machines which put things together that men and women used to put together and the projection is that half the automobile workers that are now working will not be working in 5 years but big robots will be doing the job of putting cars together. Now nobody sat down in a dark room and said we don't like black people, therefore, we're going to have automation, cybernation and robotization. Therefore, I hint at my fundamental theme tonight, that the salvation of black people does not lie in anti-discrimination. It lies in a recognition of what it is that is making it impossible for men and women in our society to work. What we need now to do to counter the new elements we are bringing in that takes work away from the poor. Let's take containers. In the old days we hired hundreds of stevedores. They put the goods in the bottom of the ships. But they took it off a truck that an employed man had driven there with the iron ore on it. They then put the iron ore into the ship. When it got to Hong Kong there was somebody taking it out. Or when it got to San Francisco they put it onto another ship, or onto a truck. Today 3/4's of all of the people who used to work on piers in the United States loading things are no longer there. Blacks, because they were the last hired and the first fired were wiped out , but so were 3/4's of the whites. Nobody had sat down and said, "Let's make containers to brutalize blacks." They did it because it was more economical, because it stopped theft, and because there was more money for the home office as a result of the need for less labor. Or, let's go to the question of the decline of American industry. I am not going to argue whether it's good or bad, who is at fault, or whether Reagan did it, or whether Johnson or Kennedy did it, I'm not interested in placing blame. What I am interested in is pointing out that thousands of steel workers in our country, thousands of automobile workers in our country will never again make steel or automobiles. That along with poor blacks, they are becoming economic untouchables in our country. They do not have the skills to deal with where the economy is going and they cannot, therefore, find work. The blacks and poor have been terribly brutalized by the fact that the American business people want to deal with capital intensive industry and don't want to be bothered with labor intensive industry. I'd like you ladies to go home and look inside your shoes, in those hidden little places where they don't want you to see, and you'll discover that 50% of all the shoes women wear, except sneakers, re made abroad. What happened to those workers who used to make them? One out of every four male garments is made abroad. Two out of four womens' clothes are made abroad. What happened to the people in the ladies international garment workers? In the Amalgamated Clothing Workers? What happened to them? Try to buy, if you can, a decent television set made in America that is color and you will spend several days searching in vain. The high class electronics are made in Japan. Cameras, all kinds of electronic goods. Things that used to be made here. What happened to these workers. Now we recognize China, a good thing to have done. But the minute we recognized China, we also decided we were going to lay-off 3 to 4 million people who would not work again. Because we are sending China hardware, planes, trucks, all kinds of communication devices. What can they send us - they don't have any hard currency. They can send us only one thing - cheap utensils and junk sold in the cheapest stores, that American workers used to make. Now, ladies and gentlemen, this is not just all business. This also has to do with foreign policy. The United States State Department, not Reagan because it happened before Reagan, although he is still carrying it out. It appears to be in the international interest to have more unemployment of our poor, since in the third world, Africa, Asia, the only way they can make it is if we permit them to make the cheap goods on the backs of their people. The American business structure is happy to do it because it can get workers there, as in China, the average worker with a family of one makes $450 per year. These are the reasons that at the very moment that blacks appear to be making it in our society these economic developments came in to the screen of history brutalizing not only blacks and Hispanics, but the poorest of whites. Many of whom cannot and will not find work in our time. Then, there are profound changes in the nature of our work force. The women's liberation movement, which I do not criticize, I support, I am vice chairman of men for ERA, but I have to tell the truth. When great numbers of women came into the work force, they were women who wanted only part-time work. They had largely educated their children or they were prepared to have somebody else take care of their children while they work. It is also true that the elderly, rightfully say, don't throw me out at 62 or 65 and at 75 I can assure you that I agree with them. I don't want to be thrown out before I am 75. But the fact that people like myself want to hold on is indeed a problem for many young people that want to work and cannot get that work. That is not the major problem, but it is one of theme and I thought I ought to say something that looks as if I am picking on myself since I'm picking on everybody else. Ten years ago there were 23 million in trade unions. Today there are less than 18 million people in America in trade unions and the decline of the trade union movement simply means that there is not the same power for working for worker's rights that there was a few years ago. No one can argue that trade unions have some good things and some bad things like all other institutions. But there were there to work. The final change is from the producing of goods to the producing of services. In a very short time the farmers of the United States who are having a hard time now will, like blacks, face unemployment, because, the fact of the matter is, half the farmers in the United States are not needed for the production of food. It can be done by increasing reliable machinery much of which is able to work when farmers cannot. Now, ladies and gentlemen, these are the problems that lead me to believe that if we truly want to help the poor, blacks, Hispanics, then we have got to make clear that we forego, all of us, making our demands along lines which this society cannot accept. If we need new coalitions for the things we are going to do, then we deal with these problems not by asking for special favors. If a black asks a special favor to help because he has very high unemployment, then the Puerto Ricans and Hispanics say they want help. All we are then doing is pitting one another against one another. White people in America were perfectly free to say blacks should have all the rights that blacks needed in the 60s. Because blacks did not have the three things that whites then had: the right to go to the school of their choice, the right to use public accommodations, and the right to vote. Therefore when blacks demanded, in the name of blackness, those rights, the great majority of white people understood. But today for every black that does not have a job, there are almost 4 times as many whites who do not have a job. For every black who wants to go get better medical care, there are almost 3 times as many whites that don't have it. When it comes to housing, if it is true that blacks are brutalized in housing, it is also true that a greater number of whites do not have it. Under those circumstances then, the demand has to be not for housing for blacks, Puerto Ricans, Jews, or Christians, or whatever, but for all Americans who need housing. Look at the problem we are having between blacks and Jews over the questions of quotas. Blacks and Hispanics over who gets the most out of the quota, and tomorrow it's going to be the Mexican-Americans in California as it is with the Cubans in Florida. We can't live with that crap game. The reason we got into trouble was that up until 1970, the argument was equal treatment for all individuals in America. When we began to get into trouble with other ethnic and religious groups is when we advanced our demands beyond equal treatment for individuals to a non-color proposition. In the 60s it was "color blind". Treat everybody alike and pay no attention to color. In the early 70s it became pay attention to color because people who have been mistreated need a break. A multi-racial society will never go for that for the very simple reason that it is destructive and you cannot build the coalition on that basis that is needed to bring about change. Therefore I conclude by point out that the strategy for the future must be based on not religious, not ethnic, and not color. It must be based on making the demand for special privilege on an economic basis. No one in America, everybody will fight if you say blacks should get something before Puerto Ricans or Mexican Americans or Chinese should get something before this. Where they cannot fight is where you make your demand along an economic line which says everybody in America who makes less than X annually should get special help for educating their children, get special help for medical care, get special help for housing. etc. Under that circumstance there cannot be a fight because there are poor Jews, poor Christians, poor blacks, there are poor everything. And you know why I can accept that without danger, because I am in favor of helping everybody. And to those blacks who think that this may be a threat to them, let me warn them, that the devastating nature of black poverty in America means that that is the only way we can approach the problem and the likelihood is under those circumstances not because they are black, but because they are poorest, that the society will see that they get most. Let me give you an illustration of this. Now I happen to believe that Mr. Reagan is a very serious problem for us. But I don't want to dwell on that because he is going to be President for the next 3½ years, whether I like it or not. I have a moral obligation to keep saying to him, and writing him all the letters I can. Oh, I must have written Mr. Reagan some 25 letters. He has never personally answered one of them. I get beautiful replies from his secretary - sometimes they make mistakes and I get the same form letter 3 or 4 times. All I want to say is that the problems we now face existed before Mr. Reagan came into office. They started under Kennedy, where exacerbated under Johnson, and have continued to come. Therefore, to concentrate on him is reactionary because it obscures your concentrating on the real problem. Now, needless to say, if he were a little more sensitive, he could be very helpful, but the fact is he is not sensitive to the problems which I am talking about. But it is bad enough that he is not sensitive enough to use the weight of his office, it is all the more tragic if blacks and Puerto Ricans and Jews and others are not sensitive to what the real problem is so that they can overcome the inability to put limits on ethnicity so that we can build a political force that means we can get out of the mirage. The future of the civil rights movement will not be to deal with blackness in the same way we have dealt with it to this point. It will not be to deal with segregation and discrimination as we have dealt with it to this point. It is that we and I am so proud that some of us who understand this are black because I want us to make our contribution to the philosophical and social thinking of America. Precisely because we have such a problem, we should be in the forefront of helping other Americans to understand the nature of it, rather than helping other Americans to feel fearful that we are interested in ourselves before we are interested in anyone else. There was a great spokesman of the Jewish community who once said, and I paraphrase, surely if you are not for yourself, what are you? But if you are only for yourself, who are you? And if not now, when? I am jealous that it shall be those of us in the black community even though we are most grievously in trouble, that shall think in strategies and tactics which are for the liberation of all Americans as well as ourselves. It is very easy to be generous when everything is going well. It is most difficult to be generous to others when things are going badly for yourself. If America is ever to regain that spirit that we had in the 1960s, it will come about for the reason that it came about in the 60s. Of course black people were going to stand up for themselves in the 60s. That is not what made the 60s great. What made the 60s great was that our cry of anguish was answered by Catholic, Protestant, Jew, university students, etc. That's what made it great. And what will make us great in the future is that we shall recognize that we have grave economic disparity in our country and that the job that we had in the sixties was to liberate black people and the job that we have in the 80s is to liberate the poor.

Thank you.

May 20

UNIVERSITY
OF HARTFORD

200 Bloomfield Avenue
West Hartford, CT 06117

Office of the Secretary
203-243-4571

An Independent University

ND

per phone 2/5/79 BR free @ 9:45 AM from Church mtg - informed addley by phon 2/8

JAN 29 1979

January 25, 1979

Ms. Harriett Siami
Assistant to the President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue, South
New York, NY 10010

Dear Ms. Siami:

This is to confirm that we are enthusiastically looking forward to Mr. Rustin being our Commencement speaker at the University of Hartford on Sunday, May 20, 1979. I understand that Mr. Rustin is speaking at a breakfast meeting at the United Methodist Church at 7:30 AM in Queens. If he can leave the church no later than 8:30 AM, we will work out transportation that will deliver him to the campus for the start of the academic procession presently scheduled for 10:30 AM. We will need to arrange some type of chartered air service to the University of Hartford and I will be calling you to set up the details.

We have also asked that if possible Mr. Rustin's schedule be cleared for the afternoon so he can be with us for lunch following Commencement. Needless to say, many will also wish to greet him.

President Trachtenberg would like to have a copy of Mr. Rustin's speech with the thought of having it published or definitely having it available following the program. Should Mr. Rustin like some suggestions for a topic, President Trachtenberg has suggested the question of "With Retirement at age 70, are we properly educating individuals who will be graduating in the 1980's and still working in the 2030's"? There are civil rights ramifications that could definitely be incorporated in such a topic. Mr. Rustin should, obviously, feel free to select any theme which he feels appropriate.

Please call me with any questions you may have.

Sincerely,

John W. Addley

John W. Addley
Secretary of the University

JWA/k

cc: Ms. Betty Harriott

UNIVERSITY
OF HARTFORD

West Hartford, Ct. 06117
Office of the Secretary
203-243-4571
An Independent University

MAR 12 1979

March 9, 1979

Ms. Harriett Siami
Assistant to the President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue, South
New York, NY 10010

Dear Ms. Siami:

All signals are go at this end. Definite arrangements have been made with Connecticut General to provide their corporate helicopter. I will personally come down in the morning in the helicopter and will meet Mr. Rustin at the church and will return with him to the University of Hartford.

We will need to know, however, where the church is and then I will make arrangements with the limousine to pick me up at LaGuardia, take me to the church and return us to LaGuardia. Would you also please let us know if anyone will be accompanying Mr. Rustin to the University of Hartford.

Still hope you can make a visit to our campus too.

Sincerely,

John Addley

John W. Addley
Secretary of the University

JWA/k

May 20th

March 14, 1979

Mr. John W. Addley
Secretary of the University
University of Hartford
200 Bloomfield Avenue
West Hartford, Connecticut 06117

Dear Mr. Addley:

Thank you for your recent reminder note regarding Mr. Rustin's trip to the University of Hartford campus on Sunday May 20th. Please forgive the long delay in confirming the arrangements on which you have worked so assiduously.and, I'm happy to add, successfully.

Mr. Rustin will be participating in services at the Grace United Methodist Church, 200-08 Murdock Avenue, St. Albans, New York, 11412 at the request of an old friend of his wo is a parishioner. I do not know whether this friend, Mrs. H. Wallace, is directly in charge of the program in which Mr. Rustin is participating, or if some other church-connected person is responsible for what happens on Sunday morning, May 20th, I suspect the latter.

However, I have been definitely informed that Mr. Rustin will be free to depart by 9:30 A.M., and that you can safely plan for his trip to Hartford from that time forward. I am taking the liberty of sending Mrs. Wallace a copy of this letter, so that she can be kept fully informed of these developments, and can pass along the information to her church group that a limousine will be standing by at the church, with "motor running" as you put it, to drive Mr. Rustin to the Butler Marine Terminal at La Guardia.

Your flexibility and cooperation in working around Mr. Rustin's previous engagement is greatly appreciated. It is, in fact, a testimonial to the esteem in which you hold Bayard Rustin, and is so regarded here.

I will be in touch with you at a later date to complete the arrangements for Mr. Rustin to come to Hartford to deliver your commencement address and receive an honorary degree.

-more-

Many thanks, again, for your efforts and with best wishes.

Sincerely,

Harriette Siani
Administrative Director

HS/hh

cc: Mrs. H. Wallace

UNIVERSITY
OF HARTFORD

200 Bloomfield Avenue
West Hartford, CT 06117

Office of the Secretary
203-243-4571

An Independent University
Supported by Voluntary Gifts

FEB 22 1979

February 20, 1979

Ms. Harriett Siami
Assistant to the President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue, South
New York, NY 10010

Dear Ms. Siami:

You will find attached a proposed schedule for us to follow in order to get Mr. Rustin to the University of Hartford on time to be present when the Invocation is given. It is a tight schedule but a workable one.

To make this schedule possible and to accomodate Mr. Rustin we are starting our program an hour later than we had thought to. We had been thinking of starting at 10:00 a.m. By starting at 11:00 a.m. as we now plan, the giving out of diplomas will not be completed until about 1:00 p.m. and by that time parents and students will be looking for a chance to go to lunch. Any additional time we can get from your end would be appreciated.

Making arrangements for transportation back to Manhattan in the afternoon will not be difficult.

We will need the address of the church and we will need to get a reading on how long it will take to drive from the church to LaGuardia. It is my intention to rent a limousine to stand by at the church with the "motor running" so we will be able to leave without delay. The driver will need to know how to find the Butler Marine Terminal at LaGuardia from which our chartered helicopter will depart.

Our commencement program will be held outside in the sunshine (your prayers for good weather will be appreciated). We anticipate about 6,000 people in attendance. The actual giving out of diplomas will take place in an assortment of places following formal conferring of degrees.

If you will be in Connecticut any time between now and Sunday, May 20 we would be more than pleased to have you be our guest.

Sincerely,

John Addley

John W. Addley
Secretary of the University

Attachment

JWA/bgs

Schedule for Bayard Rustin

9:20 a.m.	Completion of program at United Methodist Church in Bayside. Address ________________________________ ________________________________
9:30 a.m.	Leave church by limousine for Butler Marine Terminal at LaGuardia.
9:50 a.m.	Leave LaGuardia by chartered helicopter.
10:30 a.m.	Academic procession starts at the University of Hartford.
10:40 a.m.	Arrival at helicopter pad at Connecticut General Life Insurance Company. Three miles from campus. Car waiting.
10:55 a.m.	Mr. Rustin in cap and gown will join the platform party from rear of platform.
11:00 a.m.	Invocation

2/20/79
JWA

UNIVERSITY
OF HARTFORD

200 Bloomfield Avenue
West Hartford, CT 06117

Office of the Secretary
203-243-4571

An Independent University

FEB 20 1979

February 19, 1979

Ms. Harriett Siami
Assistant to the President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue, South
New York, NY 10010

Dear Ms. Siami:

You will find attached a proposed schedule for us to follow in order to get Mr. Rustin to the University of Hartford on time to be present when the Invocation is given. It is a tight schedule but a workable one.

To make this schedule possible we are starting our whole program an hour late. We were scheduled to start at 10:00 a.m. By starting at 11:00 a.m. the giving out of the diplomas will not be completed until about 1:00 p.m. and by that time the parents and students will be hungry and looking for a chance to go to lunch. Any additional time we can get from your end would be appreciated.

Making arrangements for a flight back later in the afternoon will not be difficult.

We will need the address of the church and we will need to get a reading on how long it will take to drive from the church to LaGuardia. It is my intention to rent a limousine to stand by at the church with the "motor running" so we will be able to leave without delay. The driver will need to know how to find the Butler Marine Terminal at LaGuardia.

Our commencement program will be held outside in the sunshine (your prayers will be appreciated). We anticipate about 6,000 people in attendance. The actual giving out of diplomas will take place in separate places following formal conferring of degrees.

If you will be in Connecticut any time between now and Sunday, May 20 we would be more than pleased to have you be our guest.

Sincerely,

John W. Addley

John W. Addley
Secretary of the University

JWA/bgs

Attachment

Schedule for Bayard Rustin

9:30 a.m.	Completion of program at United Methodist Church in Bayside. Address ____ ____
9:40 a.m.	Leave church by limousine for Butler Marine Terminal at La Guardia.
10:00 a.m.	Leave La Guardia by helicopter.
10:40 a.m.	Academic procession starts at the University of Hartford.
10:45 a.m.	Arrival at helicopter pad at Connecticut General Life Insurance Company. Three miles from campus.
11:00 a.m.	Invocation
11:00 a.m.	Mr. Rustin in cap and gown will join the platform party from rear of platform.

2/19/79
JWA

UNIVERSITY
OF HARTFORD

West Hartford, CT 06117

The President
203-243-4417

March 23, 1979

MAR 23 1979

Ms. Harriette Siani
Administrative Director
APRI
260 Park Avenue South
New York, NY 10010

Dear Ms. Siani:

John Addley has thoughtfully shared with me a copy of your good letter to him of March 14. I cannot tell you how pleased I am that Mr. Rustin will be able to join us Sunday, May 20, 1979.

I have been telling members of my Board, faculty, and others about what a remarkable speaker he is. I look forward with more anticipation than I can say to hearing his talk.

We will be awarding honorary degrees to a few others on May 20, and I think that Bayard Rustin will feel comfortable in the colleagueship of that occasion.

Sincerely,

Steve Trachtenberg

Stephen Joel Trachtenberg
President

SJT/yh

Please give my best
to my aunt, Esther
Wells.

UNIVERSITY OF HARTFORD

West Hartford, Ct. 06117
Office of the Secretary
203-243-4571
An Independent University

APR 6 1979

April 4, 1979

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue, South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

We are very pleased that you will accept an honorary degree at our Commencement exercises on Sunday, May 20. The event will be held on campus, and I will write you later about the time and place we will assemble for robing.

In the meantime, it will help us greatly if you can send me the following information as soon as possible: 6'1" – 133 lbs 7 1/4

Shall we provide the doctor's cap and gown for you? If so, please give me your height, and hat size. If you prefer, of course you may provide your own. Your hood will be provided as part of the ceremony.

Sent 4/6/79 May we have a biographical sketch for publicity background, and a print (three if convenient) of a photo suitable for newspaper reproduction?

Would you like us to invite relatives or friends to the Exercises? If so, please send us a list, with address and spouse if any. We will send formal invitations and cards for the reserved section. Mr. Walter Naegle, friend

The University is honored by your acceptance of the degree and we look forward to your participation in this event. There will be a reception following the ceremony.

Sincerely,

John W. Addley

John W. Addley
Secretary of the University

JWA/bgs

To

Date Time A.M. / P.M.

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M

of Univ. of Hartford - Conn.

Area Code & Exchange

TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
	RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐	

Message Biographical sketch
to: John W. Addley
Secretary
Univ. of Hartford 06117
West Hartford, Ct. ~~[illegible]~~

Operator

Rush!

Sent 9/6/79

No. 153 S.P.T.

April 10, 1979

Mr. John W. Addley
Secretary of the University
University of Hartford
West Hartford, Connecticut 06117

Dear Mr. Addley:

This is in response to your letter of April 4, 1979. Mr. Rustin would very much appreciate your providing him with the doctor's cap and gown. His measurements are as follows:

Height - 6'
Weight - 133 lbs
Hat size - 7¼"

He has also asked me to inform you that he would be accompanied by a friend, Mr. Walter Neagle, to the Exercises.

Biographical sketch and photos were sent under separate cover. Please do not hesitate to contact us if you need any additional information.

Sincerely,

Harriette Siani
Administrative Director

HS/hh

To Hatsy

Date 5/15/79 Time 10:25 [✓ A.M.] P.M.

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

Mr. Addley

of Hartford University

Area Code & Exchange 203-243-4771

TELEPHONED	☐	PLEASE CALL	☑
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
	RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐	

Message

Operator

No. 153 S.P.T.

To Hatsy

Date 5/15/79 Time 4:35 A.M. [✓ P.M.]

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

Mr Adley's office

of University of Hartford

Area Code & Exchange 203-243-4771

TELEPHONED	☑	PLEASE CALL	☑
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
	RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐	

Message

Operator

No. 153 S.P.T.

U. of Hartford.
203-243-4485

(F)

203-232
6087-
Home

TELEGRAM TO BAYARD RUSTIN

TIME: 11:30 A.M.

TAKEN OVER THE PHONE

PLEASE CALL 203-243-4771 NEED TO KNOW YOUR PLAN FOR SUNDAY AFTERNOON ALSO FIND THAT 15 MINUTES FROM ST. ALBANS TO LA GUARDIA IS NOT ENOUGH TIME NEED ABOUT 20 MINUTES MORE WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE FOR YOU TO LEAVE THE CHURCH AT 9 A.M. ✓

JOHN ADDLEY
SECRETARY
UNIVERSITY OF HARTFORD

Jewish Ledger
wants to meet w/
BR

We work out
transportation
back —
You want ~~trans~~ —
RTP car?

Black Minister
w/connections to univ
has informed Addeley
that there might
be pickets

finish @ 12:30
lunch @ Pres home > until 2:00 PM

2:30

MAILGRAM SERVICE CENTER
MIDDLETOWN, VA. 22645

western union Mailgram

UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE
U.S.MAIL

4-018458E136003 05/16/79 ICS IPMMTZZ CSP NYBB
2 2032434571 MGM TDMT HARTFORD CT 05-16 1011A EST

MAY 17 1979

BAYARD RUSTIN, PRESIDENT
A PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE 260 PARK AVE SOUTH
NEW YORK NY 10010

THIS IS A CONFIRMATION COPY OF A PREVIOUSLY PHONE-DELIVERED TELEGRAM

URGENT PLEASE CALL 203-243-4771 NEED TO KNOW YOUR PLANS FOR SUNDAY AFTERNOON, ALSO FIND THAT 15 MINUTES FROM ST ALBANS TO LAGUARDIA IS NOT ENOUGH TIME NEED ABOUT 20 MINUTES MORE. WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE FOR YOU TO LEAVE THE CHURCH AT 9AM
JOHN ADDLEY SECRETARY UNIVERSITY OF HARTFORD

10:11 EST

MGMCOMP MGM

F - w/ U of Hartford stuff
for May 20

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM, SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR WESTERN UNION'S TOLL - FREE PHONE NUMBERS

UNIVERSITY
OF HARTFORD

West Hartford, Ct. 06117
Office of the Secretary
203-243-4571
An Independent University

MAY 24 1979

May 21, 1979

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

It was indeed a pleasure for me yesterday and I felt it was an honor to have the opportunity to get to know you.

Would you or Miss Siani please thank the ladies of the Grace Methodist Church for making it possible for you to get away earlier than their schedule called for. I was particularly pleased with the breakfast they most graciously offered to me and Azekah Jennings. I can never turn down good country smoked ham and grits.

Please also thank your friend who made the police escort possible. It saved us valuable time.

Selfishly, we are glad you had the opportunity to visit the University of Hartford. As I said, it is a 22 year-old miracle with a 102 year-old tradition. We truly hope you will be with us again.

Thanks again for coming to give our commencement address.

Sincerely,

John Addley

John W. Addley
Secretary of the University

JWA/k

cc: President Trachtenberg
Ms. Siani
Mr. Jennings

Anni Albers of Orange, left, artisan, author and teacher, talks with Mrs. Richard Koopman Sunday at the University of Hartford before receiving an honorary degree at the school's commencement ceremony. Mrs. Koopman presented the degree. At right, civil rights leader Bayard Rustin delivers the commencement address (Courant Photos by Jerry Williams).

Rustin Says That Automation Threatens Jobs for Poor

By BILL GRAVA

The economic impact of America's foreign policy and of technological advances present far greater social problems than racial discrimination, civil rights leader Bayard Rustin said at Sunday's University of Hartford commencement.

"Automation and cybernation (Rustin's word for cybernetics, the development of computers and similar machines) produce jobs for the likes of you," he told the more than 1,500 degree recipients and their families and friends, "not for the poor."

American society no longer makes things that the poor are needed to help make because of advances in modern industrial technology, said Rustin, who has served time in prison as a result of his fight for racial equality.

"And federal policy doesn't help," he said, citing statements by government leaders that non-mechanized work should be fostered in the developing nations of Africa, Asia and South America, not in the United States.

Rustin said that when he asked federal officials what plans they had to help millions of Americans who will be left without work because American policy is shifting manual labor away from this country, he was told no one had considered the problem.

"That's quite immoral," Rustin said. He said he supports recognizing China and helping Third World nations develop their resources, but the United States' government should prepare for the full impact of such a decision.

Coinciding with the great social changes now taking place are the psychological impacts on individuals, he said. "When man doesn't have work, he is despised by society," Rustin said. "He has no meaning in life."

Modern society is taking away the traditional concepts of work, but not replacing them with ideas that allow individuals to feel they are worthwhile. "We need new definitions of work," he said.

Rustin received an honorary doctor of humane letters degree from the university, one of five honorary degrees given Sunday.

Also granted honorary degrees were:

— Anni Albers of Orange, a weaver, a printmaker, author and teacher who received an honorary Doctor of Fine Arts degree.

— Morrison H. Beach of West Hartford, chief executive and chairman of the board of The Travelers Corp., who received an honorary Doctor of Laws degree.

— Anna J. Harrison of South Hadley, Mass., professor of chemistry at Mount Holyoke College, who received an honorary Doctor of Science Degree.

— U.S. Circuit Court Judge J. Joseph Smith of West Hartford, who receive an honorary Doctor of Law Degree.

UNIVERSITY OF HARTFORD

West Hartford, Ct. 06117
Office of the Secretary
203-243-4571
An Independent University

MAY 24 1979

Send copy to Howard Wallace

mailed June '79

May 21, 1979

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

It was indeed a pleasure for me yesterday and I felt it was an honor to have the opportunity to get to know you.

Would you or Miss Siani please thank the ladies of the Grace Methodist Church for making it possible for you to get away earlier than their schedule called for. I was particularly pleased with the breakfast they most graciously offered to me and Azekah Jennings. I can never turn down good country smoked ham and grits.

Please also thank your friend who made the police escort possible. It saved us valuable time.

Selfishly, we are glad you had the opportunity to visit the University of Hartford. As I said, it is a 22 year-old miracle with a 102 year-old tradition. We truly hope you will be with us again.

Thanks again for coming to give our commencement address.

Sincerely,

John Addley

John W. Addley
Secretary of the University

JWA/k

cc: President Trachtenberg
Ms. Siani ✓
Mr. Jennings

UNIVERSITY
OF HARTFORD

West Hartford, CT 06117

The President
203-243-4417

MAY 25 1979

x1

May 23, 1979

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

I take it that you know--without my saying so--how much we appreciated your joining us for Commencement.

The remarks I have heard on your talk were all most complimentary. People were astounded at your ability to deliver so polished an address without an apparent written text. I am not sure why they were so surprised. No one expected Babe Ruth to get up to bat with a manuscript in his hand! Great artists of all sorts have talents that escape the rest of us.

I look forward to the pleasure of your company at some future time.

Warm personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Steve

Stephen Joel Trachtenberg
President

SJT/yh

P.S. Please do give our warmest regards to Miss Siani
in your office. She was wonderful!

July 31, 1979

Ms. Diana Simonds
Manager Editor
Observer
University of Hartford
200 Bloomfield Avenue
West Hartford, CT 06117

Dear Ms. Simonds,

Due to an overcommitted schedule and the death of Mr. Randolph I have been detained in responding to my correspondence.

Thank you for your letter and attachments dated May 30, 1979.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
President

BR/spm

UNIVERSITY
OF HARTFORD

200 Bloomfield Avenue
West Hartford, CT 06117

An Independent University
Supported by Voluntary Gifts

MAY 31 1979

May 30, 1979

Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin,

I am sending you some news clippings about your appearance here and a photograph. I have also enclosed a copy of the Observer, our faculty, staff, alumni newspaper with an article about you. The next issue of Observer will be June 14 and will have complete commencement coverage. I will be sending you a copy of that, also, and any subsequent articles I come across.

I have also included the only item of protest literature we have been able to find. I realize that half of it is missing, but that's all we have. The demonstration, if there was one, must have been very small.

It was a genuine pleasure for me to meet a man of your distinction and talk with you at commencement.

Sincerely,

Diana Simonds

Diana Simonds
Managing Editor
Observer

Please thank
her. file
material
BR

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

MASSACHUSETTS HALL
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

February 25, 1980

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Mr. Rustin:

It is my great pleasure to tell you that the Governing Boards of Harvard University have voted to confer upon you the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on Commencement Day, June 5, 1980.

Since the conferring of this degree is made contingent upon your being present, I am writing at this time to express the hope that you will wish to receive this degree and will be able to attend the Commencement exercises this June for that purpose. The Governing Boards will be pleased to assume all expenses in connection with your visit to Cambridge and will make arrangements to reimburse you at your convenience. If you are able to accept, detailed information concerning schedules and procedures will be sent to you by the University Marshal. I would be most grateful if you could inform me of your decision prior to March 15.

May I ask that this letter be kept in the strictest confidence because no announcement of the award of the honorary degree is made before Commencement.

Sincerely,

Derek C. Bok

Mr. Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

BOSTON, MA 021
PM
29 FEB
1980

U.S. POSTAGE 15c OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

Mr. Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

CONFIDENTIAL

March 6, 1980

President Derek Bok
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear President Bok:

Upon returning from Zimbabwe, I hardly expected that such an extraordinary surprise as your letter of February 25 would be awaiting me. The offer of an honorary Doctor of Laws is certainly a great honor, and I am most pleased to accept.

Please convey my thanks to the entire Harvard community.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
Chairman of the Board

BR/hh
P.S. - Would it be possible for me to bring along a guest?

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE

OFFICE OF
THE UNIVERSITY MARSHAL
WADSWORTH HOUSE
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138
(617) 495-5725

May 2, 1980

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue S.
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

We are enclosing a schedule of events planned for the recipients of honorary degrees at Harvard on Wednesday, June 4th, and Thursday, June 5th.

The Commencement exercises will be held out of doors in Tercentenary Theatre whether or not it rains. When the honorary degrees are awarded, the President will call each candidate by name. The candidate will stand facing the audience. The President will award the degree and the diploma will be handed to the recipient by the University Marshal. No other formality, such as placing a hood on the shoulders, is observed and no speech of acceptance is expected.

May we now ask you for some information. First, will you be using one of the rooms being held for the honorary degree recipients at the Ritz Carlton Hotel in Boston? If you will be staying elsewhere, it would help us to have that information, too. We are pleased to welcome your guest and if that person will be accompanying you on Wednesday, would you like to have him or her included at the dinner that night? If so, may we have the name and address so that an invitation may be sent directly. Second, would you please let us know how many guest tickets you wish for both the morning and afternoon exercises on Thursday. If you will provide us with the appropriate names and addresses, we will send the tickets out directly. Finally, would you please identify any members of your immediate family who might be coming and give us their addresses as they will be invited to attend the Chief Marshal's luncheon Thursday noon.

If you have any questions or requests, please do not hesitate to write or telephone us at the above number. Messages may be left with Mrs. Judith Neal who is assisting with arrangements for the honorary degree recipients.

Yours sincerely,

William G. Anderson

William G. Anderson
University Marshal

David Aloian
Executive Director of the
Associated Harvard Alumni

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT
JUNE, 1980

Wednesday, June 4th

6:10 PM Limousines will be at the Ritz Carlton to meet honorary degree recipients and their spouses or special guest and take them to Harvard.

6:30 PM Gathering at the Houghton Library where President and Mrs. Derek Bok will meet you.

7:00 PM Cocktails and dinner given in honor of the degree recipients by the Board of Overseers of Harvard University at 17 Quincy Street. Limousines will be available to take guests back to the Ritz Carlton following the dinner.

Thursday, June 5th

8:20 AM Mr. Paul Goodof, a Harvard alumnus, will be in the lobby of the Ritz Carlton to greet degree recipients and their spouses or special guest and escort them to the limousines.

8:30 AM Departure by limousine for Harvard.

9:00 AM Arrival at Massachusetts Hall. Your Faculty Escort, Steven Weinberg, Higgins Professor of Physics, will meet you there and accompany you to President Bok's office where you will have an opportunity to sign the University guest book. He will then march with you in the procession to your seat on the platform. Mrs. David Aloian will escort spouses or special guests of the degree candidates to a special section in the Tercentenary Theatre.

11:30 AM Following the Commencement exercises, you will be escorted to 17 Quincy Street where the official photographs will be taken and cocktails will be served. Your guest will also be escorted to 17 Quincy Street and will join you there. At this point, you will be introduced to your Alumni Aid for the afternoon exercises, whose name will be in an envelope waiting for you on your arrival at the hotel.

12:20 PM Your Alumni Aid will escort you to the Fogg Museum for a luncheon hosted by the Chief Marshal of the Alumni for Commencement, Warren Masters Little of the Class of 1955.

1:20 PM Following the luncheon, your Alumni Aid will escort you to Massachusetts Hall where the dignitaries gather prior to the afternoon procession of the alumni. You will march with the other dignitaries at the head of the alumni procession and review the alumni parade from the steps of Widener Library before proceeding to your reserved seat on the stage. Mrs. Aloian will escort your guest back to Tercentenary Theatre.

The afternoon program consists of a short business meeting of the Associated Harvard Alumni, followed by addresses by President Bok and a guest speaker. The ceremony will conclude no later than 4:30 PM and limousines will be available for the return trip to the Ritz Carlton.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE

OFFICE OF
THE UNIVERSITY MARSHAL
WADSWORTH HOUSE
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138
(617) 495-5725

no guest
room

May 2, 1980

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue S.
New York, New York 10010

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If you have any questions or requests, please do not hesitate to write or telephone us at the above number. Messages may be left with Mrs. Judith Neal who is assisting with arrangements for the honorary degree recipients.

Yours sincerely,

William G. Anderson

William G. Anderson
University Marshal

David Aloian

David Aloian
Executive Director of the
Associated Harvard Alumni

Mr. Bayard Rustin

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT
JUNE, 1980

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The afternoon program consists of a short business meeting of the Associated Harvard Alumni, followed by addresses by President Bok and a guest speaker. The ceremony will conclude no later than 4:30 PM and limousines will be available for the return trip to the Ritz Carlton.

May 8, 1980

Mrs. Judith Neal
Office of the University Marshal
Wadsworth House
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Dear Mrs. Neal:

In reference to Mr. William G. Anderson's letter dated May 2, 1980, Mr. Rustin has asked that I forward the following information to you.

Mr. Rustin will be needing a room at the Ritz Carlton Hotel in Boston. He will be travelling alone and will not need additional guests tickets.

I will be in further contact with you concerning Mr. Rustin's travel itinerary.

Sincerely,

Sonia Morgan
Administrative Assistant

apri
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

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Frederick O'Neal
Vice President
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J.C. Turner
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Robert Tyner
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Walter Waddy
Shannon Wall
Roosevelt Watts
Robert Weaver
Wilbert Williams
William Wilson
William Winpisinger
C. Vann Woodward
William Wynn
W.C. Young

*Executive Committee members

August 9, 1982

To The Editor
The New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York 10036

Dear Sir:

I read with great dismay your news report (Monday, August 9) on the Harvard Black Law Student Coalition and the Harvard Third World (sic) Coalition which are calling for a boycott of a course on race and legal issues because that course will, in part, be taught by a white civil rights lawyer, Mr. Jack Greenberg.

According to your article, the objections to Mr. Greenberg are that he is white and that he serves as director of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. The latter, it would seem to me, is more a qualification than a basis for objection. Indeed, during his twenty years as head of the Legal Defense Fund, Jack Greenberg has shown himself to be one of our country's most effective fighters for racial justice and civil rights.

Over many years he has directly participated in many of the most important civil rights legal victories. It would, indeed, be difficult to find anyone more qualified to participate in such a course. The objection that Mr. Greenberg is white is nothing more than blatant racism, i.e. the denial of a person's right to pursue certain activities solely on account of his race.

Today many young blacks perceive a retreat by our government from a commitment to social and racial justice. Today black Harvard Law School students feel frustration at the fact that their less privileged counterparts in the ghetto are suffering unemployment rates approaching fifty percent. It is, therefore, entirely understandable that these students would seek to make their voices heard. It is regrettable, however, that their militancy and sense of social responsibility manifests itself in this fundamentally destructive and irresponsible way.

Blacks, as victims of racial discrimination, should be the first to reject the view that race can disqualify one from any particular pursuit.

.../2

Harvard's young blacks are pursuing their education not only as a result of their abilities, but also as a consequence of the opportunities opened to them by the civil rights battles waged inside and outside the courts by both blacks and whites. It is ironic -- indeed perhaps tragic -- that they would vent their rage on Jack Greenberg -- a talented and sensitive man who has contributed in no small measure to the freedom and dignity of young black Americans.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
Chairman

BR/ej

Bayard Rustin, Chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, received an Honorary Doctorate in 1980 from Harvard University for his contributions to the cause of civil and human rights.

Minority Students at Harvard Protest Course

Black students at Harvard Law School are calling for a boycott of a course on race and legal issues that is to be taught in part by a white civil rights lawyer.

The course, Racial Discrimination and Civil Rights, is to be offered in the winter in the school's three-week intensive session of courses often taught by people from outside the school.

The Black Law Student Association and the Third World Coalition, a federation of minority student associations, say they are protesting the appointment of Jack Greenberg to help teach the course for two reasons: because he is white and because, they say, he refuses to give up his position as director of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund Inc.

In a letter to students and administrators supporting the idea of a boycott, the Third World Coalition said, "This course is concerned with the legal system and third world people in the United States and, therefore, it is extremely important that it be taught by an instructor who can identify and empathize with the social, cultural, economic and political experiences of the third world communities."

The primary instructor for the course is J. LeVonne Chambers, a black lawyer from Charlotte, N.C., who is president of the legal fund. Mr. Chambers invited Mr. Greenberg to share the teaching duties.

The proposed boycott is the most recent in a series of disputes between minority students and the Harvard administration over the students' efforts to increase the number of minority students, faculty members and administrators and to institute an affirmative action plan at the Harvard Law Review.

About 10 percent of the law school's 1,500 students are black, as are two of its 60 faculty members.

The dispute over Mr. Greenberg's appointment became public late last month when James Vorenberg, dean of the law school, sent all second- and third-year law students a letter informing them of the proposed boycott and stating his opposition. Enclosed were copies of letters exchanged among Mr. Chambers, Mr. Greenberg and Muhammad Kenyatta, president of the association of black law students.

'Wrong in Principle'

In his letter asking the students to "decide for themselves" whether to take the course, Mr. Vorenberg wrote:

"To boycott a course on racial discrimination, because part of it is taught by a white lawyer, is wrong in principle and works against, not for, shared goals of racial and social justice."

The dispute began last fall, about a year after the departure from Harvard of Derrick Bell, a black professor who had taught the school's only civil rights course. The Black Law Student Association petitioned the administration to reinstate the course.

Lance Liebman, associate dean of the law school, who is responsible for curriculum development, said in a recent telephone interview that the administration decided after Mr. Bell's departure to "keep this course in the curriculum if at all possible."

Dean Rejected Demand

In meetings this spring with Mr. Vorenberg, Mr. Kenyatta demanded that the course be taught in its entirety by a minority professor. The dean rejected the demand and the student group voted to boycott the course.

In a letter to the association of black law students, Mr. Chambers praised Mr. Greenberg as being "without question" as "appreciative of and concerned with" black interests "as any black I know." Mr. Greenberg succeeded Justice Thurgood Marshall of the Supreme Court as director of the legal defense fund about 20 years ago and has represented the fund in many of the major civil rights cases of the past three decades.

In response to Mr. Kenyatta's criticism, Mr. Greenberg wrote to the black students' association that he rejected the premise that a course ought to be taught by a member of a specific racial or ethnic group.

Mr. Liebman said that a meeting among all parties involved had been tentatively scheduled for September.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1982

Letters

A Misguided Protest by Blacks at Harvard

To the Editor:

I read with great dismay your news report [Aug. 9] on the Harvard Black Law Student Coalition and the Harvard Third World (*sic*) Coalition, which are calling for a boycott of a course on race and legal issues because it will, in part, be taught by a white civil rights lawyer, Jack Greenberg. According to your article, the objections to Mr. Greenberg are that he is white and that he serves as director of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

The latter, it would seem to me, is more a qualification than a basis for objection.

Indeed, during his 20 years as head of the fund, Jack Greenberg has shown himself to be one of our country's most effective fighters for racial justice and civil rights. Over many years he has directly participated in many of the most important civil rights victories. It would indeed be difficult to find anyone more qualified to participate in such a course.

The objection that Mr. Greenberg is white is nothing more than blatant racism.

Today many young blacks perceive a retreat by our Government from a commitment to social and racial justice. Today black Harvard Law School students feel frustration at the fact that their less-privileged counterparts in the ghetto are suffering unemployment rates approaching 50 percent.

It is therefore entirely understandable that these students would seek to make their voices heard. It is regrettable, however, that their militancy and sense of social responsibility manifests itself in this fundamentally destructive and irresponsible way.

Blacks, as victims of racial discrimination, should be the first to reject the view that race can disqualify one from any particular pursuit.

Harvard's young blacks are pursuing their education not only as a result of their abilities but also as a consequence of the opportunities opened to them by the civil rights battles waged inside and outside the courts by both blacks and whites.

It is ironic — indeed perhaps tragic — that they would vent their rage on Jack Greenberg — a talented and sensitive man who has contributed in no small measure to the freedom and dignity of young black Americans.

BAYARD RUSTIN
Chairman, A. Philip Randolph Institute
New York, Aug. 9, 1982

N.Y. Times, - Weds. 8/11/82

Blind Pride at Harvard

W.E.B. DuBois, the great black leader and a graduate of Harvard, once wrote that the problem of the 20th century "is the problem of the color line." He probably did not envision that black students at his alma mater would someday help make his words ring true. But black law students at Harvard are calling for a boycott of a course in race and legal issues because one of its teachers, Jack Greenberg, is white.

It is hard to think of anyone better qualified to teach such a course. Mr. Greenberg, who heads the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, has spent 30 years writing briefs and arguing civil rights cases before the Supreme Court and other courts across the nation. His experience is an unmatchable resource.

But the black students say that since the course is concerned with third-world people in the United States, the instructor should be able to empathize with the third world. And they think Mr. Greenberg should give up his Defense Fund position to a black. On this point the students unwisely inject themselves into a dispute between the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Defense Fund over the fund's use of the parent group's initials.

More important, though, the student activists' position gives little credit to their peers. Surely Harvard law students should be able to make up their own minds about a teacher on the basis of what he teaches. A person's race may inevitably shape his view of the world. But so, in the case of Mr. Greenberg, do long years as a tireless champion of civil rights in courtrooms all over America.

Aspiring lawyers who would deny themselves, and others, the chance to hear Mr. Greenberg do him and the civil rights cause a disservice. There is little point to pride if its price is ignorance.

apri news release

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

For Release:

Immediately
August 12, 1982

For further information, contact:

Rustin Column

CIVIL RIGHTS AND UNCIVIL WRONGS

by Bayard Rustin

According to a recent report in the New York Times, the Harvard Black Law Student Coalition and the Harvard Third World Coalition are calling for a boycott of a Harvard Law School course on race and legal issues because that course will, in part, be taught by a white civil rights lawyer. The lawyer in question is Mr. Jack Greenberg, executive director of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

The leaders of the boycott are protesting Jack Greenberg's appointment for two reasons. Because he is white, the students believe that Mr. Greenberg, is, in the words of the Third World Coalition, unable to "identify and empathize with the social, cultural, economic, and political experiences of the third world communities." Secondly, the students are opposed to Mr. Greenberg's serving as director of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, again presumably because he is not black.

The objection to Mr. Greenberg's role in teaching the Harvard course and to heading the Legal Defense Fund simply because he is white amounts to nothing more than blatant racism, i.e. the denial of a person's right to pursue certain activities solely on account of his race. Blacks, as victims of racial discrimination, should be the first to reject the view that race can disqualify one from any particular pursuit.

Anyone who objectively examines the record will conclude that Jack Greenberg is eminently qualified both to teach civil rights law and to direct an important civil rights organization. Indeed, during his twenty years as head of the Legal Defense Fund, Mr. Greenberg has shown himself to be one of our country's most

(more)

182

effective fighters for racial justice and civil rights. Over the years he has directly participated in many of the landmark civil rights victories which have been won in our nation's courts.

What, then, one might ask, has provoked the militant protest of Harvard Law School's young blacks? Today, black law students at Harvard feel frustration at the fact that their less privileged counterparts in the ghetto are suffering unemployment rates approaching fifty percent. They feel great unease over the current administration's callous disregard for such matters as equal employment opportunity. They are angry at what they rightly perceive as an abandonment by the federal government of its legitimate role as a leading advocate of civil rights. In this context it is entirely understandable that these students would seek to make their voices heard. It is regrettable, however, that their militancy and sense of social responsibilitity manifests itself in this fundamentally destructive and irresponsible way.

Harvard's young blacks are pursuing their education not only as a result of their abilities, but also as a consequence of the opportunities opened to them by the civil rights battles waged both inside and outside the courts. It is ironic--indeed perhaps tragic--that they would vent their rage on Jack Greenberg, a talented and sensitive man who has contributed in no small measure to the freedom and dignity of young black Americans.

There is something else underlying the black protest at Harvard. It is the mistaken view that, somehow, the issue of civil rights is an issue which is exclusively black. Nothing could be further from the truth, Civil Rights is an issue of universal significance and, as such, should be important to all Americans. Civil rights, moreover, is an area in which progress cannot be attained without the building of a strong and wide-ranging coalition of blacks and whites, Christians and Jews. Blacks, despite their large numbers, constitute a minority in American life. They cannot achieve progress by going it alone. Attacks such as the one against Jack Greenberg may have the harmful effect of discouraging idealistic whites from participating fully in the battles for civil rights and social justice.

We don't need to worry about Jack Greenberg. He will not be discouraged and his organization will continue to make a contribution to the advancement of racial justice and human rights. We have more cause to worry about the leaders of the Harvard Black Student Coalition. Unless they change their perspectives they will be ill equipped to serve the cause of civil rights, a cause which their recent actions have served to undermine.

****

Bayard Rustin, Chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, received an Honorary Doctorate in 1980 from Harvard University for his contributions to the cause of civil and human rights.

Harvard Alumni Records Office

Room 671, 1350 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138

Your willingness to review the information printed below would be very much appreciated. Data sheets such as this are sent periodically to Harvard men and women as a way to help assure the accuracy of the university's records. Please make any additions or corrections needed to complete your record on this form and return it to the Alumni Records Office in the enclosed envelope. Thank you.

PLEASE CONFIRM THIS NAME FORMAT FOR MAILING PURPOSES

NAME BAYARD RUSTIN

► ______________________
(Include title, e.g., Dr., Rev., Mrs. etc.)

ADDRESS PREFERENCE The University records indicate that you prefer to receive mail at your HOME
To change this circle your new preference. Home [✓ Business]

Business ~~**HOME**~~ **ADDRESS** 260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH ► STREET ______________________

► ______________________

NEW YORK N Y 10010 ► CITY ____________ STATE ________ ZIP ________

► COUNTRY ______________________

HOME PHONE ► HOME PHONE ______________________

PROFESSIONAL TITLE ► __

BUSINESS ADDRESS
(or school address
if you are a student)

► EM.

(WE ARE MISSING YOUR BUSINESS ► __

OR CURRENT SCHOOL ADDRESS) ► __

► CITY

► COU

BUSINESS PHONE ► BUSI

(212) 533-8000

Bayard Rustin
Chairman of the Board

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

571

FIELD OF OCCUPATION
(If this is not correct, please circle the number of the field which most nearly describes your current occupation.)

001 Accounting, auditing
002 Advertising, pub. rel.
003 Armed services
005 Communications, publishing
030 Community volunteer
006 Construction, contracting
007 Creative/performing arts
008 Design (e.g., arch., planning)
009 Education and ed. admin.
010 Engineering
011 Extractive ind. (e.g. oil)
012 Farming, forestry
013 Finance
031 Government (elective)
014 Government (non-elective)
015 Health sciences
016 Housewife
035 Information systems
017 Insurance
018 Law, judiciary
019 Manufacturing
020 Merchandising
021 Ministry (all faiths)
034 Real Estate
025 Retired
024 Scientific/other research
026 Social service
033 Student (full time)
027 Transportation
004 Business (other)
[✓ 022 Non-profit (other)]
023 Professional (other)
028 Other (not otherwise described)

SPOUSE'S FULL NAME and COLLEGE/ GRADUATE SCHOOL ► LAST ____________ FIRST ____________ MIDDLE/MAIDEN ____________
► ______________________

The space below and the reverse side of this form may be used for biographical notes.

sent 3/29/83

BAYARD RUSTIN
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH
NEW YORK N Y 10010

03/15/83

S0011-15651

HAVERFORD
College Relations

F

Humane Letters

RECEIVED MAY 14 1985

May 10, 1985

Ms. Harriette Siani
A. Philip Randolph
Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Ms. Siani:

We'd like to invite Mr. Rustin to pose for photographs with Haverford President Robert Stevens on Monday, May 20, at 10:30 a.m., in 102 Hall Building.

All honorary degree recipients, Haverford administrators and faculty will be donning their Commencement robes in that room sometime before 11 a.m., and I will be there with a free-lance photographer.

If you have any questions, please call me at (215)896-1037 or (215)896-1333. Thank you .

Cordially,

Karen A. Heilig

Karen A. Heilig
College Relations Coordinator

Haverford College ■ Haverford, Pennsylvania 19041-1392 ■ 215-896-1333, 1038

Officers
Bayard Rustin
President
Norman Hill
Executive Director
Charles Bremer
Associate Director
Mrs. Arthur C. Logan
Treasurer
Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

May 14, 1985

Ms. Karen A. Helig
College Relations Coordinator
Haverford College
Haverford, Pa. 19041-1392

Dear Ms. Helig,

We received your notice about the pre-Commencement photograph session at 10:30 AM, on Monday, May 20.

I have passed along the information to Mr. Rustin, and he looks forward to cooperating with you and the photographer at that time.

Thanks for keeping us informed.

Sincerely,

Harriette Siani
Administrative Assistant

HAVERFORD
College Relations

RECEIVED MAY 16 1985

May 13, 1985

Ms. Harriette Siani
A. Philip Randolph
Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Ms. Siani:

In my letter of May 10, I asked that Mr. Rustin join other honorary degree recipients for a photograph with Haverford President Robert Stevens on Monday, May 20, at 10:30 a.m., in 102 Hall Building. The location has since been changed to the Quaker Collection of Magill Library. It is there that the robing will take place.

Please call me at (215)896-1037 or (215)896-1333 if you have any questions. Thank you.

Cordially,

Karen A. Heilig

Karen A. Heilig
College Relations Coordinator

Haverford College ■ Haverford, Pennsylvania 19041-1392 ■ 215-896-1333, 1038

May 19/20

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

260 Park Avenue South / New York, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

Date: May 10, 1985

TO: Ms. Fink

FROM: Harriette Siani, Bayard Rustin's Office

RE: Media List

[✓ As you requested]

___For your approval

___For your file

___For your information

___Please handle

___Please see me about this

___Please read and return

___Returned as requested

___Your comments, please

Comments:

Mr. Rustin thanks you for your offer to send a press release about his honorary degree to selected black press.

filed: Chron

May 19/20 '85 - Schedule yes ✓

BLACK MEDIA TO RECEIVE ANNOUNCEMENT OF RUSTIN HONORARY DEGREE

Magazines

Black Enterprise Magazine
295 Madison Ave.
New York, NY 10514

The Crisis
187 Remsen Street
Brooklyn, NY 11201

Ebony
820 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Ill. 60605

Essence
1500 Broadway
New York, NY 10036

Jet
820 South Michigan
Chicago, Ill. 60605

News Services

Press Associates
806 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Newspapers

New York Amsterdam News
2340 8th Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10027

Michigan Chronicle
479 Ledyard Street
Detroit, Mi. 48201

Chicago Daily Defender
2400 South Michigan Ave.
Chicago, Ill. 60616

Chicago Metro News
2600 South Michigan Ave
Suite 308
Chicago, Ill. 60616

African American News & World Report
P.O. Box 11241
Baltimore, Md. 21239

Metro Sentinel
3338 Olive, Suite 206
St. Louis, Mo. 63103

Philadelphia Tribune
520 16th Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19146

The San Francisco Observer
323 Glary Street
San Francisco, Ca. 94119

Los Angeles Sentinel
1112 East 43rd Street
Los Angeles, Ca. 90011

The Washington Informer
3117 M.L.King, Jr. Ave, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20032

HAVERFORD
The Library

A

May 7, 1985

RECEIVED MAY 9 1985

Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
6th Floor
New York, New York 10010

Dear Friend:

We look forward to your coming to Haverford on Sunday, May 19, and to your participation in the commencement on Monday, May 20.

While President Stevens' office is taking care of most of the arrangements for your stay, as faculty marshal I wanted to offer to be of any assistance during that time and to offer you sincere congratulations.

On Sunday evening after the dinner at President Stevens' home, we will gather in the Marshall Auditorium for an informal discussion with Robert Stevens presiding. The seniors, their parents and friends, and members of the Haverford faculty and community will be there to hear you and to direct questions to you. This has often been one of the most stimulating and enjoyable parts of the weekend. It is followed by a reception in the Great Hall. We would be very happy for you to participate in that reception, but if you have had an exhausting day, you may feel you would prefer to return to your room instead.

I believe you know that Monday begins with a Meeting for Worship at the Haverford Friends Meetinghouse and we hope that you will wish to participate in that service. After that, there will be time to put on your robe for the commencement ceremony which begins promptly at 11 a.m.

We look forward to having you with us for this happy occasion.

Sincerely,

Edwin B. Bronner
Faculty Marshal

EBB:mj
xc: Stevens
Kennedy
King

Haverford College ■ Haverford, Pennsylvania 19041-1392 ■ 215-896-1175

HAVERFORD
College Relations

RECEIVED MAY 6 1985

May 1, 1985

Ms. Harriette Siani
A. Philip Randolph
  Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Ms. Siani:

Thank you for sending the photograph of Mr. Rustin. I'm enclosing a biography of him, which I'd like to have him review. Would you or Mr. Rustin call me as soon as possible with any changes?

10 or 12 Blacks Press

Also, if there are any special publications to which he'd like us to send a release on his honorary degree, please give me the names (and addresses, if convenient). We plan to send a Commencement news release, along with biographies of each 1985 honorary degree recipient, to local radio and television stations, national and local newspapers, magazines, educational and religious publications.

I can be reached at (215)896-1037 or (215)896-1333. Thank you very much for your time and assistance.

Cordially,

Karen A. Heilig

Karen A. Heilig
College Relations Coordinator

Enclosure

Haverford College ■ Haverford, Pennsylvania 19041-1392 ■ 215-896-1333, 1038

BAYARD RUSTIN

Bayard Rustin, human rights activist, author and speaker, has spent his life as a leader of a wide range of movements to promote justice for people in the United States and around the world.

① Rustin, born a Quaker in suburban Philadelphia, attended Wilberforce (Ohio) University, Cheyney State Teachers College and the City College of New York. He was a pioneer in the early phases of the civil rights movement in the United States, fighting racial discrimination since the early 1940s.

grandmother Quaker

became

In 1955, Rustin became an invaluable aide to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. -- writing documents, contacting black leaders, and helping King prepare speeches and extend his knowledge of non-violent demonstation methods. Rustin also organized the march in Memphis, Tenn., after King's assassination.

Perhaps the most dramatic day in Rustin's life was August 28, 1963, the day King delivered his famous "I Have A Dream" speech. Rustin, who had been King's special assistant for five years, also spoke to the 250,000 protesters amassed for the "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" but his greatest contribution was as the organizer of that enormous demonstration. For eight weeks Rustin planned the event, inviting speakers and entertainers, and arranging everything from transportation for thousands of people, to public rest room facilities. Rustin was charged with creating a program that maintained a fast pace and culminated in King's rousing talk.

(MORE)

Rustin/add one

In the late 1960's, Rustin began to shift the emphasis of his fight against discrimination from public protest to political power, economic justice and social change. In 1966 he became the executive secretary of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, a national organization of some 15,000 civil rights and trade union activists organized in 150 chapters in 37 states. Rustin was named president of that organization's educational fund a year later.

Rustin's efforts have not been confined to fighting injustices in the United States, however. After World War II, he made several trips to India as chairman of the Free India Committee as a guest of the Congress Party. In the early 1950's he founded the Committee to Support South African Resistance and worked in Ghana, Nigeria, Tanganyika, and Rhodesia. Rustin has also demonstrated against the installation of nuclear weapons around the world and has been a strong supporter of the right of Israel to remain secure within its borders.

More recently, in 1982, Rustin traveled to Israel and Lebanon as part of a fact-finding mission of non-Jews to study the conflict between Israel and the Syrian-backed Palestine Liberation Organization. In 1983, Rustin returned to Israel twice more to attend international conferences involving work leaders.

② Rustin has also visited Afghanistan, South Africa, Central America and Southeast Asia to study those politically torn countries.

many parts of the globe including

(MORE)

VC
IRC
to make students & recorders
religion
[illegible]
Ref.

Rustin's combination of experience, information and conviction has put him in great demand as a speaker. He is the author of two books, Down the Line: The Collected Writing of Bayard Rustin, and Strategies for Freedom: The Changing Pattern of Black Protest, as well as a virtual library of short works. He also writes a bi-monthly newspaper column that runs in more than 200 newspapers.

Among the many citations bestowed upon him have been the Eleanor Roosevelt Award, the John Dewey Award of the United Federation of Teachers; the Family of Man Award of the National Council of Churches; the Murray-Green-Meany Award, the AFL-CIO's highest accolade, and the Anti-Defamation League's highest honor, the Joseph Prize for Human Rights. Rustin has also received 14 honorary degrees from colleges and universities all over the United States.

# # #

CHEYNEY UNIVERSITY
OF PENNSYLVANIA

RECEIVED MAY 5 1985

May 2, 1985

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue, South
New York, NY

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Permit me this opportunity to once again express to you my sincere appreciation for giving a portion of your valuable time to our meeting in which we discussed common interests concerning Cheyney University. I especially enjoyed reminiscing with you regarding Cheyney's rich heritage and history and its profound effect on the personal and professional lives of many individuals, including you and me. I, too, share your respect and admiration for Dr. Hill and know that his impelling influence will always make a difference in our lives.

Moments ago I spoke with Mr. Warren Burton and conveyed to him your desire for having him attend the ceremonies at Haverford College where you will receive an honorary degree. He was most delighted and would greatly appreciate an invitation. He requested that I give you his address:

122 W. Chestnut Street
West Chester, PA 19380

done 5/7/85

I informed President McCummings about your kind offer to assist us in locating possible sources of grant funds in support of the University. Needless to say, he and I are most pleased by the prospect of your assistance and are grateful for whatever leads you can provide. As I stated in our meeting, we have identified several areas where additional funds would be of great benefit:

1. The restoration of Melrose House on Cheyney's campus as a historical memorial to Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, housing his papers, books, and other historical items from his administration as well as Cheyney's extensive archival collections. Dating back to the early nineteenth century, the collections provide historical and cultural resources of significant local and national importance to the academic community, especially scholars involved

CHEYNEY, PENNSYLVANIA 19319 • 215-399-2000

To File

Date 4/24 Time

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Ann McKay

of Haverford College

Phone

Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	☒	PLEASE CALL	☐
CALLED TO SEE YOU	☐	WILL CALL AGAIN	☐
WANTS TO SEE YOU	☐	URGENT	☐
RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐		

Message informed her that BR + WN would arrive on EA #551 May 18 @ 4:51 PM. They will be met by student driver.

Operator

AMPAD
EFFICIENCY®
23-006 50 SHEET PAD

May 19

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

260 Park Avenue South / New York, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

Date: April 24, 1985

TO: Karen Helig, College Relations

FROM: Harriette Siani, Bayard Rustin's Office

RE: Photo

___**As you requested**

___**For your approval**

___**For your file**

___**For your information**

___**Please handle**

___**Please see me about this**

___**Please read and return**

___**Returned as requested**

___**Your comments, please**

Comments:

Per my phone conversation with Ann McKay this afternoon, I am enclosing a bio photo of Mr. Rustin, for your use in connection with the upcoming commencement ceremonies.

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

To

Ms. Karen Helig
College Relations
Haverford College
Haverford, Pa. 19041-1392

filed: Chron
Schedule yes

May 19

HAVERFORD
Office of the President

April 1, 1985

Walter Naegle
A. Philip Rando.ph Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Walter Naegle:

Many thanks for your letter of March 20. I have arranged for one of our small apartments, 2C, 10 Railroad Ave., to be made available for you and Mr. Rustin for the evening of May 19. If there is any chance you might want to remain overnight on the 20th also, please let me know. We will have someone (probably a student) meet you at the airport.

You are most welcome to attend the dinner and luncheon, in fact all the festivities of Commencement.

The invitations to friends will be mailed probably the end of this week. You will receive an invitation. Inside will be the complete schedule for Commencement morning. Let me know if you have any further questions.

Sincerely,

Ann MacKay
Ann MacKay

Haverford College ■ Haverford, Pennsylvania 19041-1392 ■ 215-896-1020

Officers
Bayard Rustin
President
Norman Hill
Executive Director
Charles Bremer
Associate Director
Mrs. Arthur C. Logan
Treasurer
Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph
Educational Fund
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

May 19
+20

March 20, 1985

Ann MacKay
Office of the President
Haverford College
Haverford, Pennsylvania 19041-1392

Dear Ann MacKay:

It was a pleasure speaking with you this morning.

I have the following information to report on Mr. Rustin's visit to Haverford scheduled for May 19th and 20th:

1. Mr. Rustin will be flying in from Boston the afternoon of the 19th. The arrival time in Philadephia has not yet been determined. Mr. Rustin will make his own flight arrangements and bill you later. Is it possible for someone from the college to meet him at the airport?

2. Mr. Rustin would prefer to stay at the College. I will be accompanying him. We are willing to share quarters. Perhaps the apartment you mentioned to me on he phone would be appropriate.

3. I will be accompanying Mr. Rustin to the dinner Sunday evening, and to the Commencement and luncheon on Monday.

4. Mr. Rustin would like invitations to the Commencement and luncheon sent to the following:

Dr. and Mrs. Matthew Naegle
and Miss Christine Naegle
Tinkerhill Road, R.D. 2
Phoenixville, Pennsylvania 19460

Mr. and Mrs. Alex Melton
c/o West Chester Community Center
West Chester, Pennsylvania 19380

5. Mr. Rustin's hat size is 7-1/4, his height is 6'1".

Please let Mrs. Harriet Siani or myself know if you need any additional information.

Sincerely,

Walter Naegle

653

RECEIVED MAR 8 1985

HAVERFORD
Office of the President

February 22, 1985

Baynard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
6th Floor
New York, New York 10010

Dear Baynard Rustin:

This is just a note to say how very pleased I am that you will let Haverford honor you on Commencement Day, May 20.

We will, of course, pay travel expenses for you and Mrs. Rustin and provide you with overnight accommodations on campus if you so desire. My assistant, Ann MacKay, will be glad to make your reservations from here or if you make them from New York please send her the bill and we will either reimburse or send directly to the travel agent.

If there are friends in the area you would like invited to Commencement send Ann their names and addresses and she will see that they receive formal invitations.

If you would like us to rent a cap and gown for the occasion please let Ann know your height and head size. We do like those on the platform to wear academic robes.

If you have any questions at all do not hesitate to call Ann collect. Our number is 1-215-896-1020. The dinner the evening before Commencement is informal.

I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Robert

Robert Stevens

Comm.
+ Luncheon

RS:td

6'
7 1/4 hat size

Alex
Matt + family

2 o'clock

Eli Wiesel

Haverford College ■ Haverford, Pennsylvania 19041-1392 ■ 215-896-1020

Officers
Bayard Rustin
President
Norman Hill
Executive Director
Charles Bremer
Associate Director
Mrs. Arthur C. Logan
Treasurer
Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

May 20

February 25, 1985

Robert B. Stevens
President
Haverford College
Haverford, Pa. 19041-1392

Dear Robert Stevens,

I have in hand your letter of February 18, and am writing to thank you for the invitation to receive an Honorary Degree from Haverford College. I am deeply honored by this consideration, and accept with pleasure.

Thank you, too, for detailing the events connected with the commencement exercises. I must be in Boston until mid-afternoon on Sunday, May 19th, but will do my very best to join you for the dinner at 6:00 PM on Sunday evening, if transportation can be satisfactorily arranged.

Please express my profound gratitude to the members of the Board of Managers, whom I anticipate meeting at the Commencement ceremonies.

Thank you again for the honor you have accorded me. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,
Bayard Rustin
Bayard Rustin

BR/hrs

filed: Chron
Schedule "yes" ✓

May 20

RECEIVED FEB 21 1985

HAVERFORD
Office of the President

February 18, 1985

Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
6th Floor
New York, NY 10010

Dear Bayard Rustin:

Haverford College's Board of Managers would like to invite you to receive an Honorary Degree at our Commencement on Monday, May 20, 1985 at 10:30 a.m.

On Sunday evening prior to Commencement, there would be an informal dinner at 6:00 p.m. for our honorary degree recipients and we would hope that you would be able to attend.

Following dinner we normally meet informally with our seniors. At that time I would tell them a little about you and, if you would be prepared to say just a few words to them, I know it would be appreciated. We would have four honorary degree recipients so your remarks would not have to be long.

There would be a reception for our guests, parents, faculty and students at 9:00 p.m.

Let me say how pleased I would be if you would be able to accept our Board's invitation to honor you.

Sincerely yours,

Robert B. Stevens
President

RS:td

Haverford College ■ Haverford, Pennsylvania 19041-1392 ■ 215-896-1020

BR -
there are
3 flights fr
Boston to
Philly which are
feasible

flts fr.
Boston to
Philly.

TO FIND OUT WHETHER MORE CONVENIENT CONNECTING FLIGHTS ARE AVAILABLE, YOU MAY WISH TO CONSTRUCT ALTERNATIVE CONNECTIONS AFTER

To Philadelphia Pa/Wilm'ton, De EST PHL

N-PNE (NORTH PHILADELPHIA)
P-PHL (INTERNATIONAL)
ALSO SEE WILMINGTON, DEL.

Freq.	Leave	Arrive	Flight		Class	Eq	Ml	S
From	**BILLINGS, MONT.**					MST	BIL	
X6	8:52a	10:15a DEN	UA	998	FYBQM	73S	S	0
	11:15a DEN	4:35P P	UA	694	FYBQM	767	L	0
	10:20a	1:02P MSP	NW	756	FYBQV	72S		0
	1:30P MSP	4:43P P	NW	536	FYBQV	72S	S	0
	1:00P	3:42P MSP	NW	68	FYBQV	72S	L	0
	5:25P MSP	8:40P P	NW	8	FCYBQ	D10	D	0
6	1:50P	3:32P MSP	NW	458	FYBQV	72S		0
E-16FEB	5:25P MSP	8:40P P	NW	8	FCYBQ	D10	D	0
X6	4:17P	5:29P DEN	FL	308	YB	73S		0
	6:35P DEN	11:45P P	CO	204	FCYQ	72S	D	0
	BINGHAMTON, N.Y.					EST	BGM	
X67	7:30a	8:20a P	SS	361	YBK	BE1		0
X67	11:45a	12:35P P	SS	333	YBK	BE1		0
X6	5:15P	6:05P P	SS	374	YBK	BE1		0
	CONNECTIONS							
6	3:30P	4:15P JFK	UR	67	YBV	F28		0
	4:45P JFK	5:40P P	PA	521	FDYBM	72S		0
X6	4:05P	4:35P SYR	UR	681	YB	SWM		0
	5:30P SYR	6:25P P	AL	49	YBM	D9S		0
	BIRMINGHAM, ALA.					CST	BHM	
	8:26P	12:23a P	EA	470	•	D9S		1
			EA 470 FYBML-ATL-FnYnBML					
	CONNECTIONS							
	7:04a	8:45a ATL	EA	548	FnYnBML	72S		0
	9:40a ATL	11:18a P	EA	606	YBML	72S	S	0
	7:45a	9:27a ATL	DL	1252	FYBMV	D9S		0
	10:18a ATL	11:55a P	DL	670	FYBMV	72S	S	0
	9:50a	11:33a ATL	EA	296	FYBML	727		0
	12:19P ATL	1:50P P	EA	124	FYBML	72S	L	0
	11:05a	12:47P ATL	DL	736	FYBMV	757		0
	1:33P ATL	3:10P P	DL	370	FYBMV	72S		0
	11:30a	12:11P BNA	AL	16	YBM	D9S		0
	12:50P BNA	3:29P P	AL	160	YBM	D9S	S	0
X7	11:44a	1:25P ATL	EA	686	FYBML	72S		0
	2:10P ATL	3:50P P	EA	564	FYBML	727		0
	1:03P	2:44P ATL	EA	698	FYBML	727		0
	3:48P ATL	5:28P P	EA	602	FYBML	72S	S	0
	2:15P	3:57P ATL	DL	1216	FYBMV	D9S		0
D-22FEB	5:05P ATL	6:50P P	DL	924	FYBMV	D8S	D	0
	2:15P	3:57P ATL	DL	1216	FYBMV	72S		0
E-23FEB	5:05P ATL	6:50P P	DL	924	FYBMV	D8S	D	0
	2:40P	4:15P ATL	RC	467	CYBMK	D9S		0
	5:28P ATL	7:08P P	EA	120	FYBML	72S	D	0
X6	3:10P	3:51P BNA	AL	187	YBM	D9S		0
	5:05P BNA	7:45P P	AL	260	YBM	D9S	S	0
	4:39P	6:18P ATL	EA	674	FYBML	D9S		0
	7:25P ATL	9:05P P	EA	724	FYBML	727	D	0
	5:35P	7:17P ATL	DL	402	FYBMV	72S		0
	8:40P ATL	10:25P P	DL	998	FYBMV	D8S		0
	7:50P	9:32P ATL	DL	1188	FYBMV	73S		0
	10:57P ATL	12:30a P	DL	430	FnYnMVBn	72S		0
	BISMARCK, N.D.					CST	BIS	
X7	6:45a	7:44a MSP	NW	462	FYBQV	727	S	0
	9:10a MSP	1:25P P	NW	524	FYBQV	72S	S	1
X7	6:45a	7:44a MSP	RC	406	CYBMK	D9S		0
	9:10a MSP	1:25P P	NW	524	FYBQV	72S	S	1
	11:15a	1:02P MSP	NW	573	FYBQV	727		1
	1:30P MSP	4:43P P	NW	536	FYBQV	72S	S	0
	3:35P	4:40P MSP	NW	242	FYBQV	72S		0
	5:25P MSP	8:40P P	NW	8	FCYBQ	D10	D	0
	BLOOMINGTON, ILL.					CST	BMI	
6	6:20a	7:40a ORD	RU	762	YBQMK	FK7	S	1
	8:55a ORD	11:42a P	TW	238	FYBMK	72S	B	0
X67	6:45a	7:55a STL	RU	290	YBQMK	SWM		1
	9:55a STL	12:54P P	TW	390	FYBMK	727	S	0
X6	9:25a	10:10a ORD	RU	150	YBQMK	SWM		0
	11:45a ORD	2:32P P	UA	280	FYBQM	D10	L	0
6	1:10P	1:55P STL	RU	293	YBQMK	SWM		0
	2:55P STL	6:12P P	OZ	792	YBQMV	DC9	S	0
	2:25P	3:15P ORD	RU	734	YBQMK	FK7		0
	4:00P ORD	6:45P P	AA	668	FYBQM	72S	S	0
X6	4:20P	5:30P STL	RU	474	YBQMK	BE9		1
	6:43P STL	9:43P P	OZ	774	YBQMV	DC9	D	0
	4:20P	5:30P STL	RU	474	YBQMK	BE9		1
	7:45P STL	10:42P P	TW	446	FCYBM	L10	S	0
	BLUE BELL, PA.					EST	BBX	
1234	5:55a	6:10a P	WQ	120	YQ	BNI		0
X67	6:15a	6:30a P	WQ	101	YQ	BNI		0
12	6:40a	6:55a P	WQ	191	YQ	BNI		0
X67	7:00a	7:15a P	WQ	121	YQ	BNI		0
1234	7:15a	7:30a P	WQ	102	YQ	BNI		0
12	7:45a	8:00a P	WQ	141	YQ	BNI		0
1234	8:00a	8:15a P	WQ	122	YQ	BNI		0
X67	8:30a	8:45a P	WQ	103	YQ	BNT		0
X56	9:15a	9:30a P	WQ	123	YQ	BNT		0
X7	9:45a	10:00a P	WQ	104	YQ	BNT		0
X56	10:30a	10:45a P	WQ	124	YQ	BNT		0
X7	11:15a	11:30a P	WQ	105	YQ	BNT		0
X56	11:45a	12:00n P	WQ	125	YQ	BNT		0
X7	12:30P	12:45P P	WQ	106	YQ	BNT		0
X6	1:00P	1:15P P	WQ	126	YQ	BNT		0
	1:30P	1:45P P	WQ	107	YQ	BNT		0
X6	2:15P	2:30P P	WQ	127	YQ	BNT		0
	2:45P	3:00P P	WQ	108	YQ	BNT		0
X6	3:30P	3:45P P	WQ	128	YQ	BNT		0
	4:00P	4:15P P	WQ	109	YQ	BNT		0
X6	4:30P	4:45P P	WQ	129	YQ	BNT		0
	5:15P	5:30P P	WQ	110	YQ	BNT		0
X67	5:45P	6:00P P	WQ	130	YQ	BNT		0
X6	6:30P	6:45P P	WQ	111	YQ	BNT		0
X67	7:00P	7:15P P	WQ	131	YQ	BNT		0
X6	8:00P	8:15P P	WQ	112	YQ	BNT		0
X6	9:15P	9:30P P	WQ	114	YQ	BNT		0
	BOISE, IDAHO					MST	BOI	
27	8:19a	9:56a DEN	FL	232	YnB	73S	S	0
	10:55a DEN	4:15P P	CO	202	FCYQ	M80	L	0
X7	8:20a	10:05a DEN	UA	828	FYBQM	73S	B	0
	10:55a DEN	4:15P P	CO	202	FCYQ	M80	L	0
	9:10a	1:15P ORD	UA	944	FYBQM	727	B	0
	2:20P ORD	6:10P P	UA	26	FYBQM	D10	S	0
3457	12:56P	2:30P DEN	FL	156	YB	73S		0
E-16FEB	4:21P DEN	9:36P P	UA	494	FYBQM	D8S	D	0
12	12:56P	2:30P DEN	FL	156	YnB	73S		0
E-16FEB	4:21P DEN	9:36P P	UA	494	FYBQM	D8S	D	0
	1:30P	3:05P DEN	UA	962	FYBQM	72S	S	0
E-16FEB D-22FEB	4:21P DEN	9:36P P	UA	494	FYBQM	D8S	D	0
	1:30P	3:05P DEN	UA	962	FYBQM	72S	S	0
E-24FEB	4:21P DEN	9:36P P	UA	494	FYBQM	D8S	D	0
	3:00P	5:44P DEN	WA	258	FYBQM	72S	S/	1
	6:35P DEN	11:45P P	CO	204	FCYQ	72S	D	0
	BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS					EST	BOS	
	7:10a	8:15a P	EA	531	FYBML	72S	S	0
	7:25a	8:35a P	AL	63	YBM	D9S	B	0
	7:45a	9:03a P	EA	963	FYBML	AB3	S	0
X7	8:30a	9:42a P	AL	196	YBM	B11	B	0
	9:00a	10:08a P	DL	219	FYBMV	72S	S	0
7	9:00a	10:11a P	AL	591	YBM	73S		0
X67	9:05a	10:17a P	AL	362	YBM	B11		0
7	10:10a	11:22a P	AL	505	YBM	B11		0
	12:30P	1:38P P	DL	473	FYBMV	72S	S	0
X6	12:30P	1:40P P	AL	421	YBM	D9S	S	0
X6 1.	2:30P	3:40P P	AL	281	YBM	D9S		0
2.	3:15P	4:25P P	AL	249	YBM	D9S		0
X6 3.	3:40P	4:50P P	EA	551	FYBML	72S		0
	4:35P	5:45P P	AL	151	YBM	D9S		0
	4:55P	6:05P P	EA	887	FYBML	727		0
	5:25P	6:33P P	DL	589	FYBMV	72S	S	0
	6:11P	7:27P P	EA	839	FYBML	72S	S	0
X6	7:30P	8:40P P	AL	609	YBM	D9S		0
	7:32P	8:40P P	DL	599	FYBMV	72S		0
X6	8:35P	9:47P P	AL	381	YBM	B11		0
		CONT. NEXT COLUMN						
	To Philadelphia Pa/Wilm'ton, De					EST	PHL	
From	**BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS-CONT.**							
	CONNECTIONS							
X67	8:30a	9:30a EWR	EA	781	FYBML	72S	S	0
	11:30a EWR	12:05P P	RP	1953	K	DO8		0
6	1:10P	2:12P EWR	EA	383	FYBML	D9S		0
	3:40P EWR	4:15P P	RP	1881	MK	BE9		0
X6	4:02P	5:15P EWR	EA	759	FYBML	AB3		0
	7:00P EWR	7:35P P	RP	1967	K	DO8		0
	BOZEMAN, MONTANA					MST	BZN	
1345	7:07a	9:44a DEN	FL	37	YB	73S	S	2
	10:55a DEN	4:15P P	CO	202	FCYQ	M80	L	0
267	7:07a	9:44a DEN	FL	37	YnB	73S	S	2
	10:55a DEN	4:15P P	CO	202	FCYQ	M80	L	0
	11:25a	3:44P ORD	NW	72	FYBQV	72S	L	1
	4:55P ORD	7:45P P	UA	376	FYBQM	D10	D	0
6	12:50P	4:32P MSP	NW	458	FYBQV	72S		1
E-16FEB	5:25P MSP	8:40P P	NW	8	FCYBQ	D10	D	0
	BRAINERD, MINN.					CST	BRD	
X7	7:00a	7:40a MSP	NW	1030	YBQV	F27		0
	9:10a MSP	1:25P P	NW	524	FYBQV	72S	S	1
X7	7:15a	7:50a MSP	RC	892	YBMK	CVR		0
	9:10a MSP	1:25P P	NW	524	FYBQV	72S	S	1
	3:25P	4:00P MSP	RC	893	YBMK	CVR		0
	5:25P MSP	8:40P P	NW	8	FCYBQ	D10	D	0
X6	3:55P	4:35P MSP	NW	1036	YBQV	F27		0
	5:25P MSP	8:40P P	NW	8	FCYBQ	D10	D	0
	BRIDGEPORT, CONN.					EST	BDR	
X67	7:00a	7:57a P	NC	51	Y	EMB		0
X67	7:00a	8:05a P	HQ	1111	Y	BE9	S	1
X67	7:05a	7:55a P	HQ	1107	Y	BE9	S	0
X67	10:00a	11:05a P	HQ	1115	Y	BE9	S	1
X67	1:30P	2:35P P	HQ	1117	Y	BE9	S	1
X67	2:45P	3:35P P	HQ	1109	Y	BE9	S	0
X6	3:25P	4:22P P	NC	55	Y	EMB		0
X6	4:30P	5:35P P	HQ	1119	Y	BE9	S	1
1457	7:30P	8:27P P	NC	67	Y	EMB		0
	BROWNSVILLE, TEXAS					CST	BRO	
6	11:50a	2:18P STL	OZ	632	YBQMV	D9S	L	0
	2:55P STL	6:12P P	OZ	792	YBQMV	DC9	S	0
	11:50a	2:18P STL	OZ	632	YBQMV	D9S	L	0
	4:40P STL	7:44P P	TW	108	FYBMK	72S	D	0
	BUFFALO, N.Y.					EST	BUF	
X7	7:00a	7:58a P	AL	75	YBM	73S	S	0
X7	10:05a	12:24P P	AL	10	YBM	73S		1
X6	11:45a	12:42P P	AL	205	YBM	D9S		0
X6	2:05P	4:26P P	AL	495	YBM	B11		1
	5:15P	6:12P P	AL	437	YBM	D9S		0
	CONNECTIONS							
7	8:20a	8:46a ROC	AL	524	YBMK	73S		0
	9:50a ROC	10:49a P	AL	97	YBM	B11		0
6	1:20P	2:15P EWR	AL	698	YBMKn	D9S		0
	3:40P EWR	4:15P P	RP	1881	MK	BE9		0
	BURBANK, CALIF.					PST	BUR	
	7:00a	4:15P P	CO	202	FCYnQ	M80	BL	1
	CONNECTIONS							
	7:25a	12:16P DFW	AA	60	FYBQM	M80	B	0
	1:09P DFW	4:47P P	AA	378	FYBQM	72S	L	0
	9:28a	3:18P ORD	AA	528	FYBQM	M80	L	0
	4:00P ORD	6:45P P	AA	668	FYBQM	72S	S	0
	1:15P	7:05P ORD	AA	609	FYBQM	M80	L	0
	7:54P ORD	10:39P P	AA	424	FYBQM	72S		0
	2:05P	6:56P DFW	AA	211	FYBQM	M80	L	0
	7:57P DFW	11:35P P	AA	400	FYBQM	72S	S	0
	2:45P	5:45P DEN	CO	304	FCYQ	D9S	S	0
	6:35P DEN	11:45P P	CO	204	FCYQ	72S	D	0
X67	6:00P	6:45P SAN	OO	674	YQV	SWM		0
	8:25P SAN	5:33a P	EA	410	FnYnBML	757	S	1
	6:15P	7:20P SFO	OC	103	KLV	73S		0
	10:00P SFO	8:01a P	TW	50	FnCnYnBM	L10	S	1
			TW 50 CHG PLANE AT JFK					
7	7:00P	7:15P LAX	OO	673	YQV	SWM		0
	10:00P LAX	8:01a P	TW	702	FnCnYnBM	L10	S	1
X6	7:30P	8:39P SFO	PS	671	YBQMV	146		0
	10:00P SFO	8:01a P	TW	50	FnCnYnBM	L10	S	1
			TW 50 CHG PLANE AT JFK					
	BURLINGTON, IOWA					CST	BRL	
6	7:00a	8:05a STL	RU	190	YBQMK	SWM		1
	9:30a STL	12:30P P	OZ	770	YBQMV	DC9	B	0
X67	7:00a	7:50a STL	RU	280	YBQMK	SWM		0
	9:55a STL	12:54P P	TW	390	FYBMK	727	S	0
X7	7:35a	9:00a ORD	RU	760	YBQMK	FK7	S	1
	9:54a ORD	12:39P P	AA	128	FYBQM	72S	S	0
7	7:35a	9:00a ORD	RU	760	YBQMK	FK7	S	1
	9:54a ORD	12:39P P	AA	128	FYBQM	M80	S	0
	11:05a	12:30P ORD	RU	754	YBQMK	FK7		1
	1:23P ORD	4:08P P	AA	230	FYBQM	72S	L	0
6	1:55P	3:20P ORD	RU	784	YBQMK	FK7		1
	4:00P ORD	6:45P P	AA	668	FYBQM	72S	S	0
X6	2:15P	3:20P STL	RU	284	YBQMK	SWM		1
	4:40P STL	7:44P P	TW	108	FYBMK	72S	D	0
X6	4:45P	5:35P STL	RU	286	YBQMK	SWM		0
	6:43P STL	9:43P P	OZ	774	YBQMV	DC9	D	0
6	5:45P	6:50P STL	RU	196	YBQMK	SWM		1
	7:45P STL	10:42P P	TW	446	FCYBM	L10	S	0
	BURLINGTON, VT.					EST	BTV	
X6	2:35P	6:05P P	SS	374	YBK	BE1		5
	CONNECTIONS							
X67	6:20a	7:20a BGM	SS	100	YBK	F27		0
	7:30a BGM	8:20a P	SS	361	YBK	BE1		0
X7	6:20a	7:10a SYR	UR	401	YB	SWM		0
	8:40a SYR	9:32a P	AL	125	YBM	D9S	S	0
X7	6:30a	7:30a BOS	PT	741	YBQM	EMB		0
	8:30a BOS	9:42a P	AL	196	YBM	B11	B	0
7	7:00a	8:00a BOS	SS	270	YBK	F27		0
	9:00a BOS	10:08a P	DL	219	FYBMV	72S	S	0
6	8:00a	9:00a BOS	SS	722	YBK	F27		0
	12:30P BOS	1:38P P	DL	473	FYBMV	72S	S	0
7	8:30a	9:30a BOS	PT	979	YBQM	CNA		0
	10:10a BOS	11:22a P	AL	505	YBM	B11		0
X67	10:00a	11:00a BOS	SS	124	YBK	F27		0
	12:30P BOS	1:38P P	DL	473	FYBMV	72S	S	0
	10:30a	11:30a BOS	PT	757	YBQM	EMB		0
	12:30P BOS	1:38P P	DL	473	FYBMV	72S	S	0
X67	10:45a	11:45a BOS	DL	1885	YBMV	ND2		0
	12:30P BOS	1:38P P	DL	473	FYBMV	72S	S	0
X67	4:00P	4:55P BOS	SS	365	YBK	BE1		0
	5:25P BOS	6:33P P	DL	589	FYBMV	72S	S	0
67	4:00P	4:55P BOS	SS	128	YBK	F27		0
	5:25P BOS	6:33P P	DL	589	FYBMV	72S	S	0
	CALGARY, ALTA.					MST	YYC	
1	1:15a	7:00a YYZ	CP	68	FCYBH	737	B	0
	8:40a YYZ	9:58a P	EA	891	FYBML	AB3	S	0
X7	1:30a	7:04a YYZ	AC	146	FCYBV	767	B	0
	8:40a YYZ	9:58a P	EA	891	FYBML	AB3	S	0
X17	1:30a	7:00a YYZ	CP	68	CYBH	D10	B	0
	8:40a YYZ	9:58a P	EA	891	FYBML	AB3	S	0
7	1:30a	7:00a YYZ	AC	146	FCYBV	72S	B	0
	8:40a YYZ	9:58a P	EA	891	FYBML	AB3	S	0
X67	7:45a	1:15P YYZ	CP	82	FCYBH	D10	B	0
	4:15P YYZ	6:12P P	AL	437	YBM	D9S		1
7	7:45a	1:30P YYZ	CP	82	CYBH	737	B	0
	4:15P YYZ	6:12P P	AL	437	YBM	D9S		1
67	7:45a	1:30P YYZ	CP	82	CYBH	737	B	0
	5:20P YYZ	8:27P P	EA	833	FYBML	72S	S/	0
X7	10:35a	2:31P ORD	AC	836	FCYB	72S	L	0
	4:00P ORD	6:45P P	AA	668	FYBQM	72S	S	0
	10:45a	4:34P YUL	AC	144	FCYBV	72S	L	0
	6:26P YUL	7:42P P	EA	561	FYBML	72S	S/	0
	CANCUN, MEXICO					CST	CUN	
X2	2:40P	6:55P P	MX	822	Y	72S		0
			MX 822 DISCONTINUED AFTER 27APR					
X2	2:40P	6:55P P	MX	822	Y	72S		0
			MX 822 EFFECTIVE 27OCT					
4567	2:45P	8:05P P	MX	822	Y	72S		0
			MX 822 EFFECTIVE 28APR-26OCT					
	CONNECTIONS							
6	12:30P	3:55P ORD	UA	42	FYBQM	72S	L	0
	4:55P ORD	7:45P P	UA	376	FYBQM	D10	D	0
		CONT. NEXT COLUMN						
	To Philadelphia Pa/Wilm'ton, De					EST	PHL	
From	**CANCUN, MEXICO-CONT.**							
	12:34P	4:13P DFW	AA	356	FYBQM	72S	L	1
	5:19P DFW	8:57P P	AA	586	FYBQM	72S	D	0
1457	12:50P	2:55P IAH	AM	474	Y	M80	S	0
D-28FEB	5:56P IAH	9:20P P	EA	550	FYBML	72S	D	0
X6	12:50P	2:55P IAH	AM	474	Y	M80	S	0
E-1MAR	5:56P IAH	9:20P P	EA	550	FYBML	72S	D	0
X23	12:50P	2:55P IAH	AM	474	Y	M80	S	0
D-28FEB	7:00P IAH	10:50P P	CO	374	FCYQ	727	D	0
	12:50P	2:55P IAH	AM	474	Y	M80	S	0
E-1MAR	7:00P IAH	10:50P P	CO	374	FCYQ	727	D	0
267	2:15P	6:47P ORD	UA	43	FYBQM	D8S	D	1
	8:05P ORD	10:50P P	UA	128	FYBQM	D10		0
	2:50P	4:29P MSY	EA	910	FYBML	72S	S	0
	6:35P MSY	9:50P P	DL	608	FYBMV	72S	D	0
1345	3:20P	6:45P ORD	UA	46	FYBQM	D8S	D	0
	8:05P ORD	10:50P P	UA	128	FYBQM	D10		0
	CAPE MAY, N.J.					EST	WWD	
X67	5:20a	6:15a P	AL	1000	YBQM	DHT		1
67	8:20a	9:15a P	AL	1004	YBM	DHT		1
X6	10:30a	11:25a P	AL	1006	YBM	DHT		1
6	11:35a	12:30P P	AL	1008	YBM	DHT		1
7	2:05P	3:00P P	AL	1010	YBM	DHT		1
X6	3:30P	4:25P P	AL	1012	YBM	DHT		1
	CARBONDALE, ILL.					CST	MDH	
X7	7:25a	8:00a STL	7R	231	YM	SWM		0
	9:30a STL	12:30P P	OZ	770	YBQMV	DC9	B	0
X6	7:25a	8:00a STL	7R	231	YM	SWM		0
	9:55a STL	12:54P P	TW	390	FYBMK	727	S	0
	10:45a	11:20a STL	7R	233	YM	SWM		0
	1:55P STL	4:59P P	TW	756	FCYBM	L10	S	0
	3:00P	3:35P STL	7R	235	YM	SWM		0
	4:40P STL	7:44P P	TW	108	FYBMK	72S	D	0
X67	5:00P	5:35P STL	7R	237	YM	SWM		0
	6:43P STL	9:43P P	OZ	774	YBQMV	DC9	D	0
	CAYMAN BRAC, WEST INDIES					EST	CYB	
15	9:50a	11:00a MIA	KX	240	FY	72S	S	0
E-2MAR	12:45P MIA	4:05P P	PA	522	FDYBM	72S	S	1
15	9:50a	11:00a MIA	KX	240	FY	72S	S	0
	12:35P MIA	5:20P P	EA	374	FYBML	D9S		2
X12	10:10a	11:00a GCM	KX	031	T	BNT		0
	3:10P GCM	4:20P MIA	KX	046	FY	72S		0
	7:40P MIA	10:01P P	EA	38	FYBML	L10	S	0
7	12:40P	1:30P GCM	KX	033	T	BNT		0
	3:10P GCM	4:20P MIA	KX	046	FY	72S		0
	7:40P MIA	10:01P P	EA	38	FYBML	L10	S	0
1	3:45P	4:55P MIA	KX	048	FY	72S		0
	7:40P MIA	10:01P P	EA	38	FYBML	L10	S	0
	CEDAR RAPIDS/IOWA CITY, IA.					CST	CID	
X67	6:15a	7:18a ORD	XV	540	YBQMK	F27		0
	8:55a ORD	11:42a P	TW	238	FYBMK	72S	B	0
X7	6:35a	7:40a MSP	IU	101	YBQM	SWM		0
	9:10a MSP	1:25P P	NW	524	FYBQV	72S	S	1
X67	7:00a	8:10a MSP	JR	780	YBQMK	EMB		0
	9:10a MSP	1:25P P	NW	524	FYBQV	72S	S	1
X7	7:05a	8:10a STL	OZ	709	YBQMV	D9S	S	0
	9:30a STL	12:30P P	OZ	770	YBQMV	DC9	B	0
X6	7:05a	8:10a STL	OZ	709	YBQMV	D9S	S	0
	9:55a STL	12:54P P	TW	390	FYBMK	727	S	0
X7	7:40a	8:40a ORD	RU	700	YBQMK	FK7	S	0
	9:54a ORD	12:39P P	AA	128	FYBQM	72S	S	0
7	7:40a	8:40a ORD	RU	700	YBQMK	FK7	S	0
	9:54a ORD	12:39P P	AA	128	FYBQM	M80	S	0
X67	9:40a	10:45a MSP	IU	102	YBQM	SWM		0
	1:30P MSP	4:43P P	NW	536	FYBQV	72S	S	0
X67	10:35a	11:30a MDW	JR	841	YBMK	EMB		0
	12:15P MDW	3:00P P	ML	344	YBQM	D9S	S	0
6	10:42a	11:59a ORD	XV	523	YBQMK	SH3		0
	1:23P ORD	4:08P P	AA	230	FYBQM	72S	L	0
6	10:45a	12:15P MSP	JR	988	YBMK	EMB		1
	1:30P MSP	4:43P P	NW	536	FYBQV	72S	S	0
X6	12:37P	1:27P STL	OZ	677	YBQMV	D9S		0
	2:05P STL	5:07P P	OZ	772	YBQMV	DC9	S	1
6	12:37P	1:27P STL	OZ	677	YBQMV	D9S		0
	2:55P STL	6:12P P	OZ	792	YBQMV	DC9	S	0
X6	2:20P	3:10P ORD	RU	924	YBQMK	B11		0
	4:00P ORD	6:45P P	AA	668	FYBQM	72S	S	0
X6	2:40P	4:01P MSP	XV	133	YBQMK	SH3	S	0
	5:25P MSP	8:40P P	NW	8	FCYBQ	D10	D	0
X6	5:05P	6:10P STL	OZ	762	YBQMV	D9S		0
	6:43P STL	9:43P P	OZ	774	YBQMV	DC9	D	0
X67	5:05P	6:35P MDW	JR	843	YBMK	EMB		1
	7:10P MDW	9:55P P	ML	378	YBQM	D9S	S	0
X6	5:05P	6:10P STL	OZ	762	YBQMV	D9S		0
	7:45P STL	10:42P P	TW	446	FCYBM	L10	S	0
6	5:30P	6:43P ORD	XV	548	YBQMK	SH6	S	0
	7:54P ORD	10:39P P	AA	424	FYBQM	72S		0
	CHAMPAIGN, ILL.					CST	CMI	
	2:05P	5:42P P	PI	464	WYBHQ	73S	S	1
X6	5:35P	9:14P P	PI	302	WYBHQ	73S		1
	CONNECTIONS							
X7	6:15a	7:14a ORD	XV	240	YBQMK	SH6		0
	8:55a ORD	11:42a P	TW	238	FYBMK	72S	B	0
X67	7:00a	7:45a ORD	RU	930	YBQMK	B11	S	0
	8:55a ORD	11:42a P	TW	238	FYBMK	72S	B	0
X7	7:00a	7:55a STL	OZ	754	YBQMV	D9S		0
	9:30a STL	12:30P P	OZ	770	YBQMV	DC9	B	0
X6	7:00a	7:55a STL	OZ	754	YBQMV	D9S		0
	9:55a STL	12:54P P	TW	390	FYBMK	727	S	0
7	7:50a	8:40a ORD	RU	726	YBQMK	FK7	S	0
	9:54a ORD	12:39P P	AA	128	FYBQM	M80	S	0
6	8:10a	9:00a ORD	RU	720	YBQMK	FK7	S	0
	9:54a ORD	12:39P P	AA	128	FYBQM	72S	S	0
X67	10:05a	10:45a ORD	RU	932	YBQMK	B11		0
	11:45a ORD	2:32P P	UA	280	FYBQM	D10	L	0
X6	12:00n	1:30P STL	OZ	817	YBQMV	D9S		1
	2:05P STL	5:07P P	OZ	772	YBQMV	DC9	S	1
6	12:00n	1:30P STL	OZ	817	YBQMV	D9S		1
	2:55P STL	6:12P P	OZ	792	YBQMV	DC9	S	0
	12:25P	1:15P STL	RU	468	YBQMK	BE9		0
	1:55P STL	4:59P P	TW	756	FCYBM	L10	S	0
X6	12:25P	1:15P STL	RU	468	YBQMK	BE9		0
	2:05P STL	5:07P P	OZ	772	YBQMV	DC9	S	1
6	12:25P	1:15P STL	RU	468	YBQMK	BE9		0
	2:55P STL	6:12P P	OZ	792	YBQMV	DC9	S	0
X6	5:15P	6:10P STL	OZ	703	YBQMV	DC9		0
	6:43P STL	9:43P P	OZ	774	YBQMV	DC9	D	0
X6	5:50P	6:40P STL	RU	278	YBQMK	SWM		0
	7:45P STL	10:42P P	TW	446	FCYBM	L10	S	0
	CHARLESTON, S.C.					EST	CHS	
X6	6:12P	8:32P P	EA	608	FYBML	72S		1
	CONNECTIONS							
X7	6:50a	7:27a CLT	EA	370	FYBML	D9S		0
	7:57a CLT	9:09a P	EA	590	FYBML	72S	S	0
X7	7:46a	8:50a ATL	EA	619	FYBML	D9S	S	0
	9:40a ATL	11:18a P	EA	606	YBML	72S	S	0
7	7:46a	8:50a ATL	EA	234	FYBML	D9S	B	0
	9:40a ATL	11:18a P	EA	606	YBML	72S	S	0
	7:50a	8:29a CLT	PI	242	WYBHQ	73S		0
	9:00a CLT	10:20a P	PI	214	WYBHQ	73S	S	0
	8:45a	9:40a ATL	DL	1270	FYBMV	D9S		0
D-22FEB	10:18a ATL	11:55a P	DL	670	FYBMV	72S	S	0
	8:45a	9:40a ATL	DL	1270	FYBMV	72S		0
E-23FEB	10:18a ATL	11:55a P	DL	670	FYBMV	72S	S	0
X6	10:42a	11:20a CLT	EA	588	FYBML	D9S		0
	11:50a CLT	1:00P P	EA	596	FYBML	72S	S	0
6	10:42a	11:20a CLT	EA	574	FYBML	D9S		0
	11:50a CLT	1:00P P	EA	596	FYBML	72S	S	0
	11:57a	12:53P ATL	DL	1126	FYBMV	73S		0
	1:33P ATL	3:10P P	DL	370	FYBMV	72S		0
	12:33P	1:35P ATL	EA	278	FYBML	D9S		0
	2:10P ATL	3:50P P	EA	564	FYBML	727		0
	12:35P	1:33P ORF	PI	394	WYBHQ	73S	S	0
	2:15P ORF	3:04P P	AL	489	YBM	D9S		0
	2:52P	3:30P CLT	EA	216	FYBML	D9S		0
	4:05P CLT	5:20P P	EA	374	FYBML	D9S		0
	3:00P	3:45P CLT	PI	108	WYBHQ	72S		0
	4:20P CLT	5:40P P	PI	218	WYBHQ	73S		0
		CONT. NEXT COLUMN						

1-MONDAY 2-TUESDAY 3-WEDNESDAY 4-THURSDAY 5-FRIDAY 6-SATURDAY 7-SUNDAY X-EXCEPT

COMMENCEMENT DAY

MAY 20, 1985

HAVERFORD

COMMENCEMENT

ORDER OF EXERCISES

10:30 a.m.	Informal Music Preceding Processional The Chestnut Brass Company Jay Krush, Director
10:45 a.m.	Academic Procession Forms in the Gymnasium
11:00 a.m.	Exercises Begin

PROCESSIONAL

The audience is requested to stand during the processional

- The Marshals
- The Candidates for Degrees
- The Board of Managers
- The Faculty Emeriti
- The Faculty
- The President's Group
  - Chairman of the Board of Managers
  - Vice President of the Corporation
  - Academic Deputy to the President of Bryn Mawr College
  - The Acting Provost and the Dean of the College
  - The Candidates for Honorary Degrees
  - The Commencement Speaker
  - The President of the College

READINGS FROM THE SCRIPTURES

John B. Jones Jr., Chairman, *Board of Managers*

GREETINGS FROM THE COLLEGE

Robert Stevens, *President*

INTRODUCTION OF THE SPEAKER

Rodger Martin Landau, 1985

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

Elie Wiesel
Author and Teacher

Faculty Marshals

- Edwin B. Bronner
- Paul C. Jefferson
- Judith A. Owen
- Deborah H. Roberts

FELLOWSHIPS, PRIZES AND HONORS AWARDED BY THE COLLEGE

FELLOWSHIPS

The Augustus Taber Murray Research Fellowship for graduate study at another institution has been awarded to
Richard Brian Hardack, 1985

The Clementine Cope Fellowships for graduate study at another institution have been awarded to
Melissa Ann Dawson, 1985, First Fellow
Susan Emily Skeath, 1985, Second Fellow

PRIZES

The Class of 1896 prize in Latin and Mathematics for Sophomores who have done the best work in the Departments has been awarded to
Joshua Dorchak, 1987, Latin
David Putnam Rees, 1987, Mathematics

The Department Prize in Philosophy has been awarded to
David Adam Levenstein, 1985

The Lyman Beecher Hall Prize in Chemistry for Juniors, Seniors, or recent Graduates who expect to engage in research has been awarded to
Martin Joseph Dellwo, 1985
Paul F. Fehlner, 1985

The American Chemical Society Prize for Scholastic Achievement has been awarded to
Martin Joseph Dellwo, 1985

The Scholarship Improvement Prizes for the Seniors who have shown the most steady and marked improvement in Scholarship during the college course have been awarded to
Joseph John Vitale, 1985, First Prize
David Adam Levenstein, 1985, Second Prize

The American Institute of Chemists Award for an outstanding senior in Chemistry has been awarded to
Paul F. Fehlner, 1985

The Stephen G. Cary Award of $1,000 to be given in the winner's name to a fund which is to be used in the event of a financial aid deficit. The award is presented by the Students' Association to the nominated senior who best exemplifies the qualities so closely identified with Steve Cary of "honesty, integrity, a healthy combination of scholarly and extracurricular activities and most of all a deep concern for those not only a part of the Haverford Community but of our neighboring communities." The Cary prize has been awarded to
Michael Francis Van Hoy, 1985

The George Peirce Prize in Chemistry has been awarded to
Julia Carroll Hendrix, 1985

The Newton Prize in English Literature awarded on the basis of final honors in English has been awarded to
Richard Brian Hardack, 1985

The Biblical Literature Prizes for students who have done the most satisfactory reading on the Bible and related subjects have been awarded to
Amy Maria Hollywood, 1985, *Bryn Mawr College,* First Prize
William Sterret Hoffman, 1986, Second Prize

The William Docherty Award for the Intramural Basketball players who best exemplify the traditions of fair play and competitiveness which will always be associated with Coach William Docherty has been awarded to
Patrick A. Jackman, 1985
Brooks Crichlow, 1985

The Edmund J. Lee Memorial Award for the student organization which has done the most to advance the interests of Haverford College during the current academic year has been awarded to
Hillel of Havermawr

The Mark L. Hepps Memorial Prize awarded by the Department of Classics for diligence in the study of Elementary Latin has been awarded to
John Henry Fischer, 1988

The S. P. Lippincott Prize in History has been awarded to
Henry Joseph Ritchotte, 1985

The William W. Baker Prize in Greek has been awarded to
Leo V. Monahan Janas, 1985

The John G. Wallace Class Night Awards, for the students who excelled in acting in the Class Night Production, have been awarded to
Stephen Michael Kolman, 1988
Theodore Clark Lutkus, 1988
Sarah Susannah Willie, 1986

The Varsity Cup for the student who excelled in Leadership, Sportsmanship, and Athletic Ability has been awarded to
Lydia Anne Martin, 1986

The Stephen G. Cary Award presented in recognition of outstanding achievement and dedication in women's athletics at Haverford has been awarded to
Penelope C. Hinckley
Associate Director of Athletics

The Martin Foss Award, presented by the Students' Council to that member of the Haverford College Community whose life speaks directly to the lives of others by its powerful harmony of intellect, compassion and courage, has been awarded to
Ronald F. Thiemann
Associate Professor of Religion
Acting Provost

The Department Prizes in Mathematics have been awarded to
Mark Ellis Robinson, 1988, First Prize
Stephen Joseph Falchek, 1988, Second Prize

The Stephen H. Miller Memorial Award for the graduating senior in Political Science who best exemplifies the ideal of political involvement and social service expressed in the life and career of Stephen H. Miller, 1962, who lost his life while serving his country and his fellow man, taking part in village development as a member of the United States Information Agency in South Vietnam, has been awarded to
Martin J. Hamburger, 1985

The Students' Association Award, presented to a Haverford faculty member who gives outstanding service to the Haverford community and who upholds the qualities intrinsic with a Haverford education, has been awarded to
Roger Lane
Benjamin Collins Professor of Social Sciences

The Elliston P. Morris and Elizabeth P. Smith Peace Prize for the best essay on "Means of Achieving International Peace" has been awarded to
Melissa Ann Dawson, 1985

The William Ellis Scull Prize for the upperclassman who shall have shown the greatest achievement in voice and articulation of the English language, has been awarded to
Natania Rosenfeld, 1985, *Bryn Mawr College*

The Harold P. Kurzman Prizes for the Seniors who have performed best and most creatively in Political Science course work have been awarded to
Jeffrey Kalman Hettleman, 1985
Kenneth Stern, 1985

The Charles Schwartz Memorial Prizes in Philosophy honor the memory of a graduate of Haverford's Class of 1979. It is awarded annually to the students whose senior research thesis best exemplifies the care, precision and creativity in philosophical inquiry which Chuck Schwartz's own thesis so ably demonstrated. Awarded to
Jyl Kely Gentzler, 1985, *Bryn Mawr College*
Molly Finn, 1985

The Gertrude Albert Heller Awards are monetary awards intended to encourage undergraduates to work with the neurologically impaired. The experience may be in social service or experimental research and may include summer work. Awarded to
Emily Jane Lawrence, 1987
Kari Christine Nadeau, 1988
Katherine Leah Nathanson, 1987
Kathryn Marian Rexrode, 1986

The Kaye Prizes in Theatre Arts are awarded to two students who have, through excellence of their extracurricular work in theatre arts during the current year, done the most to make theatre arts an important part of the Haverford/Bryn Mawr community. These prizes were established by Laurence Kaye '83 and his parents, Cynthia and William Kaye '54.

The award for producing, directing, choreography, music directing or performing has been awarded to
Martha Whiting Henderson, 1987

The award for technical craft (sets, lighting, costuming) has been awarded to
Dorothy Rose Anderson, 1987, *Bryn Mawr College*

The Jonathan Mohrig '86 Memorial Prize was created to honor a Haverford sophomore who died in 1984. It is awarded annually to that student at Haverford who embodies Jonathan's enthusiasm, warmth, humor and quiet generosity to those around him, and who, like Jonathan, makes a special contribution to the quality of life at Haverford. Awarded to
Shuchita Thanawala, 1988

HONOR SOCIETIES

PHI BETA KAPPA SOCIETY

Members of the graduating class elected during the Junior Year:

Melissa Ann Dawson
Martin Joseph Dellwo
Paul Francis Fehlner
Richard Brian Hardack
Julia Carroll Hendrix
Jeffrey Kalman Hettleman
David Bruce Klein
Thomas Michael Potter
Henry Joseph Ritchotte
Adam Jay Schwarz
Jane Elizabeth Silber
Susan Emily Skeath
Edward Harvey Softky
Kenneth Paul Stern
Natalie Arhona Stern

Members of the graduating class elected during the Senior Year:

Andrew Laurence Brooks
Christopher Douglas Candland
François de Gaspé Beaubien
Michael E. Dunn
David Scott Fagan
Molly Finn
Timothy Peter Gleason
David Gonzalez
Harold Gronenthal
Jon Craig Horvitz
John Terence Hufford
Weston Thomas Isberg
Michael ByungJu Kim
John Shian-Hern Kuo
Peter Collins Leibold
Wilson Churchill McLeod
Stanton Bruce Miller
Elizabeth Ellen Mintz
Holly Toye Moore
*Brian Allan Schick
Richard Sidney Schkolnick
Adam Snyder
Jay Alan Soled
Constantine James Spiliotes
Lawrence James Steinert
David Allen Venit

The following members of the Junior Class (1986) have been elected:

Carlos Tomas Angulo
Stephanie Deen Brouse
Susan Cawley
Diane Lianging Chen
*Albert John Churella
*Kristof Haakon Haavik
Evan Marc Kaminer
Mark Douglas Keiper
*Jeffrey Alan Lamken
Peter Seth Margolis
Julie Ann Peavyhouse
*Oren McCleary Sellstrom
Joel David Shore
Mark Hastings Silver
*Martha Kendal Woodruff

*In absentia

COLLEGE HONORS

College Honors awarded by the Faculty of the College:

MAGNA CUM LAUDE

- Warren Ellis Barrows
- Andrew Laurence Brooks
- Melissa Ann Dawson
- Michael E. Dunn
- Timothy Peter Gleason
- Julia Carroll Hendrix
- David Charles Hirsch
- Jon Craig Horvitz
- Michael David Ioffreda
- David Bruce Klein
- John Shian-Hern Kuo
- Peter Collins Leibold
- Robert L. Levy
- Thomas Michael Potter
- Brian Allan Schick
- Adam Jay Schwarz
- Susan Emily Skeath
- Edward Harvey Softky
- Jay Alan Soled
- Natalie A. Stern

DEPARTMENTAL HONORS

Departmental Honors awarded by the Departments of the College:

HIGH HONORS

Martin Joseph Dellwo	Chemistry
Paul F. Fehlner	Chemistry
Richard Brian Hardack	English
Julia Carroll Hendrix	Chemistry
Jeffrey Kalman Hettleman	Political Science
Amy Maria Hollywood, *Bryn Mawr College*	Religion
David Bruce Klein	History
W. Reed Lowrie	English
Piali Sengupta, *Bryn Mawr College*	Biology
Kenneth Stern	Political Science
David Allen Venit	German

HONORS

Joan Christina Alker, *Bryn Mawr College*	Political Science
Marie Arbusto, *Bryn Mawr College;*	Religion
Isabelita Rosales Bella, *Bryn Mawr College;*	Biology
Jennifer Corinne Boal	History
Robert Stuart Boynton	Religion
Penelope Lucinda R. Bryant, *Bryn Mawr College*	Political Science
Elizabeth Anne Burnham, *Bryn Mawr College*	English
Timothy C. Christ	American Studies
Julia Page Cowing	History
François de Gaspé Beaubien	Psychology
Karla Irene Dudzik, *Bryn Mawr College*	Biology
David Scott Fagan	Biology
Deborah Dorothy Anne Felman, *Bryn Mawr College*	Political Science
Molly Finn	Philosophy
Anne Cadwallader Fletcher	Psychology

Jyl Kely Gentzler, *Bryn Mawr College*	Philosophy
Gigi Bhaswati Ghosh, *Bryn Mawr College*	Chemistry
David Gonzalez	Biology
Harold Gronenthal	English
David Charles Hirsch	Economics
Kimberley Lee Hollingsworth	English
Michael David Ioffreda	Biology
Thomas M. Johnson	History
Michael ByungJu Kim	English
Donna Lynne Kriebel	Physics
John Shian-Hern Kuo	Biology
Ron Joel Laby	Biology
Daria Behjan Lee	Biology
Peter Collins Leibold	History
David Adam Levenstein	English
Katherine Rush Lewis	French, *Bryn Mawr College*
Wilson Churchill McLeod	English
Sharon Debra Menkus	Psychology, *Bryn Mawr College*
Alan David Meltzer	History
Luke Winfried Mette	History
Holly Toye Moore	Political Science
Eric David Nabors	Biology
Katherine Ann Oberhelman	Biology
Linde Elizabeth Tamsin Ostro	History
Richard Jay Paley	Chemistry
Christopher Scott Peterson	Mathematics
Henry Joseph Ritchotte	History
Natania Rosenfeld, *Bryn Mawr College*	English
Richard Sidney Schkolnick	Political Science, *Bryn Mawr College*
Adam Jay Schwarz	Biology
Rachel A. Silberstein	Religion
Howard Taylor Snipes	History
Adam Snyder	History
Edward Harvey Softky	Physics
Constantine James Spiliotes	History
Natalie A. Stern	English
Nancy Jean Ulrich	Psychology, *Bryn Mawr College*
David Allen Venit	English
William Graham White	Political Science

CONFERRING OF DEGREES

Class presented by Ronald F. Thiemann, *Acting Provost*
Candidates presented by Paul C. Jefferson, *Assistant Professor of History*

Bachelors of Arts and Bachelors of Science

Amanda Elizabeth Allen
Jennifer Anne Atkins
Matthew C. Baird
James French Baldwin III
Lillian Beth Barone
Warren Ellis Barrows
Justin Alexander Barry
Theodore Steve Basaras
Richard Henry Bates III
Karen Lise Belsley
David Andrew Benatar*
Dan Bennett
Peggy Jean Berkowitz
David Alan Berque
Paul Robert Betts
Susan Anne Bevan-Thomas
William Benjamin Bidlack
Kathleen Marie Bifferato
Heidi Elizabeth Bishay
Jennifer Corinne Boal
Barry Paul Boden*
J. Theodore Borter
Mark Hamilton Boyer
Robert Stuart Boynton
Bruce Roger Braun
Justin Colman Broderick
Ellen Green Brodsky
Andrew Laurence Brooks
Susan Elizabeth Burns
Christopher Douglas Candland
Lisa Adele Canter
Caroline Lycett Carlson
Jose R. Cartagena*
Bruce Lawrence Carvalho*
Lionel Cassin
Alexander Keith Chefetz
Sharon D. Chestnut
Philippe Roger Cheyette
Timothy J. Choppin
Sumita Choudhury
Timothy C. Christ
Gary F. Ciocco
Kevin A. Conn
Daniel Hand Conroy
Erin Rebecca Conroy
Joyce M. Couch
Julia Page Cowing
Mark Gavin Crawford
Brooks Crichlow
Lisa B. Cromley
Alison Angela Curtiss
Melissa Ann Dawson
François de Gaspé Beaubien
Martin Joseph Dellwo
George Stephen DiFrancesco
Daniel Seth Dorsky
Michael Joseph Dugan
Michael E. Dunn
Andrea Lyn Everett
David Scott Fagan
James Edgerton Fairchild*
Paul F. Fehlner*
Samuel Pohl Feldman
Lizabeth Jill Fiedler
Molly Finn
Anne Cadwallader Fletcher
Karen Floreen
Ward Emerson Fonrose
Roger Sherman Foster III*
Wendy Paula Foster
Amy L. Friedman
Deborah Friendly
Catherine Maria Fries
John Frederick Furth
Andrew Sergio Gazitua
Emily Grace Gazitua
Timothy Peter Gleason
David Gonzalez*
Calvin Joseph Gooding
Todd Allan Green*
John Gorman Griffith
Harold Gronenthal
Jonathan David Gross
Martin J. Hamburger
Melinda Elaine Hanisch
Richard Brian Hardack
Daniel S. Harris
Dana How Harrison*

William Thomas Harrison
Robert Damian Harvey
Julia Carroll Hendrix
Jeffrey Kalman Hettleman
David Charles Hirsch
Traci S. Hjelt
Christina Ellen Hoffman
John Thomas Roddey Holder
Kimberley Lee Hollingsworth
Michael Robert Horenstein
Jon Craig Horvitz
John Terrence Hufford
Susan Lynn Hunt
Michael David Ioffreda*
Weston Thomas Isberg
Linda Kay Itskovitz
Patrick A. Jackman
Leo V. Monahan Janas
Julia B. Jernberg*
Thomas M. Johnson
Ruben Carlos Jubinsky
Joel T. Kaji
Alexander Rittenhouse Kent*
John Hyunbae Kim
Kook-Jong Kim
Michael ByungJu Kim
Yong Kook Kim
David Bruce Klein
Miriam Kloeppel*
Graham Peter Scott Koblenzer
Jennifer Cecile Konecky
Dawn Suzanne Kriebel
Donna Lynne Kriebel
John Shian-Hern Kuo
Joseph Michael Kuznicki
Ron Joel Laby
Pui-fong Lam
Rodger Martin Landau
Suzanne Lashner
Alexander Robert Laszlo
Daria Behjan Lee*
Peter Collins Leibold
David Adam Levenstein
Carl Max Levine
Robert L. Levy
Katherine Rush Lewis
Lawrence Russell Lind
Ella-Kari Loftfield
Bámily López Ortiz
Lucy Lia Lorin
Emily Isidora Love
W. Reed Lowrie
William Robert Magee Jr.*
Douglas Todd Magid
Helaine Vivian Mamelak
Paul Leeds Martenis*
Cynthia Eastman Martin*
James Braislin McClellan
Diane Marie McLaughlin
Wilson Churchill McLeod
Alan David Meltzer
Sharon Debra Menkus
Daniel Solomon Messinger
Luke Winfried Mette
Stanton Bruce Miller*
Elizabeth Ellen Mintz
David Henry Monroe
Lourdes Ivette Montes Infante*
Holly Toye Moore
Jonathan David Myerow
Eric David Nabors*
Milan Mahendra Nanavati
Robert J. Narva
Nancy J. Neiman
Ethan Stuart Nelson
Andrew Stevens Nicholson
Albert A. Nierenberg
Andrew McCall Norton
Stephanie L. Nova
Katherine Ann Oberhelman
Elizabeth A. Oppenheimer
Jorge A. Ordoñez
Linde Elizabeth Tamsin Ostro
José Antonio Padin Nicholas
Richard Jay Paley*
Kathleen Michele Palmer*
Eve Passeltiner
Jason M. Patlis
Christopher Scott Peterson
John Whitney Pettit II
Laura Rae Phillips
Seth M. Phillips
Bruce Duff Pickering
Stephen Frederick Piotrow
Kim Leslie Plofker
Charles Anthony Porter II
Thomas Michael Potter

Alan J. Preston
David A. Reppy
Katherine Richardson
David J. Rider
Henry Joseph Ritchotte
Matthew Daniel Rutili Roazen
Elizabeth Ann Rohr
Elizabeth E. Rosenberg
Anne Hinton Rosenfeld
Joshua Joseph Chadbourne Rosenthal
Caroline Rae Rothman
Barton Seth Rubenstein*
Eric Lloyd Salverda
Michael J. Sanders
Anne-Marie Tyler Schaaf
Brian Allan Schick
Richard Sidney Schkolnick
Todd William Schongalla
Craig Alan Schwartz
Michele Pat Schwartz
Adam Jay Schwarz
Stephen M. Sendar
Rex Matthew Shannon
Sunil Sharma
Daniel J. Sher
Amy Siegel
Jane Elizabeth Silber*
Rachel A. Silberstein
Susan Emily Skeath
Eric William Small*
Ann Marie Smith
Leslie G. Smith
Kenneth Neil Smolar
Howard Taylor Snipes
Adam Snyder
Edward Harvey Softky*
Jay Alan Soled
Walter Arl Sorrells
Constantine James Spiliotes
Lawrence James Steinert
Kenneth Stern
Natalie A. Stern
Nelson M. Stern
Thomas Rushmore Lightfoot Grover Cleveland Strong*
Anthony John Szymendera
Hiroomi Tada
Teresa A. Taurino
Emily Ross Terry
Erik N. Thomas
Amy Bell Trubek
Han-Hsien Tuan
Nancy Jean Ulrich
Peter Murray Vale
Paul F. Vanek Jr.
Michael Francis Van Hoy
Jose Velasco
David Allen Venit
Joseph John Vitale
Sigurt Ivars Vitols
Jeffrey Gibson Watkins
Jeffrey N. Weiner
Jeannette A. Wentz
William Graham White
Robert Blake Whitehill
Amy Lynne Wiedemann
Virginia Harriet Wiegand*
Elizabeth Magdalen Wilson
Jeffrey Marcus Wolfe
Laura Zagoria

*Indicates Bachelor of Science Degree

CONFERRING OF HONORARY DEGREES

Mary Hoxie Jones . . . . .Doctor of Humane Letters
Former member of the staff and Board of the American Friends Service Committee, poet, Quaker historian, prominent leader in the Society of Friends.
Presented by Edwin B. Bronner, *Professor of History and Librarian of Haverford College*

Bayard Rustin . . . . .Doctor of Laws
Chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, leader and spokesperson in movements for peace, civil rights and non-violent social change.
Presented by Carole Cannady Marks, *Member of the Board of Managers of Haverford College*

Henry James Vaux . . . . .Doctor of Science
Professor Emeritus and former Dean of the School of Forestry at the University of California, Berkeley; forest economist, distinguished advocate in the struggle to protect and conserve our forests.
Presented by Jonathan E. Rhoads, MD, Class of 1928; *Member of the Board of Managers of Haverford College*

Elie Wiesel . . . . .Doctor of Letters
Andrew Mellon Professor in the Humanities and Professor of Religion at Boston University, author, teacher, Chairman of the Holocaust Memorial Council, a voice of the world's conscience.
Presented by Kenneth Stern, *Class of 1985, Haverford College*

VALEDICTION

Robert Stevens, *President*

RECESSIONAL

The audience is requested to stand during the recessional

ACADEMIC REGALIA

On ceremonial occasions members of the College wear academic gowns indicating the level of their degree and hoods indicating the field of the degree and the institution granting it. At American colleges and universities the bachelor's gown is simply cut, distinguished by open, pointed sleeves. The master's gown is fuller, with long, square-cut sleeve ends hanging below the wearer's arms. The doctor's gown is long, full-cut, with bell-shaped sleeves; it has velvet panels down the front and three horizontal velvet bars on the sleeve. Some universities have gowns of a distinctive color for their doctorates: Harvard—crimson; Yale and Columbia—shades of blue; Princeton—black with orange stripes.

The mortarboard cap is worn by all academic degree holders, though some foreign universities distinguish their degree holders with more individualistic head-gear. The tassel, normally black, is sometimes gold to designate governing officers of the institution.

The hood is the most distinctive feature of American academic attire. It harks back to the hoods which medieval students used as cowls, shoulder capes, and handy bags for gathering alms, carrying slates, books, stylus, and lunch. The modern version is worn at the back, suspended from the shoulders. A bachelor's hood is three feet long with a two-inch border, the master's hood half a foot longer with a three-inch border, the doctor's hood four feet long with a five-inch velvet border. The inner lining of the hood carries the color or colors of the institution granting the degree. The color of the velvet border indicates the field of learning in which the degree was earned. White—Arts, Letters and Humanities; Dark Blue—Philosophy; Golden Yellow—Science; Scarlet—Theology; Purple—Law; Green—Medicine; Brown—Fine Arts; Light Blue—Education; Pink—Music; Copper—Economics; Orange—Engineering; Peach—Public Service; Drab—Business Administration; Bright Yellow—Library Science.

Recipients of honorary degrees are vested with doctor's hoods lined with Haverford's black and scarlet and bordered in white velvet for Doctor of Letters, purple for Doctor of Laws, golden yellow for Doctor of Science.

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A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

June 28, 1985

Robert B. Stevens
President
Haverford College
Haverford, PA 19041-1392

Dear Robert Stevens,

I am writing (belatedly!) to thank you for the hospitality I enjoyed last month , on my visit to Haverford to receive an honorary degree.

It was indeed a priviledge and a pleasure to have been able to attend your graduation exercises. I shall cherish the memories of that weekend for a long time to come. Please extend my thanks to the members of the Board of Managers, and to the other members of the Haverford community who made our stay so comfortable.

I am enclosing a statement of expenses I incurred in connection with my trip, in the hope that reimbursement will be possible.

Thank you once again for the honor Haverford College has accorded me.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR/hrs

encl:

filed: Chron
Haverford ✓

653

Statement of Expenses
for
Bayard Rustin*
to attend
Graduation Ceremonies
at
Haverford College
May 19 - 20, 1985

Payment Received 7/15/85

Boston to Philadelphia, Eastern flight # 551, ½ of total cost of $158 (for 2 tickets):	$ 79.00
Philadelphia to New York City, 2 Amtrack tickets:	41.00
Villanova to Philadelphia, 2 bus tickets:	5.50
Total Expense:	$125.50

(Please make check payable to: A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund. Thank you.)

* Includes expenses for guest, Walter Naegle

[redacted]

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SEPTA
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PASSENGER TRAIN TICKET AND RECEIPT

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DATE OF SALE
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TOTAL CHARGES $20.50

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MR W. NAEGLE

ISSUED IN EXCHANGE FOR

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Passenger Name RUSTIN/B	Ticketing Airline NEW YORK AIR INC	
Issuer Name SUCCESS TRAVEL SERVI	Issuer Address NEW YORK CITY NY	

02-06-16

From / To	Carrier	Class	Transaction Amount
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AMERICAN EXPRESS

Record of Charges

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NEW YORK PENN
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Total Amt. Chg $41.00

X CARDMEMBER SIGNATURE ON FILE

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CD-22062-3600 (Rev. 12-82)
PTD. IN USA 5/85

NY Times 7/6/73

N.A.A.C.P. OFFICIAL DOUBTS JOB GAINS

Asserts Blacks Are Losing Ground in Skilled Trades

By **PAUL DELANEY**
Special to The New York Times

INDIANAPOLIS, July 4—Herbert Hill, labor director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has challenged recent reports of black economic progress and charged that minorities have lost ground in skilled jobs in the building trades.

In a speech prepared for delivery tomorrow, at a session on employment at the 64th annual convention of the association, Mr. Hill said that new statistics of the Bureau of Labor Statistics showed retrogression in the employment of blacks in the construction trades throughout the country, including New York City.

He said that in 1960, blacks comprised 14.7 per cent of New York City's population and 1.5 per cent of the journeymen in the city's craft unions. By 1970, he said the statistics showed that the city's black population was 23 per cent and black journeymen constituted only 2 per cent of craft union membership.

The black population in New York increased by almost 60 per cent over the last decade, Mr. Hill said, adding that the black journeymen membership in the mechanical trades increased by 33 1/3 per cent in the same period. "This is not progress; to the contrary, it is retrogression," he said.

Philadelphia Situation

"In Philadelphia, where the black population is now almost 40 per cent, the proportion of black employes in skilled construction jobs, relative to their total percentage in the population, is actually smaller now than it was in 1900," Mr. Hill said.

In his prepared speech, Mr. Hill denounced reports from "an endless stream of Madison Avenue hucksters, some of them masquerading as civil rights leaders," that say blacks have made "great economic progress."

He charged Ben Wattenberg and Richard Scammon, two Washington social statisticians, with "statistical distortion, selective omission and false conclusions" in their argument that black wage earners are catching up with whites.

Black family income in the 1970 census was 61 per cent of white family income, an increase of 4 percentage points since 1945. These figures failed to take into account, Mr. Hill said, the fact that black families tend to be larger than white families, black income was usually earned by two persons and the black rate of increase in income is a fluctuating figure.

Rustin Attacked

Mr. Hill also attacked Bayard Rustin, long-time civil rights and labor leader, for praising the building trades unions as giving jobs to blacks. Mr. Hill said that whatever progress had been made in the construction trades resulted from court orders rather than the unions' voluntary compliance.

In his speech, Mr. Hill argued that only by establishment of quotas would blacks be admitted in numbers to jobs in the building trades. He said that white workers had come to expect high earnings and promotion based on denial of equal opportunity to blacks.

"Thus, when racial criteria for hiring or promotion, which have historically disadvantaged blacks, are removed to eliminate discrimination, white workers believe that preferential treatment is being given to blacks," he said.

"It is, in fact, the removal of the preferential treatment traditionally enjoyed by whites at the expense of black workers that is now at issue. This, in large part, accounts for the maximum resistance to changes in the status of the black labor force."

Youth Unemployment

Mr. Hill said that he was especially concerned about unemployment among black youths, that the youth jobless rates have reached disaster levels and if they continue, "there is every reason to believe that virtually an entire generation of ghetto youth will never enter the labor force."

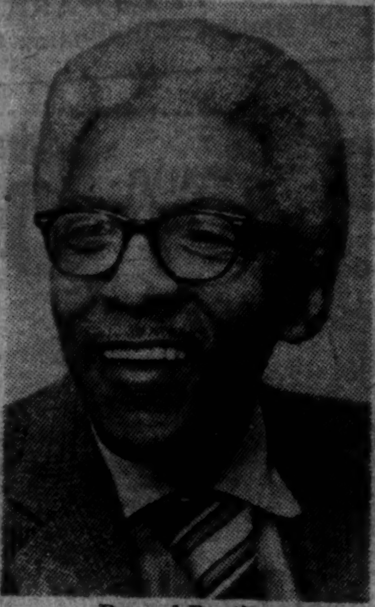
The speeches by Mr. Hill and others have been the high points of an otherwise quiet convention. The 1,000 delegates, far fewer than attended recent sessions, have been stirred by blistering attacks on the Nixon Administration by Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, N.A.A.C.P vice chairman and former president of City College of New York, and a memorial sermon delivered by the Rev. Amos C. Brown, president of the St. Paul branch.

RAPPING TIME

By HUGH WYATT

Staff Correspondents of The News

Indianapolis, July 7—Call them what you will, "radical, foolish and impractical," but throughout the history of the civil rights movement in this country, it was always the militant element that put things in the proper prospective—and made whites listen.



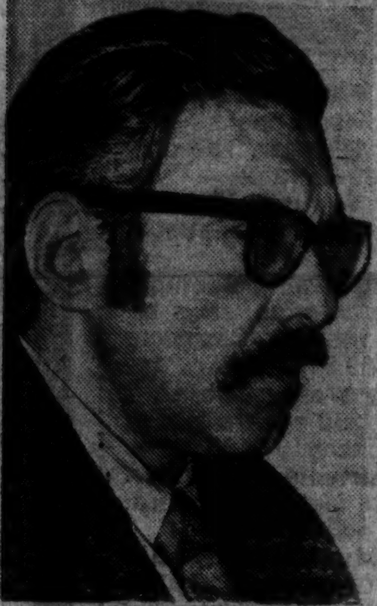
Bayard Rustin

The radicals even put down the so-called black leadership when they thought that their spokesmen or chiefs were selling out or deceiving the masses. The militants — mainly the Black Panther Party and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee — often demanded the elimination of two-bit hustlers, black and white, and others claiming to be representing most American Blacks.

Of course, a number of militants put the arm on prominent whites and also engaged in exploitative, if not criminal, acts, but most of the time things really perked up and moved as a result of their prodding.

A Militant White

Incidentally, militancy on behlf of blacks is not solely confined to blacks—it can come from whites, and rather effectively if presented properly.



Herbert Hill

A form of white militant emerged this week when Herbert Hill, the white labor director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, put black labor leader Bayard Rustin and other "Madison Avenue hucksters" on the line for attempting to "kill off and stop the continuing protests against organized labor."

Hill, considered one of the most militant members of the NAACP, made his charges at the 64th annual convention of the civil rights organization here at this city's new civic center. Not only is he regarded as a maverick, but quite a logical and effective labor leader.

"Benign neglect has now become criminal complicity, an this has become another example of shameful distortion of facts in the well-oiled public relations campaign that attempts to create the illusion of progress regarding the status of black workers in the construction industry," he declared before an enthusiastic body, referring to Ruskin and the others.

Progress Denied

Rustin could not be reached to comment on the charges made.

Specifically, Hill asserted that Rustin, who is executive director of the A. Philip Randloph Institute in New York was guilty of acting in concert with "white racist union heads periodically issuing press releases and holding news conferences announcing that great progress is being made for blacks in the buildings trades unions." Hill disputed these charges saying:

"In 1960, blacks were 14.7% of the population of New York City and constituted 2% of the total journeymen membership of the craft unions in the building trades.

By 1970 blacks were 23% of the city's population but still were only 2% of the total journeymen in the city.

20 Are Journeymen

Citing a case involving Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers Union in New York City, Hill said that after two decades of litigation there are exactly 20 blacks with journeymen status, and they are there only because of court orders.

"But, this hardly represents progress given the increase of the black population in the City of New York," he told a gathering of an estimated 2,500 delegates.

Statistics Confirmed

"Once again," he went on, "almost three of every four blacks in the building trades were members of the laborers' union. Furthermore, the data for the entire nation reveals a general pattern of racial discrimination against black workers—ranging from total exclusion in some crafts to mere tokenism in others," he added.

The statistics presented by Hill were confirmed by Washington's Equal Opportunity Commission.

The question now is, where did Bayard Rustin get his facts and figures from? Or more importantly, Why is he supporting the trade unions when the unemployment rate among blacks is so high, especially among black youths, which is in excess of 50

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July 11, 1973

Mr. Roy Wilkins
Executive Director
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
1790 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Roy:

As you know the Randolph Institute has always tried to maintain a close relationship with the NAACP. We consider the NAACP the most important organization speaking for black people. Our goals and your goals are the same and I think we agree at least 90 per cent of the time on how to achieve these goals.

This is why I am somewhat concerned about criticism directed at me, the Institute and Mr. Randolph during your recent convention. I am referring to Herbert Hill's speech and to remarks made by Bill Lucy. I am not suggesting that an Executive Secretary of an organization ought to censor the speeches of its staff or invited speakers to its convention.

My differences with Bill Lucy or Herb Hill are matters of public record and I am not upset about their criticism. But I am disturbed that the forum for this criticism was the Association's national convention. In the minds of the public, an attack leveled by a national official of the NAACP made during the NAACP's convention elevates that criticism to the level of official policy. I know that this is not the case, and you know this is not the case. But you and I both know how eager the press is to dramatize any evidence of division in the civil rights arena. And I think this is most unfortunate when the division--no matter how ephemeral it may be--appears between organizations or individuals who are fighting for the same thing.

We at the Randolph Institute do not always agree with the position of the NAACP, just as you do not always see eye to eye with us. But we are careful to discuss any problem with you or some other official and not with the press. We do not criticize the NAACP or its officials publicly on matters of strategy and tactics and we certainly would not criticize you at any convention or meeting sponsored by the Randolph Institute on matters of philosophy. We would do this with you privately.

If you are upset with the programs of the Institute, or with anything I have said, or if you see a problem because our organizations are working at cross purposes, you know I am always glad to try to resolve our differences. I think it is essential, in fact, that we cooperate on potential problems just as we did on the quota issue.

There are too few of us still totally committed to integration and civil rights to let basically minor differences give the appearance of division. I hope we can work together to avoid such problems in the future.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

BR/hh
cc: John Morsell
bcc: Don Slaiman

July 12, 1973

MEMORANDUM

TO : HERBERT HILL

FROM: JOHN MORSELL

I am apologizing to Bayard Rustin for your remarks directed at him during your typical speech at the Convention. Regardless of your private opinions about Rustin and his relationship with the building trades unions, the fact that he is a firm and respected ally of this Association, both as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and in other capacities. I fail to see how the cause of actually getting barriers down is advanced by personal vituperation delivered in an emotional context. It may appear to go down well with the delegates but it can do real harm to the overall cause. It is a fact, after all, that Rustin is trying to get more Negroes into the building trades, just as we are. He can hardly be accused of trying to keep them out.

/ss

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

SEVENTEEN NINETY BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • 212-245-2100

July 17, 1973

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

I am writing for Roy as well as for myself in extending an apology for Herb Hill's unjustified verbal assault on you, the Institute, and Mr. Randolph during our recently concluded convention. For you own information, I am also enclosing a copy of my memorandum to Herb dated July 12.

You may be sure that, so far as Roy and I are concerned, our relationship continues to be the same.

Very sincerely,

John

John A. Morsell
Assistant Executive Director

JAM:aa
Enc.

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
SEVENTEEN NINETY BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • 212-245-2100

July 17, 1973

Dear Bayard:

By now John has sent you his letter of apology for the remarks of Herbert Hill at our national convention in Indianapolis. He has asked that I be included in the apology, not only because he discussed it with me, but because of my very strong admiration for you and the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

I once wrote that the late Adam Clayton Powell was Harlem's problem child. Herbert Hill is the problem child of the NAACP. The fact that he stages his outbursts at the NAACP convention does not raise his ill-considered and intemperate remarks to the level of national policy.

We cannot say to Mr. Hill that he cannot, as an NAACP national officer, sound off at his own organization's convention. We can only hope, after so many years of ups and downs, that he will restrain himself, particularly as regards personal attacks.

Alas, we are dealing with a man who feels a compulsion to talk whenever there is an audience and a microphone before him or at the mercy of his pen. So, in view of his record of good fights behind him, we can only keep our fingers crossed.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy

Roy Wilkins
Executive Director

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

RW:erb

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

SEVENTEEN NINETY BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • 212-245-2100

July 17, 1973

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

I am writing for Roy as well as for myself in extending an apology for Herb Hill's unjustified verbal assault on you, the Institute, and Mr. Randolph during our recently concluded convention. For you own information, I am also enclosing a copy of my memorandum to Herb dated July 12.

You may be sure that, so far as Roy and I are concerned, our relationship continues to be the same.

Very sincerely,

John

JAM:aa
Enc.

John A. Morsell
Assistant Executive Director

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

SEVENTEEN NINETY BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • 212-245-2100

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Very sincerely yours,

Roy

Roy Wilkins
Executive Director

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

RW:erb

A. Philip Randolph Institute

260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

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Frederick O'Neal
Vice-President

Robert W. Gilmore
Treasurer

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Louis Stulberg
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Gus Tyler
Hunter Wharton
C. Vann Woodward
Andrew Young

Counsel
John C. Somers

Staff
Rachelle Horowitz

E. R. McKinney
Assistant to the Executive Director

Emma Thomas
Controller

June 12, 1974

MEMORANDUM

To: Ernest Green, Napoleon Johnson, William Pollard

From: Bayard Rustin

Reference: June 20 meeting with Roy Wilkins and Herbert Hill

I believe that it is imperative that we clearly agree on the nature and objectives of our meeting with the NAACP on June 20. To help clarify our aims it may be helpful, first of all, to review how the meeting came about. Two days after Mr. Hill's report received national press coverage, I called Mr. Wilkens to ask three questions on the report:

1. Would Mr. Wilkins send me a copy of the report?

2. Would he send me a copy of the release Mr. Hill had distributed to the press?

3. Would Mr. Wilkins and Mr. Hill be prepared to meet with representatives of R.T.P., the Urban League and the AFL-CIO to review these organizations' view of the facts as they see them as compared with those supposedly presented by Mr. Hill?

Mr. Wilkins was obviously distressed by the report, was very friendly and was most frank in answering my questions.

In answer to question number one, he said that he had not been consulted on the issuance of such a report, that he had not seen such a report, that he did not know if such a report existed, and that he was looking into the matter.

In answer to question number two, he said that Mr. Hill reported to him that there was no press release, that he (Mr. Hill) had spoken from notes. Mr. Hill said, according to Mr. Wilkins, that he would reconstruct his notes for Mr. Wilkins to see.

In answer to question number three, Mr. Wilkins said that he was indeed interested in such a meeting, that the sooner it was held the better, that he did not want harm done to any of his friends trying to improve the lot of black youth, that he welcomed hearing the facts as AFL-CIO, R.T.P. and Urban League saw them, that he would insure Mr. Hill's presence at such a meeting.

Mr. Wilkins also consulted his calendar and proposed various times on June 11, 12 or 13 for such a meeting. I agreed to consult the interested parties in order to clear a mutually agreeable time.

In this connection, I first called Mr. Pollard. As the new Director of the AFL-CIO civil rights department and as a Board member of the NAACP his presence seemed most imperative.

I then called Mr. Green, who immediately agreed that such a meeting was good and necessary.

I called Nap Johnson, who was out of town, but his assistant indicated that he would welcome such a meeting.

Mr. Pollard felt that such a meeting was important but said he could not make the dates Mr. Wilkins and I had suggested. At this point I was on my way to the ILGWU convention in Miami and Mr. Pollard agreed to reach Mr. Wilkins and all interested parties to establish an acceptable date. This he did, and subsequently all concerned agreed to meet at 11:00 a.m. on June 20 in the office of the National NAACP.

All agreed that most clarification would emerge if the meeting was small and limited only to those who are deeply concerned with Mr. Hill's report, precisely because it was a real, if indirect, attack on our work, upon the use of our time, our energy and our expenditure of millions of dollars.

Thus, in order that the meeting be as constructive and possible, I am suggesting the following arrangement and agenda.

Should you have questions, suggestions or modifications, please reach me as soon as possible. I shall share your ideas with others by telephone. If I am not in the office, please speak to Rachelle Horowitz.

This is important since I feel I should clear the agenda with Mr. Wilkins as soon as possible.

Suggested arrangements and agenda for meeting with Mr. Wilkins and Mr. Hill

Note: This meeting is at our request and therefore we have the responsibility to establish agenda and arrangements. Since Mr. Johnson, Mr. Green, Mr. Hill and Mr. Pollard have reports to make, I suggest that I chair the meeting.

I	Chairman	Rustin
II	Time	11:00 A.M. , June 20, 1974
III	Place	National Office NAACP - 1790 Broadway, NYC
IV	Present	Ernie Green, R.T.P. Herb Hill, NAACP Nap Johnson, Urban League Bill Pollard, AFL-CIO Roy Wilkins, NAACP
V	Objectives	(1) to seek NAACP repudiation of aspects of Mr. Hill's report (2) to seek assurances that future NAACP reports be based on established facts (3) to insure that, unlike last year, no unfair attacks be made of other civil rights groups or on the AFL-CIO at NAACP annual conventions

(4) to give Mr. Wilkins the real picture in regard to the progress in the building trades and the success of Outreach programs

VI Proposed agenda

1. Opening remarks: "Why this Meeting?" - Rustin
2. Facts on Outreach - Nap Johnson
3. Facts on Outreach - Ernie Green
4. Facts on building trades' progress - Bill Pollard
5. Comments on above presentations - Herb Hill
6. Response to Hill and general discussion - all present
7. Response by Mr. Wilkins
8. Proposals and alternatives as may emerge - Rustin
9. Chairman call for any suggestions for action

Memorandum

To : Ernie Green
Nap B Johnson
Bill E Pollard

From : Rustin

Reference: 20th of June meeting with Roly Wilkens
and Herb Hill.

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To help clarify our aims ~~[illegible]~~ it may be helpful, first of all, to review how the meeting came about.

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This is important since I feel I should clear the agenda with Mr. Wilkins ~~prior to the~~ as soon as possible.

[illegible]

5.

Suggested arrangements and agenda 33
for meeting with Mr. Wilkins and
Mr. Hill

note: This meeting is at our request and therefore we have the responsibility to establish agenda and arrangements.

Since Mr. Johnson, Mr. Green, Mr. Hill + Mr. Pollard have reports to make, I suggest that I chair the meeting.

I. Chairman : Rustin

II Time : 11 am 20th June 1974

III Place : Nat. Office NAACP 1790 Broadway NYC

IV Present : Ernie Green, R.T.P
Herb Hill, NAACP
Nat Johnson, Urban League
Bill Pollard, AFL-CIO
Roy Wilkins, NAACP

V. objectives: (1.) To seek NAACP repudiation of aspects of Mr. Hill's Report.

(2) To seek assurances that future NAACP reports be based on established facts.

(3) To insure that, unlike last year, no unfair attacks be made of other civil rights groups or on the AFL-CIO at NAACP annual conventions.

(4) To give Mr. Wilkins the real picture in regard to the progress in the building trades and the success of outreach programs.

Proposed agenda

VI

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5. Comments on above presentations — Herb Hill
6. Response to Hill and
general discussion ——— all present
7. Response by Mr. Wilkins
8. Proposals and alternatives
as may emerge ——— Rustin

9. ~~Any action proposals~~ —
chairman call for any suggestion
for action.

260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

apri
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

A. Philip Randolph
President Emeritus

Bayard Rustin
President

Frederick O'Neal
Vice-President

Norman Hill
Executive Director

Robert W. Gilmore
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Mose Collins
Clara Dasher
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Walter Davis
Bernard Englander
Murray H. Finley
Angelo Fosco
Alex Fuller
William Gary
Floyd Gipson
Raymond Gray
Ernest Green
A. F. Grospiron
Matthew Guinan
Paul Hall
Alvin Heaps
Johnnie Henderson
Velma Hill
Rachelle Horowitz
Benny Jackson
Mattie Jackson
Paul Jennings
James Jones, Sr.
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Maida Springer Kemp
Leon Keyserling
Roy Kirkley
Henry Lacayo
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Leon Lynch
John H. Lyons
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Benjamin E. Mays
Lloyd McBride
William Howard McClennan
Robert McGlotten
George Miller
Isaiah Minkoff
Clarence Mitchell
Paul Montemayore
Emanuel Muravchik
Warren Pate
William Pollard
Robert Powell
Arch Puddington
S. Frank Raftery
Richard Ravitch
Howard Richardson
Earl Robinson
John P. Roche
William Ross
Albert Shanker
Horace Sheffield
Donald Slaiman
Lorenzo Stephens
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Joseph Tonelli
J. C. Turner
Thomas Turner
Gus Tyler
Barbara VanBlake
Walter Waddy
Roosevelt Watts
Hunter Wharton
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William Winpisinger
C. Vann Woodward
William H. Wynn
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Special Events Consultant
Lionel Hampton

Counsel
John C. Somers

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Research Director
E. R. McKinney
Assistant to the President
Harriette Siani
Administrative Director
Helen Toth
Assistant to the Executive Director

December 12, 1978

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I write to acknowledge the very great honor you have accorded me on two separate occasions.

The first was my appointment to your Commission for the study of a permanent memorial to the victims of the Holocaust. The Holocaust is a subject which has affected my life deeply and, as you perhaps know, has influenced many of my subsequent activities. I am moved beyond measure to have the opportunity to serve on the Commission, and pledge my sincere effort to fulfill this responsibility in a manner befitting its importance.

And on yet another occasion, Mr. President, I have reason to thank you. I received word from my office just today of your invitation to be a part of the official delegation to Golda Meir's funeral. Although I am halfway around the world in Thailand, studying the terrible plight of the refugees from Indo China, and therefore unable to accept your invitation, I wanted to indicate my gratitude for this great honor. I count it my good fortune to have been able to call Golda Meir teacher, friend, and colleague. It grieves me deeply to have missed the opportunity to pay my last respects to her, yet I can think of no more benefitting tribute -- one that she would understand and approve -- than to plead this trip of mercy as the reason for my absence.

In light of all of the above, Mr. President, permit me to express my sincerest thanks for your many kindnesses to me.

With best wishes for the holiday season,

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
President

BR/hh

Dictated but not signed by Bayard Rustin

JEWISH LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

RABBI ARTHUR HERTZBERG, PRESIDENT
Noami Levine, Executive Director
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
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New York, New YOrk 10028
Phone: TR 9-4500

Richard Cohen
American Jewish Congress
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New YOrk, New York 10028
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New York, N. Y. 10016
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National Chairman
Anti- Defamation League
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Lynn Ianniello
Director of Public Affairs
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Irwin Suall
Anti Defamation League
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Jerry Goodman, Executive Director
National Conference on Soviet Jewry
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New York, N. Y. 10036
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Bertram Gold, Executive Vice President
American Jewish Committee
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New York, N. Y. 10022
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Harry Fleischman
American Jewish Committee
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Max Mont
Jewish Labor Committee
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Los Angeles, California 90048
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Jacob Sheinkman, President
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Kris Brunn, Executive Director
Youth Institute for Peace in the Middle East
275 Seventh Avenue, 25th Floor
New York, N. Y. 10001
Phone:

Stephen McArthur
American Israel Public Affairs Committee
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~~Suite 908~~ 444 No. Capitol St. N.W.
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~~Yaacov Cohen~~
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Al Chernin
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New York, N. Y. 10036
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Yaacov Levy
Israeli Consulate
800 Second Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10017
Phone:

JEWISH LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

Rabbi Alex Schindler, Chairman
Conference of Presidents of
Major Jewish Organizations
515 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022
Phone:

Rabbi Joseph P. Sternstein, President
Zionist Organization of America
4 EAst 34th Street
New York, N. Y. 10016
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Leon Illutovich, Executive Director
Zionist Organization of America
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New York, N. Y. 10016
Phone:

Dr. Judah J. Shapiro, President
Labor Zionist Alliance
575 - 6th Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10011
Phone: YU 9-0300

Bernard Weisberg, Executive Secretary
Labor Zionist Alliance
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New York, N. Y. 10011
Phone: YU 9-0300

MR. Shimon Peres, Leader
Israel Labour Party
P.O. Box 3263
Tel aviv
Israel

President's Commission on the Holocaust

Office of the
Chairman

OCT 29 1979

October 26, 1979

Dear Bayard:

Before the Commission completes its formal tenure, I want to express to you personally what I shared with the Commission and its Advisory Board at our informal meeting last month.

I believe that we have done our duty well. We have worked diligently. As we look back upon our activities and remember important moments, I hope our experience will leave an imprint upon our beings and on our surroundings.

I cannot forget the first meeting that we had on that snowy February day. I cannot forget the Joint Session of Congress. I cannot forget the small working sessions that we had with three, four, five, or six members: the seriousness of every opinion, the gravity of every exchange.

How can I forget the journey that some of us made into fear and remembrance? How can I forget the first eulogy made by one of our members at Warsaw? How can I forget our colleagues walking in Birkenau, the Kaddish in Treblinka and, above all, the Sh'ma Yisrael in Auschwitz? I believe that they all created links among ourselves.

Personally, I owe you seven measures of gratitude for your cooperation, your understanding, your extraordinary vigor and your unyielding commitment to memory. I owe you gratitude for your tolerance of each other's views and beliefs. Somehow we came to a very strange and encouraging situation where Jews and Christians almost spoke the same language about the same things.

Throughout our debates, there were few unpleasant exchanges, rarely an outburst of hurt pride, never a word of disdain or bitterness. There was nothing but respect for each other -- between survivor and nonsurvivor, old and young, scholars and

Suite 7233, 726 Jackson Place, NW, Washington, D.C. 20503
202-395-7343

readers, students and teachers. In a way, whatever we set forth to do, we accomplished.

You have served with distinction; this group should serve as an example to many. Personally, for my wife and son, we shall remember with pride our journey, our work and you.

In the next few days, the President will announce measures for the successor bodies to the Commission. We hope that you will be invited to serve on one or more of these successor bodies. Those of us who have been privileged to begin the work must share the responsibility for its continuation.

With profound appreciation for your commitment to memory, with best wishes

your friend, Sincerely,

Elie

Elie Wiesel

Mr. Bayard Rustin
President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST
SUITE 7233, 726 JACKSON PLACE, NW
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

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Mr. Bayard Rustin
President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Holocaust
Comm

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 2, 1980

To Bayard Rustin

I would like to reiterate to you my deep appreciation for your distinguished service as a member of the President's Commission on the Holocaust. The Commission has made an invaluable contribution to our country and to the memory of the six million Jews and the millions of other victims of Nazism in World War II.

In order to carry out the Commission's recommendations, I have now established the United States Holocaust Memorial Council. The Council will be responsible for implementing the recommendations of the Commission on the Holocaust. Specifically, the Council will be concerned with the establishment of an appropriate memorial museum, an educational and research foundation, and of a Citizens Committee on Conscience to commemorate the Holocaust.

I think it is essential that these projects recognize the distinctively Jewish nature of the Holocaust. As Elie Wiesel so eloquently wrote in submitting the Commission's Report, while not all victims were Jews, all Jews were victims, destined for annihilation solely because they were born Jewish. Of course, it is also important to take into account, as the Council's work proceeds, that there were Nazi atrocities committed against other nationalities and ethnic groups in all of the occupied countries of Europe.

Although the Holocaust took place in Europe, the event is of fundamental significance to Americans for at least three reasons. First, it was American troops who liberated many of the death camps, and who helped to expose the horrible truth of what had been done there. Secondly, however, we must share the responsibility for not being willing to acknowledge forty years ago that this horrible event was occurring. Finally, because we are humane people, concerned with the human rights of all peoples, we feel compelled to study the systematic destruction of the Jews so that we may seek to learn how to prevent such enormities from occurring in the future.

Because of your membership on the Commission, and your distinguished record of community service, I am pleased to invite you to serve as a member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council.

You, and the other members of the Council, will have my support in your uniquely important mission.

Sincerely,

Jimmy Carter

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York 10010

U S
Holocaust #

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN.

I WANT TO SAY THAT I FIRMLY AGREE AND WANT TO THANK YOU FOR THE STATEMENT YOU MADE IN OPENING THIS MEETING.

IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS, I HAVE BEEN TO SIX COUNTRIES WHERE PEOPLE ARE BEING TERRIBLY BRUTALIZED. AND I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT AS A RESULT OF MY MEMBERSHIP IN THIS COMMISSION AND GETTING TO KNOW HADASSAH, AND THE OTHER SURVIVORS, AND HAVING BEEN IN POLAND AND RUSSIA, I CAN SAY I HAVE GAINED NEW INSIGHT INTO THE NATURE OF SUFFERING, THE MEANING OF CHARITY, THE POWER OF FORGIVENESS, AND THE NEED OF RECONCILIATION. BUT BEYOND THIS, IN WORKING WITH THIS COMMITTEE I HAVE LEARNED THAT THE ULTIMATE TRAGEDY IS INDIFFERENCE. THEREFORE, I LOOK FORWARD TO GAINING ADDITIONAL INSIGHT AND TO THE STRENGTHENING OF MY OWN RESOLVE AND CHARACTER IN WORKING WITH THIS COUNCIL.

I MUST SAY THAT I'M MUCH MORE OPTIMISTIC THAN ARE SOME OF MY DEAR FRIENDS AROUND THIS TABLE. I BELIEVE THAT WE CANNOT FAIL, THOUGH WE MUST STRIVE TO RECONCILE OF A VARIETY OF IDEAS. AND, WHEN I LOOK AT THE PEOPLE IN THIS ROOM, I REALIZE THE COMPLETE DEDICATION TO TRUTH AND TO GOODWILL. MOST HUMAN PROBLEMS AND DIFFERENCES CAN BE SOLVED WHERE THERE IS A SEARCH FOR TRUTH ON THE PART OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE GOODWILL.

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Office of the
Director

July 3, 1980

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Enclosed is a copy of your remarks taken from the transcription of the Council's first meeting on May 28, 1980. Please make any corrections you would like, and return them in the enclosed envelope by July 15, 1980. Your corrected copy will become part of the final, public record of our meeting.

A full transcript will be sent to you as soon as all corrected remarks have been received and the final copy has been printed.

Sincerely,

Monroe Freedman
Monroe H. Freedman

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Chairman
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

RE
JUL -7 1980

Suite 832, 425 13th Street, NW Washington, DC 20004
202-724-0779

U S Holocaust
Committee on
Conscience

February 9, 1981

Ms. Elie Wiesel
Office of the Chairman
U.S. Holocaust Memorial
Council
Suite 832
425 13th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

Dear Elie:

I am honored that you have asked me to continue as Chairman of the Committee on Conscience. I accept this position.

I look forward to serving and will do all I can to be helpful.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
Chairman

BR/ys

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Office of the
Chairman

January 30, 1981

Dear Bayard:

I am writing to ask you to continue to serve as Chairman of the Committee on Conscience. In addition, as Chairman, you would also be a member of the Coordinating Committee. A list of the memberships of those Committees is enclosed.

Thus far, we have been preoccupied principally with the establishment of the Council membership, achieving passage of the legislation making the Council a permanent agency and providing it with an operating budget, establishing the private fund-raising Foundation, and settling upon a functional organizational structure. Now that those tedious but essential matters have been accomplished, we are ready to begin in earnest with the substantive work of the Holocaust Memorial Council.

Your role, of course, is crucial. I know that I will be able to count upon you in the future, as I have been able to do in the past.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Elie Wiesel

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Chairman
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

RECEIVED
FEB 4 - 1981

Suite 832, 425 13th Street, NW Washington, DC 20004
202-724-0779

Officers

Bayard Rustin
President
Norman Hill
Executive Director
Charles Bremer
Associate Director
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Treasurer
Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

**A. Philip Randolph
Educational Fund**

260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

August 6, 1982

Mr. Elie Wiesel
Chairman
United States Holocaust Memorial Council
Suite 832, 425 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

Dear Elie,

I very much regret writing this note, but I very well know it is the right thing to do.

I am, with sadness, submitting my resignation as Chairman of the Committee on Conscience. I find that I do not really have the time that should - and must - be devoted to directing its affairs, and I believe too strongly in the importance of its work to allow an ineffectual situation to continue. I would, however, like to remain a member of the committee, and would be honored to be of service to the new chairman.

It was a great honor to have been asked to chair the Committee on Conscience. I hope that you will regard my resignation as a mark of the esteem I accord its work, as well as the overall work of the Council itself.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
President

BR/hrs

filed: chron
Holocaust Mem. council, Comm. on Cons. ✓

Dear Eli,

I very much regret writing this note but I very well know it is the right thing to do. I wish to ~~ask you to appoint~~ resign as chairman of the committee of Conscience since I find I do not really have the time that should + must be devoted to it. I do, however, wish to remain on the committee of conscience.

Sincerely

Bayard.

(original filed in Famous Persons file, in BR personal files).

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Office of the
Chairman

RECEIVED AUG 27 1982

August 15, 1982

My dear Bayard —

It is with deep regret that I accept your resignation as chairman of the Committee on Conscience. You know that it will not be easy to find someone to succeed you. We have known one another for many years, Bayard; we have fought for many causes together: you occupy a very, very special place in my inner landscape. So — I am glad that you will continue to serve on the Committee, on the Council — in general, I am glad that we shall continue to serve together.

Be well, my friend —

Elie Wiesel

Suite 832, 425 13th Street, NW Washington, DC 20004
202-724-0779

Officers
Bayard Rustin
President
Norman Hill
Executive Director
Charles Bremer
Associate Director
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Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

1

February 21, 1984

Ms. Marcia Feldman
Director of Communications
United States Holocaust Memorial Council
Suite 832
425 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

Dear Marcia Feldman,

Thank you for taking the time to talk with me on the phone today about the Statement on Anti-Semitism. As we discussed, my only suggestion would be to delete the third sentence in paragraph # 2 ("Today,...anti-Semitism.").

Otherwise, I think the statement is a good one, and the establishment of the Committee a necessary and very worthwhile enterprise. If asked, I shall be delighted to serve on it.

I look forward to hearing from you again on this matter and meanwhile, I remain

Very cordially yours,

Bayard Rustin
President

BR/hrs

filed: Chron
Holocaust Mem Council
anti-Semitism Comm.

653

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Charlie
Talk to me
about this please!

February 16, 1984

RECEIVED FEB 21 1984

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Chairman
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, NY 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Elie Wiesel, Chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, is planning to create a Committee on Anti-Semitism chaired by Council Member Kalman Sultanik. The committee would advise Professor Wiesel on how the Council should react to contemporary manifestations of anti-Semitism.

Professor Wiesel asked me to send to you this draft statement. I will call your office in about two weeks to discuss your reactions to this proposed committee and the draft statement and to explore whether you would be able to serve on this committee.

Sincerely yours,

Marcia Feldman

Marcia Feldman
Director of Communications

Enclosure

Suite 832, 425 13th Street, NW   Washington, DC 20004
202-724-0779

DRAFT

Statement on Anti-Semitism

The United States Holocaust Memorial Council, mandated to remember the Holocaust, has accepted this sacred mission precisely because its members believe that through memory, and through education, it is possible to rouse conscience and help prevent other genocides. But to remember the Holocaust, one must confront anti-Semitism.

Centuries of anti-Semitism culminated in that unique attempt to annihilate an entire people that we have come to call the Holocaust. Yet even after Auschwitz and after the Warsaw Ghetto, anti-Semitism still is practiced. ~~Today, it is not the Church but rather some states that teach and encourage anti-Semitism.~~ The United States Holocaust Memorial Council believes that it must know where anti-Semitism is practiced and how it is being fought so that as part of the Council's mission to remember, it may appropriately and effectively participate in the battle against anti-Semitism.

Accordingly, Elie Wiesel, Chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, has established a committee, chaired by Council Member Kalman Sultanik, to advise him on the ways the Council may deal with the present manifestations of the historic menace of anti-Semitism.

Kalman Sultanik is a survivor and Vice President of the World Jewish Congress as well as Executive Co-President of the World Conference of United Zionists and the chairman of the Theodor Herzl Foundation.

Professor Wiesel has asked the following Council Members to serve on the Committee:

UNITED STATES
HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL
SUITE 832
425 13TH STREET, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20004
202-724-0779

XP

May 14, 1984

RECEIVED MAY 16 1984

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

Thank you very much for a copy of the letter you sent to the New York Times. I hope it will be used soon.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Seymour Siegel
Executive Director

BAYARD RUSTIN
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

May 11, 1984

To The Editor
The New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York 10036

Dear Sir:

The letter to the Times by Mr. L.T. Sandor (May 9, 1984) concerning the establishment of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington expresses fears that are unjustified.

It is, of course, true that Israel serves as a kind of Holocaust Memorial. Yad Vashem in Jerusalem is a splendid museum which never fails to move visitors from all nations and faiths. However, this does not mean that America, the leader of the Free World, does not need a national Holocaust museum, archive and educational center. Most who visit Washington will never have an opportunity to be in Jerusalem. Besides, at the center of democracy, our citizens and visitors need dramatic reminders of the horrors of World War II and especially a firm resolve to use our strength and wisdom to assure that the outrages of the Nazi era are never repeated against any people.

As the home of the largest number of Jewish citizens in the world, and as the leader of the allied forces who defeated Hitler and liberated the death camps, it can hardly be said that America has no direct concern with the Holocaust. Considering our role in world culture and world geopolitics it is very far from an "empty gesture" to memorialize the victims of what is perhaps mankind's worst tragedy. On several occasions both President Carter and President Reagan as well as high personages in our country--Christian and Jew, black and white, survivor and liberator--have expressed their realization of the importance of an institution in democracy's "sacred ground" to commemorate and to remind.

I wonder how Mr. Sandor knows that a first-class museum on the Mall would not "attract large crowds" and that we cannot rely on the excellent security forces of the United States to preserve order and to protect against desecration.

A Holocaust memorial museum is not only for Jews. As Professor Elie Wiesel has frequently stated: "though all Jews were victims, not all victims were Jews." Blacks cannot forget Hitler's pernicious doctrines of racial superiority, or his

filed: Chron
Holocaust Mem. Council...2/ ✓

treatment of Jesse Owens at the 1936 Berlin Olympics. Christians who forget his ultimate plans for all organized religions do so at their own peril. The museum, therefore, will stand as a warning against hatred and dehumanization whoever is the victim.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR/hrs

(Bayard Rustin is Chairman of the Board of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and a member of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council)

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South / New York, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

Date: May 11 ,984

TO: Hyman Bookbinder

FROM: Harriette Siani

RE: Bayard's Letter to the Times

☐ As you requested
☐ For your approval
☐ For your file
☐ For your information
☐ Please handle

☐ Please see me about this
☐ Please read and return
☐ Returned as requested
☐ Your comments, please

Comments:

The attached was hand delivered to the New York Times today, at Bayard's request. A copy has been sent to Seymour Siegel. Bayard asked me to express his special thanks to you and to tell you that we will keep you informed.

GAU
211L

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South / New York, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

Date: May 11, 1984

TO: Seymour

FROM: Bayard

RE: NYT Letter

___**As you requested**

___**For your approval**

___**For your file**

___**For your information**

___**Please handle**

___**Please see me about this**

___**Please read and return**

___**Returned as requested**

___**Your comments, please**

Comments:

The attached was hand delivered to The New York Times today. Thanks so much for your help.

GU 211

UNITED STATES
HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL
SUITE 832
425 13TH STREET, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20004
202-724-0779

May 10, 1984

Bayard,

Here is a draft for you that I have prepared at the request of Bookie.

Thanks very much.

Sincerely,

Seymour Siegel

Seymour Siegel

FEDERAL EXPRESS

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DATE: 5/10/84

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DEPARTMENT/FLOOR NO.

STREET ADDRESS: 425 13TH ST N W STE 832

CITY: WASHINGTON STATE: DC

ZIP ACCURATE ZIP CODE REQUIRED FOR CORRECT INVOICING: 20004

AIRBILL NO. 540719292

TO (Recipient's Name): Bayard Rustin

If Hold For Pick-Up or Saturday Delivery, Recipient's Phone Number

COMPANY: A Phillip Randolph Institute

DEPARTMENT/FLOOR NO.

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Editor
New York Times
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

The letter to the Times by Mr. L.T. Sandor (May 9, 1984) concerning the establishment of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington expresses fears that are unjustified.

It is, of course, true that Israel serves as a kind of Holocaust Memorial. Yad Vashem in Jerusalem is a splendid museum which never fails to move visitors from all nations and faiths. However, this does not mean that America, the leader of the Free World, does not need a national Holocaust museum, archive and educational center. Most who visit Washington will never have an opportunity to be in Jerusalem. Besides, at the center of democracy, our citizens and visitors need dramatic reminders of the horrors of World War II and especially a firm resolve to use our strength and wisdom to assure that the outrages of the Nazi era are never repeated against any people.

As the home of the largest number of Jewish citizens in the world, and as the leader of the allied forces who defeated Hitler and liberated the death camps, it can hardly be said that America has no direct concerns ~~of~~ with the Holocaust. Considering our role in world culture and world geopolitics it is very far from an "empty gesture" to memorialize the victims of what is perhaps mankind's worst tragedy. On several occasions both President Carter and President Reagan as well as high personages in our country--Christian and Jew, black and white, survivor and liberator--have expressed their realization of the importance of an institution in democracy's "sacred ground" to commemorate and to remind.

I wonder how Mr. Sandor knows that a first-class museum on the Mall would not "attract large crowds" and that we cannot rely on the excellent security forces of the United States to preserve order and to protect against desecration.

A Holocaust memorial museum is not only for Jews. As Professor Elie Wiesel has frequently stated: "though all Jews were victims; not all victims were Jews." Blacks cannot forget Hitler's pernicious doctrines of racial superiority, or his treatment of Jessie Owens at the 1936 Berlin Olympics. Christians who forget his ultimate plans for all organized religions do so at their peril. The museum, therefore, will stand as a warning against hatred and dehumanization who~~m~~ever is the victim.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Holocaust Memorial In the Wrong Nation

To the Editor:

The establishment of a Holocaust memorial in Washington [news story May 1] is unnecessary, misguided and a waste of resources.

Israel exists to a great extent because of the Holocaust, whose survivors (of which I am one) demanded it, populated it and fought for it in 1948 and thereafter. The gas chambers of the Nazi camps and the squalor of the D.P. camps pressured the conscience of the nations to vote for its establishment. Israel is the memorial, and Yad va-Shem, the Holocaust Memorial Authority, its "Tomb of the Unknown Soldier," on the proper site in Jerusalem.

By contrast, a museum "to show the dark side of human civilization" and the "inhumanity of the killer, but also the humanity of the victim" in the capital of a country that is neither of the killers nor of the victims is but an empty gesture.

While no memorials exist in Washington to the many victims of other mass atrocities in long-past and recent history, this gesture could and would be misunderstood and conceived to be presumptuous and an irritant by those not memorialized.

A Washington memorial would surely not attract large crowds of those who need its education, but there would probably be frequent visits by hate sloganeers and graffiti and swastika painters. And it would divert effort and funds from the existing memorials, Israel and Yad va-Shem.

L. T. SANDOR

New York, May 1, 1984

NY Times
Wed. 5/9/84

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L. T. Sandor
New York, May 1, 1984

NY Times
Wed. 5/9/84

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, MAY 18, 1984

Letters

The Importance of a U.S. Holocaust Memorial

To the Editor:

L. T. Sandor's May 9 letter concerning the establishment of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington expresses fears that are unjustified.

It is, of course, true that Israel serves as a kind of Holocaust memorial. Yad va-Shem in Jerusalem is a splendid museum which never fails to move visitors from all nations and faiths. However, this does not mean that America, the leader of the free world, does not need a national Holocaust museum, archive and educational center.

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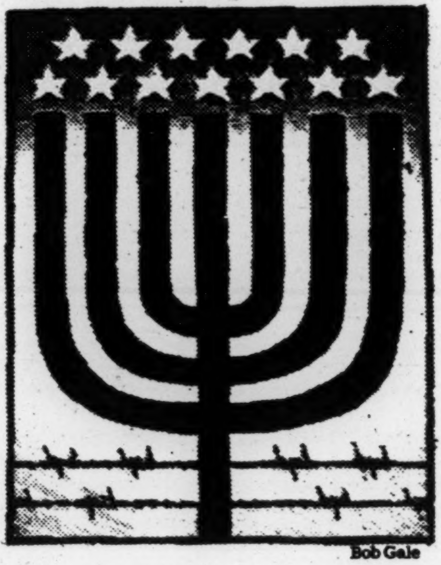

Bob Gale

The museum will stand as a warning against hatred and dehumanization whoever is the victim.

BAYARD RUSTIN
New York, May 11, 1984

The writer, chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, is a member of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council.

●

To the Editor:

I could not help but cringe at the shortsightedness Mr. Sandor displayed. Memorials of the Holocaust are not built with only one people in mind. They are raised with all the world in mind. Let us not forget that there are non-Jews who have suffered the atrocities of the German concentration camps (my father, for one).

If Mr. Sandor does not want a memorial in Washington for the Jews who have suffered the Holocaust, then build one for people like my father. He was a member of the French Resistance and had no military laws protecting him from the nightmares that still wake him.

Genocide is a crooked finger that can be pointed at any race or creed. Let this memorial in Washington remind us all that no one is immune from inhumanity.

A handful of people may remain blind to its significance, but many passers-by will reflect upon one of the darkest moments in modern history and pray, as I do, that history will not repeat itself.

CHRISTINE V. LAKS
Little Falls, N.J., May 9, 1984

for
the dead
and the living
we must bear
witness

Elie Wiesel

FAITH IN HUMANKIND

Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust

OPENING CEREMONY

A SMALL LIGHT IN A VAST DARKNESS

Monday, September 17, 1984, 8 p.m.
Eisenhower Theater
John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
Washington, D.C.

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

for
the dead
and the living
we must bear
witness
Elie Wiesel

FAITH IN HUMANKIND

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OPENING CEREMONY

A SMALL LIGHT IN A VAST DARKNESS

Monday, September 17, 1984, 8 p.m.
Eisenhower Theater
John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts
Washington, D.C.

Welcome .... Dr. John Silber
President, Boston University
Chairman

America the Beautiful .... Shirley Love, mezzo-soprano
Thomas Hrynkiv, piano

Invocation
Rabbi Joshua Haberman
Washington Hebrew Congregation

The Honorable Bayard Rustin
Member, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

Samuel Barber .... The Audubon Quartet
"Adagio" from
Quartet, Opus 11
David Ehrlich, violin
Sharon Smith Polifrone, violin
Doris Lederer Horwitz, viola
Thomas Shaw, cello

From André Schwarz-Bart's .... Anthony Quinn
The Last of the Just

Excerpt from the film
Avenue of the Just (1978)
Courtesy of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Aaron Copland .... Ben Holt, baritone
"Simple Gifts" and
"At the River"
from *Old American Songs*
Thomas Hrynkiv, piano

The Honorable George Shultz
Secretary of State

Felix Mendelssohn .... The Norman Scribner Choir
"For He Shall Give His
Angels Charge Over Thee"
from *Elijah*
Soprano: Mickey Fuson, Carleen Hardesty, Anne Pemberton Johnson, Debra McGuire
Alto: Beverly Benso, Barbara Hollinshead, Susan Kerner-Hoeg, Jane Rosenbloom
Tenor: Robert Baker, James Gutekunst, Bart Hewitt, Richard Turner
Bass: Wilmer S. Hunt, Jr., Ronald Norman, James Shaffran, John Vroom

Dr. Yitzhak Arad
Chairman of the Directorate
Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, Israel

A message on film from
The Honorable Chaim Herzog
President of the State of Israel

Ernest Bloch .... Erick Friedman, violin
"Nigun" from
Baal Shem
Thomas Hrynkiv, piano

Excerpt from the film
Avenue of the Just (1978)
Produced and directed by Samuel Elfert

Frédéric Chopin .... Emanuel Ax, piano
Mazurka in C minor Opus 56 No. 3

The Honorable Elie Wiesel
Chairman
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

Ludwig von Beethoven .... Anne Pemberton Johnson, soprano
Elegiac Song, Opus 118
Beverly Benso, alto
Robert Baker, tenor
John Vroom, bass
and the Audubon Quartet

From *Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl* .... Carol Kane

The Honorable Bayard Rustin
Member, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

Ernest Bloch .... The Norman Scribner Choir
"May the Words of My Heart"
Leonard Bernstein
"Almighty Father"

Benediction
Sister Kay McDonald N.D.S.
Superior General
Sisters of Sion
Rome, Italy

TO THE RESCUERS OF JEWS

During the Holocaust, you were alone, and we were alone. You were alone in helping, and we were alone as victims. And in this juxtaposition there is something strange: whatever is related to the Holocaust is strange. The mystery of evil is equalled in this case by the mystery of good.

Elie Wiesel

Excerpt from an Address
October 1972
New York, New York

The Honorable Elie Wiesel, Chairman
The Honorable Mark E. Talisman, Vice Chairman
Professor Seymour Siegel, Executive Director
Micah H. Naftalin, Senior Deputy Director

Conference Coordinators
Dr. Carol Rittner, R.S.M.
Dr. Harry James Cargas

Program Committee Chairman
Sondra Myers

Producer
Roger Englander

United States Holocaust Memorial Council
425 13th Street, N.W., Suite 832, Washington, D.C. 20004

Tom 637-5304
Joel 966-7332

A

OPENING NARRATION:

(After the Invocation by Rabbi Joshua Haberman)

BAYARD RUSTIN: It is written in the Talmud: "whoever saves a single soul it is as if he had saved the whole world." Forty years ago, in the time of the Holocaust, it seemed improbable to be able to save even one life; yet as it has been documented, it often took only a small act to save a life. ~~It might have been~~ an action like:

opening the door
offering the hand
providing the hiding place
feeding the stranger
covering the traces
keeping the ~~secret~~ silence
holding the [illegible]
or --- just saying "yes!"

~~All of~~ These actions ~~might~~ may seem simple ~~and~~ — small, yet, as we will learn again this evening, they provided, forty years ago, a ~~small~~ light that still shines and will continue forever in a vast darkness.

(BARBER: Adagio from String Quartet)

CLOSING NARRATION:

(after the reading from "DIARY OF ANNE FRANK")

BAYARD RUSTIN: (Introduces the group of 75 rescuers and survivors who are seated in a group in the audience tonight)

(after their acknowledgment)

"To save a life is to save the world".
We remember tonight those who saved lives;
who by their deeds cast small lights in
the vast darkness. At the risk of their
~~[illegible]~~ steps, some
own lives, they took seemingly small
but all gravely dangerous,
steps, like:

forging a passport
discarding a yellow patch
bribing a guard
falsifying a baptismal certificate
bleaching the hair
stealing the medicine
cheating death
----- saying "yes!" to a plea

We ~~must~~ will never forget the darkness, but we
must always remember too that there was
~~a small~~ light.

(BLOCH: "May the words of my heart"
BERNSTEIN: "Almighty Father")

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

RECEIVED OCT 1 1984

September 26, 1984

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York NY 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin,

I have enclosed copies of the opening and closing narration for the Opening Ceremony at the Kennedy Center, as you requested.

It was not only an honor for me to work with you, but a great joy to hear my script read with such feeling and commitment.

Thank you for participating in an evening that was so special to all of us.

Sincerely yours,

Roger Englander

Roger Englander
Producer

Suite 832, 425 13th Street, NW Washington, DC 20004
202-724-0779

OPENING NARRATION:

(After the Invocation by Rabbi Joshua Haberman)

BAYARD RUSTIN: In the Talmud, It is written ~~in the Talmud~~: "whoever saves a single soul it is as if he had saved the whole world." Forty years ago, in the time of the Holocaust, it seemed improbable to be able to save even ~~one life~~ the life of one Jew.; yet as ~~it~~ has been documented, it often took only a small act to save such a life. It might have been ~~an action like~~:

opening ~~the~~ a door
offering ~~the~~ a hand
providing ~~the~~ a hiding place
feeding ~~the~~ a stranger
~~covering the traces~~
keeping ~~the~~ a secret
~~[illegible]~~
or --- ~~just~~ merely saying "yes!"

~~All~~ Each of these actions ~~might~~ seems simple ~~and~~ . . . small, yet, as we shall ~~will~~ learn again ~~this~~ tonight ~~evening~~, they provided, forty years ago, a ~~small~~ light in ~~a~~ the vast darkness.

(BARBER: Adagio from String Quartet)

CLOSING NARRATION:

(after the reading from "DIARY OF ANNE FRANK")

BAYARD RUSTIN: (Introduces the group of 75 rescuers and survivors who are seated in a group in the audience tonight)

(after their acknowledgment)

"To save a life is to save the world".
We remember tonight those who saved lives;
Those who by ~~their~~ deeds cast ~~small~~ light~~s~~ in the
~~vast~~ darkness. who ~~At the~~ risked ~~risk of~~ their ~~own~~
lives. They took ~~seemingly~~ small steps, ~~like~~:

forg~~ing~~ed a passport
discard~~ing~~ed a yellow patch
brib~~ing~~ed a guard
falsify~~ing~~ed a ~~medical~~ certificate
~~bleaching the hair~~ provided a disguise
~~stealing the medicine~~
They cheat~~ing~~ed death
They ~~-- saying~~ said "yes!"

We must never forget the darkness, but we
must ~~always~~ also remember ~~too~~ that there ~~was~~ were
those who provided ~~a small~~ light.

(BLOCH: "May the words of my heart"
BERNSTEIN: "Almighty Father")

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A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

October 18, 1984

Dr. Carol Rittner, R.S.M.
Conference Coordinator
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council
Suite 832
425 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

Dear Sister Rittner,

Enclosed, per your phone request to my office yesterday, is the revised version of the remarks I made at the opening session of the Faith In Humankind conference last month. I hope that I have accurately recalled the changes I made in the text given to me by Roger Englander.

I am glad to have this opportunity to again thank you for allowing me to participate in the conference. You, and the Council staff and consultants who worked on the project, are to congratulated for a very fine job. It was a priviledge and a pleasure to work with you, and I look forward to doing so again in the near future.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR/hrs

encl:

filed: Chron
Faith in Humankind Conf
(Holocaust Mem Council) ✓

653

OPENING NARRATION:

(After the Invocation by Rabbi Joshua Haberman)

BAYARD RUSTIN: In the Talmud it is written: "whoever saves a single soul it is as if he had saved the whole world." Forty years ago, in the time of the Holocaust, it seemed improbable to be able to save even the life of one Jew; yet as has been documented, it often took only a small act to save such a life. It might have been:

opening a door
offering a hand
providing a hiding place
feeding a stranger
keeping a secret
or -- merely saying "yes!"

Each of these actions seems simple...small, yet, as we shall learn again tonight, they provided, forty years ago, a light in the vast darkness.

(BARBER: Adagio from String Quartet

CLOSING NARRATION:

(after the reading from "DIARY OF ANNE FRANK")

BAYARD RUSTIN: (Introduces the group of 75 rescuers and survivors who are seated in a group in the audience tonight)

(after their acknowledgement)

"To save a life is to save the world".
We remember tonight those who saved lives;
those why by deeds cast light in the darkness
who risked their lives. They took small steps,
forged a passport
discarded a yellow patch
bribed a guard
falsified a certificate
provided a disguise
They cheated death
They said "yes!"

We must never forget the darkness, but we must also remember that there were those who provided light.

(BLOCH: "May the words of my heart"
BERNSTEIN: "Almighty Father")

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260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

January 21, 1985

Norwegian Nobel Committee
Drammensrein 19
Oslo, Norway

Gentlemen:

I am writing to add my name to those who are urging that you give serious consideration to awarding the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize to Elie Wiesel, the noted American author and humanitarian.

I am sure that others more qualified than I have dwelt upon Mr. Wiesel's outstanding qualifications. So,too, without doubt the symbolic significance of awarding the Nobel Peace Prize to Mr. Wiesel on the fortieth anniversary of the ending World War II has been brought to your attention. Therefore, I will confine myself to saying that, as one who has spent a lifetime in the struggle to overcome racial prejudice in my country by non-violent means, Elie Wiesel's contribution to raising the world's consciousness to the horrors which unbridled prejudice can unleash is incalculable. I can think of no better candidate for this profoundly important award in 1985, and no better way to send a message of hope to all who still suffer under the scourge of this particularly invidious form of societal condemnation.

Thank you for your time and attention to my recommendation.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR/hrs

Blind Copy - Harry James Cargas

Filed: Chron

Holocaust memorial Council ✓

February 21, 1985

UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL

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Washington, D.C. 20202
Room 4181

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Director
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Department of Interior
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Washington, D.C. 20240

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Secretary

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

July 30, 1985

Mr. Elie Wiesel
Chairman
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council
2000 L Street, N.W., 5th Fl.
Washington, D.C. 20036-4907

Dear Elie,

Enclosed please find copies of some recent letters to me from some of my friends in the trade union movement, regarding a matter of concern to us, which is self-evident.

I would greatly appreciate your advice on the best way to place this matter before the Council.

Thank you, Elie, for what I know beforehand will be good counsel.

With best regards,

Bayard Rustin

BR/hrs

cc: Bert Seidman
Robert A. Georgine

filed: Chron
Holocaust Mem Council ✓

653

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South / New York, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

Date: July 30, 1985

TO: Bob ~~Robert A. Georgine~~

FROM: ~~Bayard Rustin~~ BR

RE: U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

___As you requested

___For your approval

___For your file

___For your information

___Please handle

___Please see me about this

___Please read and return

___Returned as requested

___Your comments, please

Comments:

The enclosed is self-evident.

I will keep you informed.

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South / New York, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

Date: July 30, 1985

TO: Bert Seidman

FROM: Bayard Rustin

RE: U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

___As you requested

___For your approval

___For your file

___For your information

___Please handle

___Please see me about this

___Please read and return

___Returned as requested

___Your comments, please

Comments:

The enclosed is self-evident. I will keep you informed.

I think, Bert, that your sending copies of your letter to Council members might be counter-productive at this time. When I hear back from Elie, I can evaluate how best to proceed in this regard.

ROBERT A. GEORGINE, President
JOSEPH F. MALONEY, Secretary-Treasurer

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Building and Construction Trades Department

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR — CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
815 SIXTEENTH ST., N.W., Suite 603 • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006-4189
(202) 347-1461

July 19, 1985

Bayard Rustin, Chairman
A. Phillip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

I am writing to you because it has come to my attention that the use of non-union labor may be contemplated in the construction, in Washington, D.C., of the Holocaust Memorial Museum, and because I know of your long-standing interest and commitment to human and civil rights, and your belief in the right of employees to organize and in the dignity of the worker.

I strongly believe that the United States Holocaust Memorial Council should ensure that all contractors engaged in construction work on this project should be ones which employ their labor under the terms of collective bargaining agreements with building trades unions. Those agreements ensure that employees will be provided with fair terms and conditions of employment, and that procedures are available peacably and expeditiously to resolve worker grievances which may arise.

I urge you to use your best efforts to have the Council adopt a policy to ensure that all construction work on the Holocaust Memorial Museum will be done by union labor.

Best wishes.

Sincerely and Fraternally,

Robert A. Georgine

Robert A. Georgine
President

RAG/dlg
opeiu#2afl-cio

RECEIVED JUL 29 1985

Jewish Labor Committee

Washington, D.C. Chapter

P.O. Box 28156 Central Station, Washington, D.C. 20005 • (202) 783-6795

Chairman
Bert Seidman

Vice Chairperson
Evelyn Dubrow

Treasurer
Stanley Gordon

Secretary
Patricia Porter

July 25, 1985

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Chairman
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

I am writing to you as a member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council about the Holocaust Memorial Museum that will soon be built here in Washington, D.C. While the Memorial is, of course, a National Monument governed by a National Council, the issue of how it will be built is of particular importance to the Washington Chapter of the Jewish Labor Committee. We believe the building trades unions will rightly perceive the decision as to how the Memorial will be constructed as an indication of the Jewish community's support for the goals of organized labor. Therefore, we strongly desire that such a prominent structure closely associated with the Jewish community be built union.

One of the principal objectives of the Jewish Labor Committee is to preserve and enhance the long-standing friendship of the Jewish community in the United States and organized labor. The mutual support of the Jewish and labor communities has deep roots. Just as Jews played a major role in creating the American labor movement, the benefits of union membership and collective bargaining helped raise our immigrant fathers and mothers from the degradation of the sweatshops to the dignity to which workers are entitled. Additionally, both at home and abroad Jews and free trade unions have shared a common concern for civil liberties and freedom -- be it the civil rights movement in the United States or the struggles for individual freedom and economic justice in Poland under the present regime, in South Africa under apartheid, or in Germany in the 1930's during the Nazi rise to power. Finally, our shared love of freedom and democracy is reflected in the extraordinary support of the American labor movement for the security and growth of Israel.

As Jews, we recognize that our tradition demands that we affirmatively act to promote social justice. While our support for organized labor rests in part upon the congruity of Jewish and trade union concerns, our support for labor also derives from our recognition that trade unions are essential to achieving fairness for workers. Jewish support for the labor movement, we believe, derives from both traditional Jewish values and teachings and enlightened self-interest.

The nurturing of the Jewish-labor relationship requires constant, conscious choice as we go about our personal and institutional business. In that regard, the matter of who constructs Jewish buildings is among the most visible indices of how seriously we treasure the relationship. It is the earnest hope of the Jewish Labor Committee that the United States Holocaust Memorial Council will consider this matter when selecting a contractor, and make sure that the new Holocaust Memorial Museum is built 100 percent union.

To that end, I urge that you bring this matter to the attention of the Council and ask the Council to go on record as desiring to employ union workers in the building of the Holocaust Memorial Museum. We would be glad to be in touch with the Washington Building and Construction Trades Council on this matter; its assistance in the process can be invaluable in making sure that a quality structure can be built at minimum cost by employers paying a fair wage.

Sincerely,

Bert Seidman

Bert Seidman
Chairman

Building and Construction Trades Department
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
SUITE 603, 815 - 16th ST. N.W. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

Copy sent to
Bert Seidman, at
his request — 7/23/85
H. S.

① Copies of these letters to Lane
② with note asking his advice on how I should proceed to get this matter before the council

WASHINGTON D.C.
JUL 19 '85
U.S. POSTAGE
.22

Bayard Rustin, Chairman
A. Phillip RandolphInstitute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, NY 10010

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South / New York, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

Date: July 23, 1985

TO: Mr. Bert Seidman

FROM: Harriette Siani, B. Rustin's Office

RE: Transmittal of Georgine Letter to Rustin

- ✓ **As you requested**
- ___ **For your approval**
- ___ **For your file**
- ✓ **For your information**
- ___ **Please handle**
- ___ **Please see me about this**
- ___ **Please read and return**
- ___ **Returned as requested**
- ___ **Your comments, please**

Philip Randolph Educational Fund
PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

Mr. Bert Seidman
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

(s) 185

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, MAY 31, 1986

For Holocaust Survivors, 40 Years of New Life

By Benjamin Meed

Forty years ago this month, I was a member of the first group of Holocaust survivors to immigrate to the United States. At first glance, the passengers on the Marine Perch, which reached New York harbor on May 24, 1946, were like any other newcomers to America. We came here seeking freedom and a new life.

Yet we were different. We were the battered remnant of a millennium of Jewish life in Europe, the last of our families, the last of our towns. We had seen the dark side of man. We brought with us memories of a world that no longer existed. Warsaw, my native city, had once teemed with almost half a million Jews. Every block of the Jewish quarter was filled with synagogues and schools, theaters and bookshops, merchants and workers, Hasidim and secular Jews. After Warsaw's destruction, the ghetto was so devastated that it had to be plowed under. A new city without Jews — seemingly without even the memory of Jews — would ultimately be built on its ruins.

The night before we landed was especially exciting. With the ship anchored in the harbor, we could see the lights of the city and the Statue of Liberty. None of us could sleep. Instead, we stood on deck all night long. We were apprehensive and frightened.

Before we boarded the ship in Bremen, an American rabbi had spoken to us in Yiddish. "Don't be afraid," he said. Simple words, yet for six years in the kingdom of night, fear had been my constant companion, the compass that charted my direction and dictated my every move.

"Don't be afraid of people in uniform: They won't take you to a camp," the rabbi told us. Then he touched on my deepest fear: "Everything is open to you," he said. "What you do is up to you." Where could I find the confidence to believe it could be a different world, that in America I could be a Jew and an American? In Poland, it was possible to be a Jew, but you were never really fully accepted as a Pole. We were skeptical and filled with anxiety.

I had $8 in my pocket. I had no relatives waiting for me at the dock. My education had been interrupted by the war, and I had no real skills. I couldn't even speak English.

'$8 in my pocket' and no relatives at the dock

Our first years here were hard: Sounds that triggered fear in the old world echoed every day: whenever we heard car tires screeching, we froze, and the sound of a doorbell ringing set our nerves trembling. At night, many of us were troubled by nightmares and memories. And of course there were critical decisions to make. How can we begin again? How does one make a living? Where do you find the courage to bring another generation of Jewish children into the world when you have just seen the last generation perish?

But somehow we did begin anew. We had children and saw them grow up and become real Americans. We watched over them and marveled at how much they felt at home. We felt pride at seeing them make their way into the mainstream of American life.

At the same time, we ourselves were working hard to adjust to America — and we did. Survivors can now be found in every one of the 50 states and in every walk of life. Writers and scholars, physicians and lawyers, businessmen and scientists — we have them all. Yet no matter ho
marvel at where we have been
how far so many of us have come
scars of our common memory
main, and the pain endures.

For years, we were alone here.
fellow Jews regarded us as g
horns. Other Americans treated
refugees. "Forget the past," we
told, "it can only hurt you — and
So we reached out to each other
remembered alone. But slowly
memory of our past was transmi
at first only to fellow Jews, an
time, to other Americans.

I believe we represent to ours
and now to most Americans the d
mination to overcome despair a
defy death by recreating life
have been able to remember the
of the past and to transmit it so
warn others of what can happe
showed that it was possible to
for life in a world of death, for
dom in a world marred by tyr
And now, 40 years later, it is c
ing to know that our testimony h
been in vain, that because we re
bered we helped others rememb

Benjamin Meed is president of the American Gathering and Federation of Jewish Holocaust Survivors.

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Office of the
Executive Director

June 24, 1986

For the official seal of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, I prefer:

X Version A

_____ Version B

_____ Version C

Bayard RUSTIN
(Name)

2000 L Street NW, Suite 588, Washington, D.C. 20036-4907
(202) 653-9360

RECEIVED JUN 26 1986

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Office of the
Executive Director

Pass on
I like
version (A).
word that

June 24, 1986

Dear Council Member:

As promised at our June 10 meeting in Washington, I am attaching three variations of the design chosen as the official seal of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council. This seal will be embossed on all official documents of the Council. We still will be permitted to use the other logos that have been developed over the years for Council brochures, fund-raising pieces, etc.

Please use the attached form to indicate which version, A, B, or C as your preference. Please return the form by Wednesday, July 2. Thank you.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,

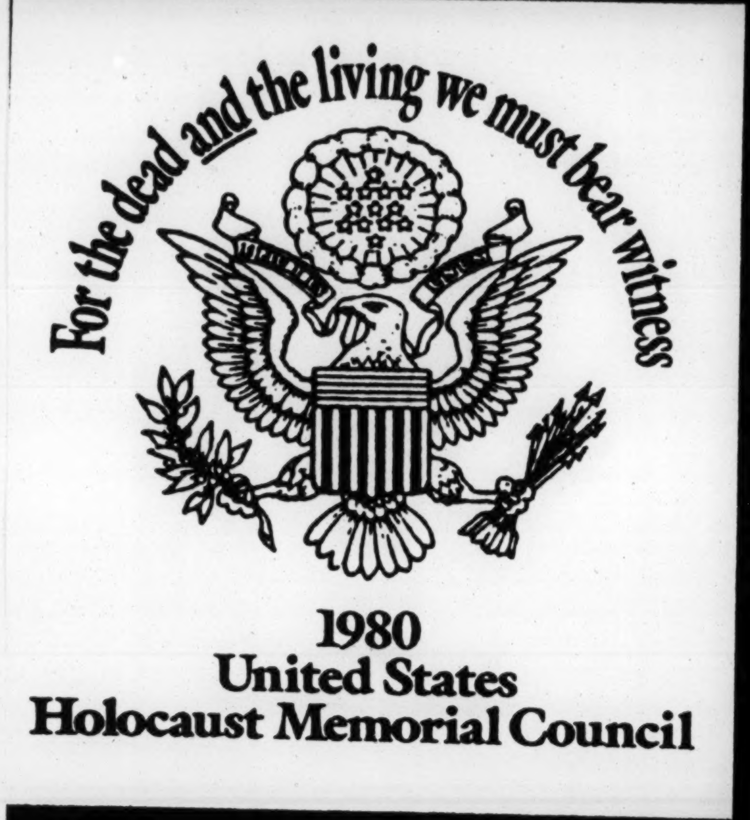
Richard Krieger

Richard Krieger
Executive Director

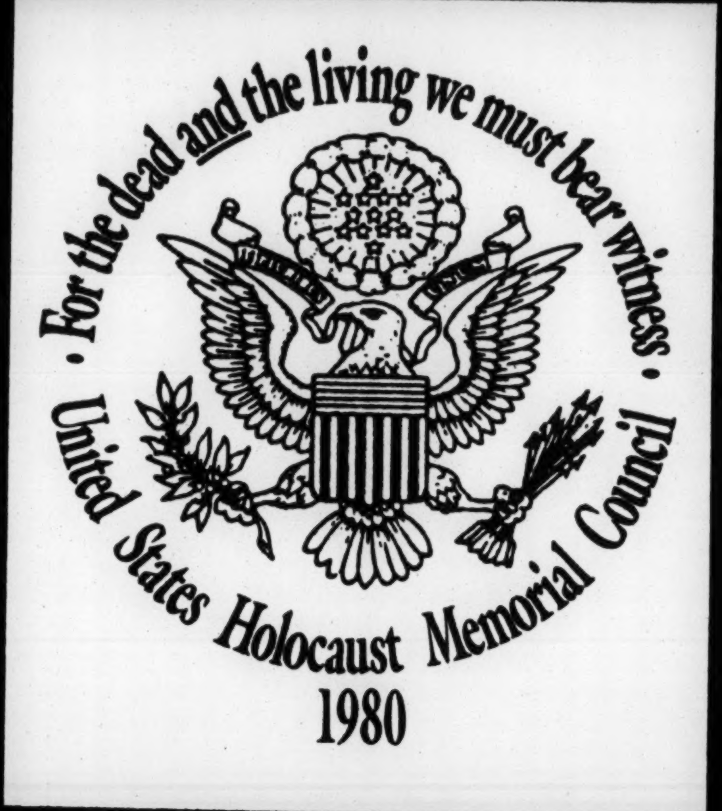
Attachments

2000 L Street NW, Suite 588, Washington, D.C. 20036-4907
(202) 653-9360

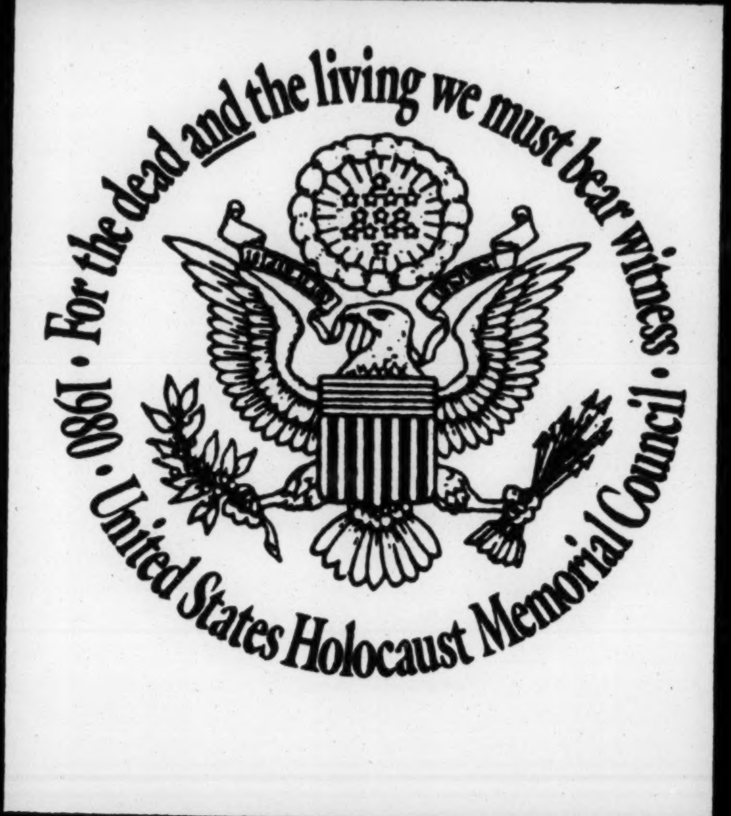
VERSION A


For the dead and the living we must bear witness
1980
United States
Holocaust Memorial Council

VERSION B


• For the dead and the living we must bear witness •
United States Holocaust Memorial Council
1980

VERSION C


• For the dead and the living we must bear witness •
1980 • United States Holocaust Memorial Council

UNITED STATES
HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL
2000 L STREET, NW
SUITE 588
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

RECEIVED OCT 14 1986

October 9, 1986

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Enclosed are the documents that I mentioned at our meeting--including the advise of our legal council. I agree with your strategy and will be sending a letter to our chairman on the meeting for his action.

I look forward to working closely with you and for now, will spare you from my resume and writings.

Sincerely,

Richard Feen

71

Committee on Conscience

For yo Comment
SVF

MEMORANDUM

TO : Richard Krieger
Executive Director

FROM : Sharon V. Freed
General Counsel

RE : Talking Points on Creation of Committee on Conscience and Committee on Antisemitism

1. Council activities are restricted to those purposes authorized by Congress. Council's enabling legislation authorizes the Council: (1) to provide for appropriate ways to commemorate the Days of Remembrance; (2) to plan, construct, and operate a living memorial museum to the victims of the Holocaust; and (3) to develop a plan for carrying out the other recommendations of the Presidents Commission on the Holocaust. 36 U.S.C. Section 1401.

2. -The President's Commission recommended creation of a Committee on Conscience. Because the creation of such a committee is not specifically authorized in the enabling legislation, the Council is limited to "developing a plan" for the appointment of a Committee on Conscience.

3. The creation of an antisemitism committee was not included among the recommendations of the President's Commission. Nevertheless, there are a couple of options for creating such a

committee: (a) include in the plan to create the Committee on Conscience a subcommittee on antisemitism; and (b) request Congress to expand the Council's authorized purposes to include monitoring and alerting the Congress and/or the administration and/or the public to antisemitism.

4. Presently, ~~At this point,~~ the functions of the Committee on Conscience and Committee on Antisemitism should be limited to recommending to the full Council a plan to create the committees.

5. The full Council would then (a) adopt a plan to create the Committees on Conscience and Antisemitism and (b) seek authorization and/or funding from Congress to implement the plan.

(g) Omitted

(h) Reservation of right to amend or repeal chapter

The right to alter, amend, or repeal this chapter is hereby expressly reserved to the Congress.

(Pub.L. 96-165, § 9, Dec. 29, 1979, 93 Stat. 1271, 1272.)

Codification. Subsec. (g) provided for an amendment to section 1101 of this title.

1986

Congressional Legislation

~~CHAPTER 46—UNITED STATES~~ HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL

Sec.
1401. Establishment of United States Holocaust Memorial Council; functions.
1402. Council membership.
  (a) Appointment; vacancies.
  (b) Membership; terms of office.
  (c) Term of office.
  (d) Chairperson and Vice Chairperson; term of office; vacancies.
  (e) Reappointment.
1403. Compensation; travel expenses; full-time officers or employees of United States or Members of Congress.
1404. Administrative provisions.
  (a) Bylaws; quorum.
  (b) Experts and consultants.
  (c) Contract authority.

Sec.
  (d) Assistance from other Federal departments and agencies.
  (e) Administrative services and support.
1405. Staff.
  (a) Executive Director.
  (b) Appointment of employees.
1406. Memorial museum.
  (a) Transfer or purchase of real property in District of Columbia.
  (b) Architectural design approval.
  (c) Termination of construction and operation authority.
1407. Gifts, bequests, and devises of property; tax treatment.
1408. Authorization of appropriations; construction restriction.
1409. Reports to Congress [New].
1410. Audit by the Comptroller General; access to records [New].

§ 1401. Establishment of United States Holocaust Memorial Council; functions

There is hereby established as an independent Federal establishment the United States Holocaust Memorial Council (hereinafter in this chapter referred to as the "Council"). The Council shall—

(1) provide for appropriate ways for the Nation to commemorate the Days of Remembrance, as an annual, national, civic commemoration of the holocaust, and shall encourage and sponsor appropriate observances of such Days of Remembrance throughout the United States;

(2) plan, construct, and oversee the operation of, a permanent living memorial museum to the victims of the holocaust, in cooperation with the Secretary of the Interior and other Federal agencies as provided in section 1406 of this title; and

(3) develop a plan for carrying out the recommendations of the President's Commission on the Holocaust in its report to the President of September 27, 1979, to the extent such recommendations are not otherwise provided for in this chapter.

(Pub.L. 96-388, § 1, Oct. 7, 1980, 94 Stat. 1547, amended Pub.L. 99-190, § 101(d) [Title III, § 324(1)], Dec. 19, 1985, 99 Stat. 1267.)

Codification. Section 1406 of this title, referred to in par. (2), in the original read "section 5", meaning section 5 of Pub.L. 96-388, which enacted section 1405 of this title. Section 5 has been translated as section 1406 of this title, which was enacted by section 6 of Pub.L. 96-388, to reflect the probable intent of Congress in view of the subject matter of section 1406, which relates to the planning, construction, and operation of a permanent living memorial museum to victims of

1985 Amendment. Pub.L. 99-190 added "as an independent Federal establishment" following "established".

Legislative History. For legislative history and purpose of Pub.L. 96-388, see 1980 U.S.Code Cong. and Adm.News, p. 3343.

Library References

Beneficial Associations ⇔1 et seq.
Charities ⇔1 et seq.
Corporations ⇔1 et seq.

C.J.S. Beneficial Associations § 1 et seq.
C.J.S. Charities § 1 et seq.
C.J.S. Corporations § 1 et seq.
C.J.S. United States §§ 1, 2.

§ 1402. Council membership

(a) Appointment; vacancies

The Council shall consist of sixty-five voting members appointed (except as otherwise provided in this section) by the President and the following ex officio nonvoting members:

(1) one appointed by the Secretary of the Interior;
(2) one appointed by the Secretary of State, and
(3) one appointed by the Secretary of Education.

Of the sixty-five voting members, five shall be appointed by the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives from among members of the United States House of Representatives and five shall be appointed by the President pro tempore of the United States Senate upon the recommendation of the majority and minority leaders from among members of the United States Senate. Any vacancy in the Council shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment was made.

(b) Membership; terms of office

The members of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, as in effect immediately before October 7, 1980, are hereby designated as members of the Council. All noncongressional voting members designated under the preceding sentence shall serve terms as follows:

(1) All such noncongressional voting members shall serve until January 15, 1986.

(2) On January 15, 1986, the terms of eleven of such noncongressional voting members, as designated in the bylaws of the Council, shall terminate.

(3) On January 15 of each year thereafter through 1990 the terms of eleven other such noncongressional voting members, as designated in the bylaws of the Council, shall terminate.

(c) Term of office

(1) Except as provided in subsection (b) of this section and except as otherwise provided in this subsection, Council members shall serve for five-year terms.

(2) The terms of the five members of the United States House of Representatives and the five members of the United States Senate appointed during any term of Congress shall each expire at the end of such term of Congress.

(3) Any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring before the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed only for the remainder of such term. A member, other than a Member of Congress appointed by the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives or the President pro tempore of the United States Senate, may serve after the expiration of his term until his successor has taken office.

(d) Chairperson and Vice Chairperson; term of office; vacancies

(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), the Chairperson and Vice Chairperson of the Council shall be appointed by the President from among the members of the Council and such Chairperson and Vice Chairperson shall each serve for terms of five years. Vacancies in the offices of Chairperson and Vice Chairperson shall be filled, as they arise, by appointment of the President.

(2) The Chairperson and Vice Chairperson of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, as in effect immediately before October 1, 1980, are hereby designated respectively as the initial Chairperson and Vice Chairperson of the Council. Such initial Chairperson and Vice Chairperson shall serve until January 15, 1986.

(e) Reappointment

Members whose terms expire may be reappointed, and the Chairperson and Vice Chairperson may be reappointed to those offices.

(Pub.L. 96-388, § 2, Oct. 7, 1980, 94 Stat. 1547, amended Pub.L. 97-84, § 1(1)-(3), Nov. 20, 1981,

3. Committee on Conscience

The Commission recommends that a Committee on Conscience composed of distinguished moral leaders in America be appointed. This Committee would receive reports of genocide (actual or potential) anywhere in the world. In the event of any outbreak, it would have access to the President, the Congress, and the public in order to alert the national conscience, influence policy makers, and stimulate worldwide action to bring such acts to a halt.

Of all the issues addressed by the Commission, none was as perplexing or as urgent as the need to insure that such a totally inhuman assault as the Holocaust—or any partial version thereof—never recurs. The Commission was burdened by the knowledge that 35 years of post-Holocaust history testify to how little has been learned. Only a conscious, concerted attempt to learn from past errors can prevent recurrence to any racial, religious, ethnic, or national group. A memorial unresponsive to the future would also violate the memory of the past.

In the years following the Holocaust, Americans repeatedly explained: "We didn't know. We didn't understand the magnitude of the problem. If only we had known, something would have been done." Trusting in the moral responsiveness of the American people and other peoples throughout the world, the Commission feels that the task now is to combat silence and ignorance; if evil cannot be totally eliminated, it may at least be alleviated.

The Commission recognizes that genocide has both a legal and political definition. It knows well the potential for the politicization of a Committee on Conscience, but the risks are worth taking if such a body can provide maximal exposure for dangerous developments, raising, in one scholar's words, an "institutional scream" to alert the conscience of the world and spark public outcry. Open hearings could be instituted in the event of major offenses against peoples, so that early reports of atrocities would not be suppressed, as they were between 1941 and 1943.

The Committee on Conscience would not duplicate the roles of existing human rights agencies, whether national or international, but would concentrate upon genocidal situations, transmitting information and advocating strong action on the part of the United States, other countries, or the United Nations.

To explore the potential for preventive action, as an example, the Chairman of the President's Commission on the Holocaust traveled to Argentina this summer to witness first-hand the massive human rights violations that have been reported. Because of regretable State Department unresponsiveness, the scope of the Chairman's contacts were limited. Valuable information, however, was obtained.

The Boat People further illustrate the unique role that the Committee on Conscience can play. Speaking for the Commission, the Chairman appealed directly to the President of the United States to intervene on their behalf. He was also named to the delegation at the international conference at Geneva, in which role he was able to help bring about international relief activities. This is not to presume that the Commission is or would be the lone voice to redress an outrage; the media, by the persistence of its reporting, has continually focused attention on the plight of the Boat People. Yet the voices which spoke out of the experience of the Holocaust resonated with special authenticity. By being reminded of Evian (a conference of 32 nations held in 1938 that failed to rescue the Jews when Hitler flung that challenge in the world's face), the recent Geneva Conference on the Boat People was sensitized to the price of inaction. Because of the Administration's awareness of the failures of the past, the Vice President's somber address invoking the spectre of Evian commanded great urgency. He said:

> Our children will deal harshly with us if we fail. The conference at Evian 41 years ago took place amidst the same comfort and beauty we enjoy at our own deliberations today. One observer at those proceedings—moved by the contrast between the setting and the task—said this:
>
> > "These poor people and these great principles seem so far away. To one who has attended other conferences on Lake Geneva, the most striking thing on the eve of this one is that the atmosphere is so much like the others."
>
> Let us not be like the others. Let us renounce that legacy of shame. Let us reach beyond metaphor. Let us honor the moral principles we inherit. Let us do something meaningful—something profound—to stem this misery. We face a world problem. Let us fashion a world solution.
>
> History will not forgive us if we fail. History will not forget us if we succeed.

RECEIVED OCT 27 1986

DRAFT

MEMORANDUM

F

TO: Chairman

THROUGH: Richard Krieger

FROM: Richard Feen (Program Director)

SUBJECT: Establishment of Committee of Conscience

In a meeting attended by Richard Krieger, Bayard Rustin and Kalman Sultanik, it was decided to go to the Executive Committee and then full Council to seek approval to approach Congress for authorization to establish a "Committee of Conscience."

In accordance with the law establishing the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, the Council has a manadate to " develop a plan for carrying out recommendations of the President's Commission on the Holocaust."

The President's Commission specifically recommends that a "Committee on Conscience composed of distinguished moral leaders in America be appointed. This Committee would receive reports of genocide (actual or potential) anywhere in the world. In the event of any outbreak, it would have access to the President, the Congress, and the public in order to alert the national conscience, influence policy makers, and stimulate worldwide action to bring such actions to a halt."

The questions that have arisen in discussion are as follows: What should be the specific task of the Committee: Should it not address antisemitism, racism and persecution as well? (And, in fact, have a different title?) Should it address all incidents in the world or concentrate on just a chosen few? Moreover, would it report on governments who violate human rights or organizations and groups who are similarly guilty?

While there are many questions to be answered before we can seek authorization from Congress to implement this plan, the proposed chairman of this committee, Kalman Sultanik, and co-chairman Bayard Rustin, are in total agreement on the need for such a committee. In particular, that such a committee would not only guard against future acts against humanity and call attention to them, but it would also act as a sort of "lightening rod" for contemporary human rights concerns and thus keep the museum from becoming politicized. Agreement was also reached on the need not to pressure Congress to the extent that it may jeopardize the museum or other programs of the Council.

We therefore turn to the Exeecutive Committee and full Council to discuss the establishment of a Committee on Conscience.

F

How to get a Nobel prize.

POP GOES ELIE WIESEL

"I WAS OF COURSE very stunned and grateful, and melancholy," Elie Wiesel told the *New York Times* about his initial reaction to winning the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize. "I fell back into the mood of Yom Kippur, serious reflections about my parents and my grandparents. It took me half an hour to get out of it." But when Wiesel finally came to, he told a press conference in New York, "There are no coincidences. If it [winning the prize] happens after Yom Kippur here, then some of my friends and myself have prayed well."

Actually, they did a little more than pray. Over the past several years, a few of Wiesel's friends have circled the globe in an intensive effort to win him the prize. Sigmund Strochlitz, who owns a Ford dealership in New London, Connecticut, has directed the offensive. A survivor of Auschwitz, Strochlitz has visited the halls of Congress, the West German Bundestag, the French Assembly, and the Norwegian Parliament on Wiesel's behalf.

It might sound difficult to lobby for the Nobel Peace Prize. In reality, it's not so tough. According to the rules of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, several categories of persons are eligible to make nominations. Parliamentary representatives, judges, academics, and former Nobel laureates are among those entitled to send letters of nomination to the committee in Oslo. They're due by February 1. Strochlitz's strategy has been to solicit these letters by the bushel. He's succeeded in getting hundreds of them, including nominations from François Mitterrand and former Peace Prize winners Henry Kissinger, Lech Walesa, and Mother Theresa.

Wiesel's supporters have concentrated much of their energy on the U.S. Senate. One Senate aide described their campaign as "relentless and heavy-handed." "Strochlitz would show up every winter and say it's time to write letters again," one staffer said. "He'd say, 'You did it last year. It's time to do it again.' He'd get the senators to send 'Dear Colleague' letters to each other in an ever-widening circle." Strochlitz, a close friend of Wiesel's, denies doing any campaigning.

Here's how it worked. Strochlitz asked Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, for example, to nominate Wiesel, and to request similar letters from ten of his colleagues. Strochlitz provided Moynihan with the names. Of course, many of the legislators Moynihan asked had no idea they could nominate anyone for a Nobel Prize. And a few hardly knew who Elie Wiesel was. They letters they sent are perhaps less flowery than some the Nobel Committee has received in the past:

> U.S. Senate
> January 26, 1984
>
> Members of the Committee:
>
> It is my honor to propose Mr. Elie Wiesel for the 1984 Nobel Prize for Peace. As you well know, Mr. Wiesel has dedicated most of his life toward the goal of peace throughout the world. In my opinion, you could not go wrong by awarding the Nobel Peace Prize to this most deserving gentleman.
>
> With respect,
> Barry Goldwater

By Strochlitz's count, more than 50 senators and 140 representatives have written to Oslo on Wiesel's behalf. More than 70 members of the West German Bundestag have also nominated Wiesel. After getting a few dozen senators under his belt, Strochlitz began grouping them in interesting ways. One year he got the entire Massachusetts congressional delegation to nominate Wiesel. Another year he solicited letters from all the members of the Senate Banking Committee.

STROCHLITZ WAS helped by John Silber, the president of Boston University, where Wiesel teaches. Silber called Strochlitz "the real strategist and campaigner." "Strochlitz did everything in his power," Silber said. "He would say to me: 'John, you know these people in Congress.' I'd write to them and send copies of their responses to Strochlitz, so he could keep track of everything we were doing." Silber said that he is especially delighted at Wiesel finally winning the prize, since it is the second such award bestowed upon someone associated with his school. Martin Luther King, who won the Peace Prize in 1964, was a student at Boston University during the 1950s.

In Silber's letters to the Nobel Committee, he argued that Wiesel was not just a spokesman for survivors of the Holocaust, but a voice for victims everywhere. Each year that he renominated Wiesel, he wrote to the committee about some new effort of Wiesel's on behalf of the oppressed—whether his work for Cambodian boat people, or Soviet Jews, or Arab refugees, or the disappeared in Argentina. A typical letter from Silber to the committee points out that "Wiesel traveled at considerable risk to his personal health and safety into the jungles of Honduras, where he met with Miskito Indians." Attached was an op-ed piece Wiesel published in the *Los Angeles Times*, detailing the Miskitos' plight. As Silber put it one year, "I am sure that my letter will not be the first, nor indeed the only such letter to reach you. . . ."

Another of Silber's tactics has been to suggest appropriate anniversaries for the Nobel Committee to make use of in honoring his friend. In 1984 he wrote of the connections between Wiesel and Orwell. The following year Silber's letter reminded the committee that it was the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the death camps. Wiesel's friends searched endlessly for a new "peg" on which to hang the same old story.

Silber said Wiesel never inquired about the effort to get him the prize, though he was aware of it. "He never asked anybody, never asked me, never asked Strochlitz," Silber said. "We said, 'Stand still, Elie. Step aside, do your work. Don't worry about our work, which is to make them [the Nobel Committee] aware of you.' " Silber added, "Nobody wins unless the Nobel Committee knows about them." Silber and Strochlitz both vociferously decline any share of the credit for Wiesel's prize in 1986. "That would be like the trainer claiming he's the race horse," Silber said. "We may have fed the oats, and curried the flanks. But that horse could run."

According to all published reports, Wiesel has been on the Nobel Committee's short list for the past few years. And this year members of the jury thought it necessary to make a non-controversial selection. Last year's prize, which was shared by Soviet doctor Yevgeny I. Chazov, of the Boston-based Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, humiliated the committee when it was revealed that Chazov had denounced laureate Andrei Sakharov several years earlier. In 1986 it was the West's turn to be mollified.

Looking down the list of past winners, one wonders what the prize is actually for. Some years it appears to reward good deeds on a large scale. Other times, it seems to honor political leadership. On a few occasions, such as 1973, when it was awarded jointly to Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho, it has seemed closer to a war prize than a peace prize. These days, it's a rather amorphous accolade—sort of a moral hall of fame for the indisputably decent.

Whatever the Nobel Peace Prize signifies, it's clear that people lobby for it. Nobody seems quite sure what Japanese prime minister Eisaku Sato won his Nobel for in 1974, but it is well known that he hired a public relations firm to help his campaign along. Jimmy Carter, Armand Hammer, and Indira Gandhi have been among the more recent campaigners who appear to have failed in drives for the prize. (Hammer reportedly once sent Ann Landers a jade necklace with a note asking if she could help him get nominated for the prize.) Mohandas Gandhi never campaigned for, and never got, the most coveted prize on planet earth.

Because the prize has such prestige, it's a bit disquieting to discover that the winners actually wanted it. Nobody wants to think that the Mother Theresas of the world bid for earthly reward. In fact, Mother Theresa never did campaign for the Nobel Peace Prize. But she seems to be the exception, Elie Wiesel the rule.

JACOB WEISBERG

Jacob Weisberg is a former TNR reporter-researcher.

The worst campaign in America.

THE SNIT BROTHERS

Los Angeles

Representative Ed Zschau, the Republican Senate candidate in California, would love to make personal contact with Democratic Senator Alan Cranston, his opponent. Lots of luck. The closest he's come was on October 1 when a radio interviewer in Los Angeles left him on hold while talking to Cranston on the other line. Why don't I put you two guys together for a quickie debate? the interviewer asked Cranston. "Thank you very much," said Cranston. "I've got to run." He hung up. Cranston says there's no percentage in debating Zschau, who trails him in polls. "I don't know of anybody who ever lost a campaign for refusing to debate," he told the *Los Angeles Times*. "But I think Gerald Ford lost the presidency because of his debate remark on television."

Yes, the California Senate campaign is just as awful as you've heard. Televised debates, with tedious questions from reporters and silly posturing by the candidates, would be a godsend here. Anything to make the candidates stop pouting. Zschau is in a snit because he wanted the campaign to be, as his campaign manager Ron Smith puts it, "a high-toned, high-level kind of campaign . . . a battle of ideas." It isn't. "Cranston took that away from us" by running tough, negative ads against Zschau beginning in June. OK, but why is Cranston in a huff? Zschau's using "the technique of the big lie," Cranston declares. "That's what [Richard Nixon] did, and that's what's occurring here." Cranston's position is that Zschau is too unsavory to debate. "He's lied about Cranston's record, and we don't debate with liars," explains Kam Kuwata, Cranston's press secretary.

This campaign doesn't pit Zschau against Cranston at all. It pits Zschau's ads against Cranston's ads. The TV spots are not only the medium, but the message as well. This surprises no one in California, where events such as campaign rallies and kaffeeklatsches are rarities. And reporters adjust. Rather than bother with the candidates, they concentrate on reporting about their ads.

Zschau and Cranston do three things: (1) hold press conferences to attract media attention; (2) attend fundraisers to get money to pay for television spots; and (3) film the spots and shovel them out to TV stations. But even the press conferences frequently don't deal with real issues—arms control, defense spending, taxes, the deficit, abortion. They deal with TV spots. Both sides call reporters together to "preview" new ads, which generates print and TV news stories about the spots. Zschau and Cranston also hold press conferences to denounce the other guy's commercials. Zschau waxed indignant last summer about a Cranston commercial labeling him an ally of Jerry Falwell and Senator Jesse Helms in supporting the white regime in South Africa. Cranston flew into a dither for reporters over Zschau ads zinging him on drugs, terrorism, and the death penalty. On the basis of these ads, Cranston declared, "I don't think [Zschau] is qualified to be senator."

WHAT'S IN THE ADS? The usual sleight-of-hand, hype, and stress on peripheral points. Take the Cranston spot on Zschau and South Africa. Contrary to what the ad suggests, Zschau isn't buddy-buddy with Falwell and Helms on South Africa. He actually favors economic sanctions, but sanctions that are less severe than those Cranston proposes. Cranston insists that the ad is legitimate because Zschau, like Falwell and Helms, op-

RECEIVED FEB 9 1986

1980
United States
Holocaust Memorial Council

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

February 5, 1987

MEMORANDUM

TO : Council Members

FROM : Harvey M. Meyerhoff

As perhaps you are aware, President Reagan announced yesterday my appointment to the chairmanship of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council. Importantly, I am especially pleased to tell you that Bill Lowenberg will serve as the Vice Chairman of the Council.

I now embark on perhaps the most important work of my life: to lead the efforts to transform the inspired vision of the Council founders into a reality that will carry the message of Remembrance to the next generation and all the generations that follow -- so that none shall forget.

Dedicated to that goal and working together, I know we can create a United States Holocaust Memorial Museum that is truly reflective of the words on our Council's seal: "For the dead and the living we must bear witness."

Bill and I are now reviewing all the matters relating to the actions taken at the last meeting of the Council on December 4, 1986. After that review, we will write giving you our conclusions and recommendations. We are both aware of the task ahead and will surely need your help to accomplish the missions of the Council.

2000 L Street NW, Suite 588, Washington, D.C. 20036-4907, (202) 653-9220

1980
United States
Holocaust Memorial Council

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

For Release: IMMEDIATELY

Contact: SAM ESKENAZI
Director of Public Affairs
202/653-9219

President Reagan Appoints Meyerhoff Chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

WASHINGTON, D.C.-- President Reagan announced on February 4 his intention to appoint Harvey M. Meyerhoff to be Chairman of the U. S. Holocaust Memorial Council. He will succeed Nobel Peace Prize winner Elie Wiesel.

He will head the 65-member Council whose principle task is to plan, build and raise private funds for the construction of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum which is to be located on federal land facing the Mall in Washington, D.C., near the Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials and The Washington Monument.

In accepting his appointment by the President, Meyerhoff said: "I now embark on perhaps the most important work of my life: to lead the efforts to transform the inspired vision of the Council founders into a reality that will carry the message of Remembrance to the next generation and all the generations that follow -- so that none shall forget."

In his resignation letter to the President, Wiesel said: "At this stage of its development, the Council needs a chairman with

-more-

expertise in management, administration, finance and construction. As you know, all these fields are alien to me, hence my decision to step down and allow you to appoint a successor who will fill the needs of the hour."

Meyerhoff, a prominent philanthropist and developer, is chairman of the board of Magna Properties, Inc., in Baltimore, Maryland. He is a major benefactor of the Johns Hopkins Hospital and chairman of its board. He is also chairman of the board of Johns Hopkins Health System and a trustee of Johns Hopkins University.

He has been a member of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council and its Museum Development Committee since last September.

Meyerhoff graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1948. He is Honorary Life Director of the National Association of Home Builders and was a member of the Rent Advisory Board (Advisor to Price Commission, U.S. Economic Stabilization Program). Other positions he has held include: Chairman of the Central Maryland 1975 United Way Campaign; chairman of the Combined Campaign 1967-Associated Jewish Charities & Welfare Fund of Baltimore; and member of the United Jewish Appeal Executive Committee.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Council was established by Congress in 1980 to plan and build the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. and to encourage and sponsor observances of an annual, national, civic commemoration of the Holocaust known as the Days of Remembrance. The Council also engages in Holocaust education and research programs. It consists of 55 members of all faiths and backgrounds appointed by the President, plus five U.S. Senators and five members of the House of Representatives.

-30-

2/5/87

1980
United States
Holocaust Memorial Council

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

February 18, 1987

MEMORANDUM

TO : Members of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

FROM : Harvey M. Meyerhoff, Chairman

SUBJECT: Council Committees

A preliminary review of the current committee structure indicates that some committees and advisory committees have never met and some are without chairpersons as a result of either resignations, statutory rotation of the Council which takes place every January 15th, or simply the lack of a named chairman. In light of this, Bill Lowenberg and I want to review all the committees -- their original purpose, why some have not met and the effectiveness of those that have been convened. However, since the annual national commemoration of the Days of Remembrance will take place in two-and-a-half months and planning is going on now, no changes are contemplated for that committee; therefore, Sigmund Strochlitz and Benjamin Meed will continue to serve as Chairman and Co-Chairman, respectively, of the Days of Remembrance Committee and all members thereof are requested to continue their participation in the deliberations of that committee.

As you know, in most organizations, appointees tender their resignations to the incoming Chairperson as a courtesy enabling him to assemble "his own team." Further, since the bylaws state that committee members serve at the pleasure of the Chairman, and based on conversations with a number of Council members, this is to advise you that your resignation will be effective upon receipt of this letter with the exception of the Days of Remembrance Committee. You should know that at the close of the Executive Committee meeting of February 4th, all members present at that meeting resigned, solely as an expression of courtesy and their cooperation with the incoming Chairman -- for which I was, and remain, most grateful.

Having said this, in a number of instances, I hope soon to be reappointing members to continue serving the Council on those committees on which they had previously served. Staffing of all committees will also be reviewed.

Again, Bill and I thank you for your support and cooperation.

2000 L Street NW, Suite 588, Washington, D.C. 20036-4907, (202) 653-9220

Officers
Bayard Rustin
President
Norman Hill
Executive Director
Mrs. Arthur C. Logan
Treasurer
Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

February 25, 1987

Harvey Meyerhoff, Chairman
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council
2000 L Street, N.W. - 5th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20036-4907

Dear Harvey Meyerhoff,

In keeping with tradition, I resign as Co-Chairman of the Committee on Conscience of the Holocaust Memorial Council.

I look forward to working with you as a member of the Council in any way that you may wish.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin
President

Chron.

✓ Holocaust Memorial Council

1980
United States
Holocaust Memorial Council

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

March 4, 1987

Executive Director

MEMORANDUM FOR COUNCIL MEMBERS

FROM : David Weinstein, Acting Executive Director

SUBJECT: Travel Arrangements

We have just received new instructions from ASK MR. FOSTER, the government travel agency. Due to restructuring within their organization, the following telephone numbers are now in effect:

1. During working hours, (202) 898-1225 MUST be used for new reservations or changes in itinerary. You may call this number Collect, between the hours of 7:45 a.m. and 5:30 p.m. (Washington D.C. time). Identify yourself as a member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, Department of the Interior, personal ID number CD1-HMCX.

2. The familiar (800) 424-1177 number is now to be used ONLY after hours, on weekends, or during emergencies when you cannot reach the number given above. An example of an emergency would be weather closing the federal government in the Washington D.C. area (as happened recently), or on a federal holiday. However, most of the time travel should be planned enough in advance to utilize the non-emergency number.

If you encounter travel problems, please feel free to call Ms. Janice Smith (202) 653-9878, in our administrative liaison office of the National Park Service. She will be glad to help you resolve any travel difficulties.

Thank you for your cooperation in maintaining proper government procedures.

2000 L Street NW, Suite 588, Washington, D.C. 20036-4907, (202) 653-9220

RECEIVED JUN 24 1987

U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

NEWS NEWS

For Release: June 19, 1987

Contact: Sam Eskenazi
Director of Public
Affairs
202/653-9219
202/362-2854(hm.)

THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM DESIGN IS APPROVED; CONSTRUCTION SET FOR THIS YEAR

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- The design of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum was approved today by the federal Commission of Fine Arts. Construction may start later this year.

The design calls for a hexagonal memorial, the Hall of Remembrance, connected to a five-story museum structure featuring a sky-lit, atrium-like Hall of Witness.

Dedicated to remembering the Holocaust, the museum/memorial will be located near the heart of the National Mall on Raoul Wallenberg Place (formerly 15th Street) near Independence Avenue, S.W. and will face the nearby Washington Monument and Jefferson Memorial. It will stretch the entire block to 14th Street and stand between the Bureau of Printing and Engraving to its south and the red brick Auditor's Building on Independence Avenue.

The museum is being designed by architect James Ingo Freed of I.M. Pei and Partners in association with Notter Finegold and Alexander Inc. It will take two to three years to build and could be completed in 1990.

-more-

2000 L Street, N.W., Suite 588, Washington, D.C. 20036

The design, approved unanimously by the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council on April 28, was hailed by Council Chairman Harvey M. Meyerhoff as a fitting national museum telling the story of the darkest days of human history and America's role during that time, including the liberation of Nazi concentration camps. "The museum will meet our goal," he said, "to remember the past for the sake of the future."

The building exterior has been designed to be compatible with its neighbor to the south, the Bureau of Printing and Engraving, and the building to its north, the Auditor's Building.

The museum's permanent exhibition, filling three floors, will tell the story of the Holocaust. It will focus on the six million Jews, including more than one million children, exterminated in the Holocaust and the millions of other victims of Nazism, including Poles, Gypsies, Soviet citizens, the handicapped, and others. The exhibition will also depict efforts to preserve human dignity during the Holocaust.

The museum, with its learning center, library, archives and international computerized data retrieval center, will serve as a national educational resource on the Holocaust.

In fulfilling its mission to remember and educate, the museum will support the highest level of academic research, curriculum development and teacher training services. The archival, artifact

-more-

and library collections will provide fundamental resources for visitors, students, teachers and scholars. It will be instrumental in integrating the archival collections of Holocaust institutions throughout the world.

The museum's two auditoriums will provide space for lectures, symposiums and concerts and will provide screens for films on the Holocaust and related subjects.

The museum will have two areas for major changing exhibitions on the 1st Floor and Concourse levels totaling more than 11,000 square feet. A Children's Wall on the Concourse level will feature approximately 6,000 tiles, each with a scene painted by an American school child depicting his or her view of the Holocaust.

The museum will cost an estimated $45-50 million to build, another $15-20 million for exhibits and $5 million for computers and other equipment for the interior. All museum expenses are being raised from private contributions. President Ronald Reagan is honorary chairman of the memorial museum fund-raising campaign, which has the goal of raising at least $100 million for the museum and an endowment for future operating expenses.

Council vice chairman William Lowenberg of San Francisco, a survivor of Auschwitz, called the Freed design "a masterpiece, world class."

Museum Director Arthur Rosenblatt, formerly vice president of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, praised Freed and the Pei team of architects working on the project for meeting the

-more-

Council's goal for a museum "of symbolic and artistic beauty, visually and emotionally moving in accordance with the solemn nature of the Holocaust."

Two Presidents have explained why there is a compelling need for all Americans to memorialize the Holocaust. President Jimmy Carter, in 1980, said:

> Although the Holocaust took place in Europe, the event is of fundamental significance to Americans for three reasons. First, it was American troops who liberated many of the death camps, and who helped to expose the horrible truth of what had been done there. Also, the United States became a homeland for many of those who were able to survive. Secondly, however, we must share the responsibility for not being willing to acknowledge forty years ago that this horrible event was occurring.
>
> Finally, because we are humane people, concerned with the human rights of all peoples, we feel compelled to study the systematic destruction of the Jews so that we may seek to learn how to prevent such enormities from occurring in the future.

In 1983, President Reagan said:

> Imparting the message of the Holocaust, using it to reinforce the moral fiber of our society, is much more than a Jewish responsibility. It rests upon all of us who, not immobilized by cynicism and negativism, believe that mankind is capable of greater goodness..... Our most sacred task now is insuring that the memory of this greatest of human tragedies, the Holocaust, never fades -- that its lessons are not forgotten.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Council was established by Congress in 1980 to plan and build the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. and to encourage and sponsor observances of an annual, national, civic commemoration of the Holocaust known as the Days of Remembrance. The Council also engages in Holocaust education and research programs. It consists of 55 members of all faiths and backgrounds appointed by the President, plus five U.S. Senators and five members of the House of Representatives.

7/20/87

ADL
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith

For Your Information

Bayard —

I ~~personally~~ agree strongly with this piece by Avineri. I wish the Commission would re-consider this ill-advised project.

Irwin

Irwin Suall
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017
212-490-2525

I emphasize this is purely a personal view, not ADL's.

BR —

I agree with Irwin.

CG

03 Holocaust

RECEIVED JUL 23 1987

Friday, July 3. 1987 The Jerusalem Post Page Six

Idea of Holocaust memorial in U.S. should be scrapped

Shlomo Avineri

IT MAY already be too late, but the plans for a United States national memorial to the Holocaust should be stopped. For American, as well as for Jewish reasons, there is no place for such a Holocaust memorial on the mall in Washington, D.C.

The difficulties into which the architectural design has already run seem to suggest the plethora of problems the project is going to face, both in terms of its physical planning and its exhibits.

The initiative of those Jewish organizations and individuals promoting the idea of such a memorial is commendable. But it is misplaced and involves serious flaws in judgement. Since the Holocaust is an understandably delicate issue, many American Jewish organizations and individuals who have serious doubts and misgivings about the project have remained silent. It is precisely because of its sensitivity that this issue should not be decided by default.

I feel uncomfortable to state the following: Despite the fact that my parents and I immigrated to Israel before World War II, and thus. did not have immediate experience of the Holocaust; our whole family perished in Poland during the war. This included my two grandfathers, my grandmother, my mother's seven sisters and brothers – as well as their spouses and children. So I hope nobody will accuse me of being insensitive to the issue.

To put it crudely, the Holocaust is not, repeat not, part of the American experience. A memorial to it does not belong next to the American national shrines commemorating Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln – and the Vietnam War. Those Jewish American activists who would like to integrate the Holocaust – as a warning to us all – into the symbolic language of the American civil religion may not have thought through the implications.

President Roosevelt

The very existence of such a memorial in the area considered the pantheon of the American historical experience may backfire. No other American religious or ethnic group – not even the Pilgrim Fathers – have a memorial on the Washington Mall.

There is something wrong with the whole idea – and it will be perceived as such by many non-Jewish Americans. They may not express their misgivings now, when plans are still on the drawing-board. When, however, the memorial becomes a physical reality, next to the Smithsonian, some unexpected – but not totally unpredictable – reactions may be evoked.

THE SAME applies to the memorial's exhibits. Should the memorial represent only Jewish suffering under the Nazis? What about the Gypsies, the one group which shared the fate of the Jews as an ethnic group condemned to extinction by the Nazis? And is it inconceivable that the Poles – maybe even the Ukrainians – will claim that their sufferings, different though they were, should be included? And what about the Armenians in World War I? Is the American Jewish leadership ready for this debate – and its implications?

Similarly, what about the role of President Roosevelt? How will it be handled, especially in light of the latest revelations, included in David Wyman's book? Should all the tact due to an American President be used – and hence historical falsification perpetuated – or should Roosevelt's inhumanity and cold-blooded insensitivity be cast in marble on the mall of the capital of the United States?

The whole idea is wrong. The Holocaust was a terrible historical fate that befell Jews in Europe: it should be remembered in every European city from which Jewish were expelled. It should be recalled in Auschwitz, Majdanek, Treblinka – and in Jerusalem, but not in a *national* U.S. memorial in Washington.

The wish of many American Jews to remember the Holocaust and integrate it into their collective experience should, of course, be honoured and encouraged (though the Holocaust should never become the exclusive, or even dominant, element in the Jewish experience: The Jews have also made contributions to the world.

Therefore a *Jewish* museum of the Holocaust, preferably in one of the major Jewish centres in the U.S., should be established by the American Jewish community. To attempt to force it into the collective American experience is a grave historical and psychological error.

ONE FINAL word about the argument regarding the universal significance of a national U.S. Holocaust memorial as a symbol of man's inhumanity towards man.

I hope the following observation will not offend any American, Jewish or non-Jewish: In a nation that still does not have a national monument to the enslavement of Blacks, or the fate of the American Indians, a national memorial to the destruction of European Jewry is not the way to remind oneself of the furies that reside within each of us.

There is a national memorial to the Holocaust, in the Land of the Jews – Yad Vashem. Leave the mall in Washington, D.C. to the American Experience.

The writer is a former director-general of the Foreign Ministry.

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

RECEIVED AUG 14 1987

August 10, 1987

Executive Director

MEMORANDUM

TO : All Council Members

FROM : David Weinstein
Executive Director

SUBJECT: Quarterly Financial Reports

I am pleased to provide you with quarterly financial reports which summarize the entire scope of the Council's financial activities, including both donated and appropriated funds, through June 30, 1987. I am sending you these reports in accordance with the Terms of Reference for the Finance and Investment Committees.

Also included herewith is a list of committee assignments approved at the July 30, 1987 meeting of the Council's Executive Committee. Please note that some committees are still in formation.

If you have any questions about these reports, please do not hesitate to contact me.

2000 L Street NW, Suite 588, Washington, D.C. 20036-4907, (202) 653-9220

1980

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

FINANCIAL REPORTS

Third Quarter

A. **Donated Funds**

1. Museum Expenditure Summary (Operating expenses, construction items and Museum content) (1987 Actual, 1987 Budget, 1987 Year to Date as of June 30, 1987)
2. Campaign Expenditure Summary (1986 Actual, 1987 Budget, 1987 Year to Date as of June 30, 1987)
3. General and Administrative Expenditure Summary (1986 Actual, 1987 Budget, 1987 Year to Date as of June 30, 1987)
4. Donated Fund Expenditures Summary Report (October 1, 1980 - June 30, 1987)
5. Donated Fund Cash Position as of June 30, 1987.
6. Campaign Pledge/Receipt Report as of June 30, 1987.

B. **Appropriated Funds**

1. Appropriated Fund Report (1987 Actual, 1987 Budget, 1987 Year to Date as of June 30, 1987)
2. Appropriated Fund Summary by Program

2000 L Street NW, Suite 588, Washington, D.C. 20036-4907, (202) 653-9220

DONATED FUNDS
MUSEUM OFFICE (12 + 20) EXPENDITURE SUMMARY
OPERATING EXPENSES
(June 30, 1987)

	FY '86 ACTUAL	FY '87 BUDGET	FY '87 YEAR TO DATE
Salary Expenses	$ 46,723	$361,000	$289,919
Health Insurance	529	--	4,259
Temporary Help	6,933	10,000	1,179
Postage/Deliveries/Art Transp.	712	8,800	8,961
Telephone	1,323	18,000	8,766
Office Equipment	--	10,900	6,127
Printing/Artwork (Including Technical Drawings)	11,355 (incl. models)	30,000	15,958
Travel/Representational	24,043	46,000	34,918
Advertising/Public Relations	--	28,000	3,911
Office Supplies	1,805	6,500	5,153
Reference Material	753	6,600	7,247
Museum Content Team* YTD = $38,924	--	--	--
Accounting/Banking/Brokerage	(G&A #13)	2,000 + (G&A #13)	74
Miscellaneous	10,768	2,000	3,525
Liability Insurance	--	1,000	749
TOTAL	$104,944	$530,800 + 38,924* $569,724	$390,746 +38,924* $429,670

*$38,924 included as "Museum Content" represents unbudgeted year-to-date expenditures for Fiscal Year 1987. As reported on May 31, 1987, these funds were expended at the sole discretion and on the authority of previous Executive Director(s) and Professor Wiesel. For further details see page A1-C.

DONATED FUNDS

CONSTRUCTION ITEMS (12 + 20) EXPENDITURE SUMMARY

(June 30, 1987)

	FY '86 ACTUAL	FY '87 BUDGET	FY '87 YEAR TO DATE
Contractor Costs/Demolition (C.I.P.)	$178,880	$295,000- 345,000*	$148,123+
Architectural Fees	645,253	850,000	469,574++
Architect Expenses	(included above)		58,099
Exhibition Design/Fees & Expenses	--	425,000	26,059
Research/Consultant Fees & Expenses	29,589	45,000	56,250
TOTAL	$853,722	$1,615,000- 1,665,000	$758,105

* Includes the estimated cost of demolition of Annex 3 of the Auditors Complex.

+ This figure represents an increase of $82,413 over the YTD for May, 1987. The major expenses are:

Audiovisual/Theater	$ 838
Acoustics	11,819
Structural Engineering	42,219
Site Survey	17,536
Model	10,000

++This figure represents an increase of $145,810 over the YTD for May, 1987. The major expenses are:

Architect - I.M. Pei	$115,993
Architect - Landscape	19,817
Mech/Elec. Engineers	10,000

NOTE: The Museum Director has indicated that the Museum Office will be within budget for FY '87. The construction items are expected to be significantly underbudget due to construction delays.

DONATED FUNDS

MUSEUM CONTENT EXPENDITURE SUMMARY

June 30, 1987

	FY '86 ACTUAL	FY '87 BUDGET	FY '87 YEAR TO DATE
Salary Expenses			$13,073
Consultants			11,537
Supplies			1,020
Miscellaneous/Petty Cash			1,684
Temporaries			11,610
Cracow Project (Restricted Gift)			--
TOTALS	$61,767	$39,124	$38,924

DONATED FUNDS
CAMPAIGN (#11) EXPENDITURE SUMMARY
(June 30, 1987)

	FY '86 ACTUAL	FY '87 BUDGET	FY '87 YEAR TO DATE
Salary Expenses	$433,929	$452,493	$460,860**
Travel/Entertainment	111,100	118,000	39,820
Rent	56,653	60,855	46,010
Printing/Artwork	52,496	53,000	58,503
Advertising/Public Relations	105,800	113,000	37,161
Consultants	34,681	38,200	7,058
Executive Search	--	40,000*	13,634
Office Equipment/Rental	7,996	5,588	5,830
Office Supplies	5,881	5,943	3,695
Postage/Delivery	9,326	12,073	14,712
Phone	39,122	43,267	22,165
Health Insurance	3,668	5,200	3,146
Events	93,308	58,700	50,151
Miscellaneous/Petty Cash	7,645	5,960	3,184
Office Equip/Extraordinary Purch.	--	30,000	7,546
Reference Materials	2,076	3,000	2,835
Temporaries	31,597	33,800	17,931
Field Activities Extraordinary	--	16,200	--
TOTALS	$995,278	$1,055,279 + 40,000*	$794,241

* New Item (May, 1987)

**Salary expense line was under estimated for FY'87 due to errors in the budgeting process

NOTE: The Campaign Director anticipates that the Campaign will be within budget for FY '87 (adjusted for Executive Search).

DONATED FUNDS
GENERAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE (#13) EXPENDITURE SUMMARY

June 30, 1987

	FY '87 BUDGET*	FY '87 YEAR TO DATE	MAJOR EXPENSE DETAIL	PROJECTED FY '87 ACTUAL EXPENSE
Salary Expenses	$140,000	$ 76,634	---	$108,107
Travel/Representational	14,791	6,167	Diner's Club	9,000
Meeting Expenses	10,340	6,023	Food-Council, Comm. Meetings	9,000
Printing/Artwork	18,434	6,686	Newsletter, etc.	18,434
Advertising/Public Relations	513	299	Washington Post ads, Video	513
Consultants	26,379	16,650	Arthur Andersen Computer Consultants	26,379
Office Equipment/Rental	1,575	1,178	Computer service contracts, locksmith	1,575
Office Supplies	2,484	1,884	Miscellaneous	2,484
Postage/Delivery	100	42	Telegram, delivery	100
Health Insurance	5,274	3,366	Employer costs	3,366
Miscellaneous/Petty Cash	583	146	---	583
Office Equipment/Purchase Extraordinary	16,605	4,975	Calculators, typewriters computer equipment, VCR	9,000
Reference Materials	75	42	---	75
Temporaries	52,860	30,317	Accounting, etc.	34,817
Legal/Bank/Brokerage/Accounting	59,367	33,972	Audits, payroll fees, etc.	45,000
Insurance	3,374	2,935	---	2,935
Training	--		---	
TOTALS	$352,754	$191,318		$271,368

NOTE: Actual FY '86 = $125,297

*Originally a general and administrative budget had not been established. Expenditures were authorized by previous Executive Director(s) and/or Chairman as they deemed necessary. These budget figures reflected annualized estimates of actual expenditures. With one quarter remaining in the fiscal year, it is now possible to provide more accurate estimates of actual expenses for the fiscal year.

A4a

DONATED FUND EXPENDITURES

SUMMARY REPORT
(June 30, 1987)

DEPARTMENT	10/1/80-9/30/84*	10/1/84-9/30/85*	10/1/85-9/30/86	10/1/86-6/30/87	TOTALS
Campaign (11)	$476,072*	$602,228*	$ 995,278 (OPER - 561,349) (SAL - 433,929)	$794,241 (OPER - 333,384) (SAL - 460,860)	$2,867,819
Museum (12)&(20)	-------	-------	104,944 (OPER - 58,221) (SAL - 46,723)	390,746 (OPER - 100,827) (SAL - 289,919)	495,690
Museum Content (12-5125)	270,136*	57,845*	61,767 (OPER - 31,936) (SAL - 2,786) (PV - 27,045) Pessis Video	38,924 (OPER - 25,851) (SAL - 13,073)	428,672
General & Administrative (13)	-------	-------	125,297 (OPER - 96,982) (SAL - 28,315)	191,318 (OPER - 114,684) (SAL - 76,634)	316,615
Construction Related (12)&(20)	-------	-------	853,722	758,105	1,611,827
TOTALS	$746,208*	$660,073*	$2,141,008	$2,173,334	$5,720,623

TOTAL AS OF 5/31/87 -- $5,369,674
TOTAL AS OF 4/30/87 -- $5,115,041
TOTAL AS OF 3/31/87 -- $4,847,393
TOTAL AS OF 2/28/87 -- $4,453,449

OPER - Operating Expense

SAL - Salary Expense

*Figures from a qualified audit prepared by Touche Ross International

A4-b

SUMMARY OF MAJOR ORGANIZATION EXPENDITURES (1)
Year-To-Date Fiscal Year 1987
As of June 30, 1987

	Museum	Museum Content	Campaign	General & Admn.	Total
Salary Expense	$289,919	$13,073	$460,860	$76,634	$840,486
Health Insurance	4,259	---	3,146	3,366	10,771
Temporary Help	1,179	11,610	17,931	30,317	61,037
Postage/Delivery	8,961	---	14,712	42	23,715
Telephone	8,766	---	22,165	---	30,931
Equipment Rent/Maintenance	1,611	---	5,830	1,178	8,619
Printing/Artwork	15,958	---	58,503	6,688	81,149
Travel/Entertainment	34,918	---	39,820	6,167	80,905
Advertising/Public Relations	3,911	---	37,161	299	41,371
Office Supplies	5,153	1,020	3,695	1,884	11,752
Consultants	Incl. in Const. and Design	11,537	7,058	16,650	35,245
Rent	---	---	46,010	---	46,010
Events	---	---	50,151	---	50,151
Executive Search	---	---	13,634	---	13,634
Reference Materials	7,247	---	2,835	42	10,124
Meeting Expenses	---	---	---	6,023	6,023
Equipment Purchase	4,516	---	7,546	4,975	17,037
Legal/Acct./Bank/Broker	74	---	---	33,972	34,046
Insurance	749	---	---	2,935	3,684
Miscellaneous Expenses	3,525	1,684	3,184	146	8,539
DEPARTMENT TOTALS	$390,746	$38,924	$794,241	$191,318	$1,415,229
					758,105 (2)
FY '87 Budget	530,800	39,124	1,055,274	352,754	2,017,952
			+40,000		1,615,000 (3)

(1) Excluding Construction and Design Costs for Museum
(2) Construction related expenses YTD = $758,105
(3) Construction related FY '87 Budget $1,615,000 - $1,665,000

CURRENT INVESTMENTS AND CASH POSITION

(June 30, 1987)

Cash Accounts		
Operating Funds		$ 177,019
Money Market Account		106,040
Bond account		31,075
Repurchase Agreement		5,800,000*
	Sub-total	$6,114,134
Israel Bonds		
Market Value		$ 597,937**
	TOTAL	$6,712,071

---

*The repurchase agreement held by Riggs National Bank is fully collateralized by United States Treasury Notes.

**The face value of all bonds currently owned is $644,502. $33,000 is not currently marketable and is not included in the market value figure. Further, where applicable bonds are valued at the discount rate currently in effect with Leumi Securities.

A6

1980
United States
Holocaust Memorial Council

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

30 June 87

MEMORANDUM

TO: David Weinstein
Sara Bloomfield

FROM: Linda Lazar

RE: Weekly Update

Per your request, the following is my report on activity for the past two weeks:

	Pledged	Paid
Cumulative total as of 06/30/87:	$ 40,859,941.01	$ 11,191,163.99

Percentage of payment = 27.39%

New donations 06/17 - 06/30/87	$ 202,742.00	$ 128,942.00

Accounts Receivable

	Amount Due
Past due against bills sent in 1985	$ 228,200.00 (or $456,400 for '85 and '86)
Past due against bills sent in 1986	420,085.00
Due against bills sent 01/ - 03/87	147,945.28
Due against bills sent 04/87	87,866.00
Due against bills sent 05/87	19,500.00
Due against bills sent 06/87	83,099.98

WEEKLY REPORT
Page Two
06/30/87

	Amount Due
Due to be billed 07/ - 12/87	$ 3,294,929.41
Due to be billed in 1988 and beyond	25,387,151.35
Total Receivable	29,668,777.02

Unsigned pledges	$ 1,465,863.73

U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council
Object Classification
(in thousands)
6/30/87

		86 Actual	87 Programmed	87 YTD (as of 6-30-87)
	Personnel Compensation			
11.1	Full-time Permanent.........	354	723	485
11.3	Positions other than Full-time Permanent..............	273	81	46
11.5	Other Personnel Compensation	9	6	5
11.9	Total Personnel Compensation	636	810	536
12.1	Personnel Benefits: Civilian	65	100	68
21.0	Travel & Trans. of Persons..	96	165	105
22.0	Travel & Trans. of Things...	-0-	1	0
23.0	Rent, Communications & Utilities..................	242	215	148
24.0	Printing & Reproduction.....	78	165	80
25.0	Other Services..............	832	538	517
26.0	Supplies & Materials........	30	34	11
31.0	Equipment..................	42	12	47
Congressional Authorization		2021	2040	1512
Program Additions			+149	
Total Program Projection			2189	
Personnel Lapse			- 65	
			2124	
Reprogramming Reductions			- 84	
Congressional Authorization			2040	

Appropriated Funds
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council
Program Classification
(dollars in thousands)

Council Direction

	FY 1987 Estimate	FY 1988 Estimate
Immediate Office of Exec. Director	348	339
Public Affairs	128	128
Admin. Services	689	799
Council Meetings	37	35
	1202	1301

Museum Development, Educational, Archival, Library, Cultural and Outreach

	FY 1987 Estimate	FY 1988 Estimate
Outreach	98	170
Cultural	133	140
Archives	92	100
Education	188	230
Other Victims Conf.	104	0
	615	640

National Archives Project*

FY 1987 Estimate	FY 1988 Estimate
70	70

*This is a separate Congressional line item.

Commemorative Observances*

FY 1987 Estimate	FY 1988 Estimate
153	172

*Includes National Ceremonies and all related outreach activities to educational institutions, state and local governments and religious organizations and other interested publics.

Total	2040	2183

REVISED 8-10-87

PROPOSED

U.S. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL COMMITTEES

Committees	Chairman	Vice-Chairman	Council Members	Non-Council Members	Ex-officio
Executive	Harvey M. Meyerhoff	William Lowenberg	Alfred Gottschalk Sylvia Hassenfeld Julian Kulas Miles Lerman Benjamin Meed Edward Rosen Hadassah Rosensaft Kalman Sultanik		David Weinstein
Campaign Cabinet	Leonard R. Strelitz*		Norman Braman Sylvia Hassenfeld Cong. William Lehman Miles Lerman Sheila Johnson Robbins Abram Sachar Laurence Tisch Glenn Watts George Deukmejian	Irving Bernstein Rhoda Goldman	William Lowenberg David Weinstein
Audit	Edward Rosen	Herbert Katz	Jack Abramoff	Norbert Wollheim	Harvey Meyerhoff William Lowenberg David Weinstein
Church Relations	Franklin Littell		Matthew Brown Erna Gans Theodore Hesburgh Ingeborg Maukach John Pawlikowski Bayard Rustin	Constantine Dombalis Douglas Huneke Mark Tannenbaum David Wyman	Harvey Meyerhoff William Lowenberg David Weinstein
Days of Remembrance	Benjamin Meed	Abe Foxman	William Duna Bobbie Kilberg Julian Kulas Set Momjian John Pawlikowski Bayard Rustin Sheila Rabb Weidenfeld	Abe Bayer Sam Bloch Hyman Bookbinder Ruth Bork Isaac Goodfriend Flora Singer	Harvey Meyerhoff William Lowenberg David Weinstein

Committees	Chairman	Vice-Chairman	Council Members	Non-Council Members	Ex-officio
Finance & Investment	Dalck Feith	Julian Kulas	Herbert Katz Jerry Kelfer Senator Frank Lautenberg Steven Ludsin Richard Rosenbaum Eli Zborowski		Harvey Meyerhoff William Lowenberg David Weinstein
International Relations	Miles Lerman	Malcolm Hoenlein*	Raul Hilberg Robert Horn Isaac Neuman Senator Claiborne Pell Cong. Stephen P. Solarz	David Geller Ernest Michel Menachem Rosensaft Norbert Wollheim	Harvey Meyerhoff William Lowenberg David Weinstein
Museum Development	Albert Abramson	William Lowenberg	Miles Lerman Benjamin Meed Ruth Miller Set Momjian John Pawlikowski Kalman Sultanik	Charles Ackerman Sam Bloch Theodore Lerner Robert Mendelsohn Mark Talisman	Harvey Meyerhoff David Weinstein
Archives & Library	Hadassah Rosensaft	Abraham J. Peck*	Raul Hilberg Julius Schatz Eli Zborowski**	Randolph Braham William Fletcher Isaac Goodfriend Robert Wolfe	Harvey Meyerhoff William Lowenberg David Weinstein
Content	Benjamin Meed	Miles Lerman	Abe Foxman Raul Hilberg Ruth Miller Set Momjian John Pawlikowski Hadassah Rosensaft	Charles Ackerman Sam Bloch Fred Diament Yaffa Eliach Samuel Goetz Mark Talisman	Harvey Meyerhoff William Lowenberg David Weinstein
Collections and Acquisitions	Julius Schatz	Barbaralee Diamonstein-Spielvogel	(In Formation)	Sandra Schwalb (In Formation)	

**Special Liaison to Yad Vashem and other Holocaust related institutions in Israel.

Committee to Remember the Children	Adeline Yates*		Cong. Robert Garcia Cong. S. William Green Ruth Miller Cong. William Lehman Hadassah Rosensaft Cong. Stephen P. Solarz Cong. Sidney Yates		
Education	Alfred Gottschalk	Kitty Dukakis*	Irving Greenberg Milton Himmelfarb John Pawlikowski (In Formation)	(In Formation)	Harvey Meyerhoff William Lowenberg David Weinstein

Ad Hoc Committee	Chairman	Vice-Chairman	Council Members	Non-Council Members	Ex-Officio
Bylaws	Harvey M. Meyerhoff	William Lowenberg	Alfred Gottschalk Herbert Katz Julian Kulas Steve Ludsin Ruth Miller John Pawlikowski	Menachem Rosensaft	David Weinstein

*Non-Council members

Ⓕ Holocaust Committee

THE HOLOCAUST: BEGINNING OR END?

BY

ELIE WIESEL

Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, Leaders and Members of the House and the Senate, Distinguished Guests:

Allow me to tell you a story.

Once upon a time, faraway, somewhere in the Carpathian mountains, there lived a small boy, a Jewish boy, whose dreams were filled with God, prayer and song.

Then one day, he and his family, and all the Jews of his town, were rounded up and exiled to a dark and evil kingdom. They arrived there at midnight. Then came the first separation, the first selection.

As the boy stood with his father, wondering whether his mother and sisters will come back, an inmate came to tell them the truth; this road led to the final destination of the Jewish people; the truth was there: in the fire, the ashes, the truth was in death. And the young boy refused to believe him; it had to be a lie, a nightmare perhaps, this could not be happening, not here, not now, not in the heart of civilized Europe, not in the middle of the twentieth century. Father, said the boy: if this were true, the world would not be silent . . . . Perhaps the world does not know, said the father. And father and son walked on, part of an eerie nocturnal procession, toward mysterious flames of darkness.

Thirty-five years later -- almost to the day -- the same Jewish boy stands before you with a deep sense of privilege, to remind our contemporaries that in those times of anguish and destruction, only one people -- the Jewish people -- were totally, inexplicably abandoned -- only one people were simply, cynically handed over to their executioners.

And we, the few survivors, were left behind to bear witness and tell the tale.

But before doing so, allow me, on behalf of your Commission on the Holocaust and its Advisory Board, to thank you, Mr. President, for summoning our Nation -- and all nations -- to keep their memory alive.

We also wish to express our profound gratitude to all the distinguished guests and national leaders for being here today at this unprecedented assembly, responding to this call for remembrance. No other country, and its government, besides Israel, has issued or heeded such a call, but then Israel is a case apart. Israel's commitment to memory is as old as its history itself.

On my first night in the camp, which was the last for most of my friends, my family, my relatives, my teachers, I wrote:

> Never shall I forget that night, which has turned my life into one long night, seven times cursed and seven times sealed. Never shall I forget that smoke. Never shall I forget the little faces of the children whom I saw being thrown into the flames alive beneath a silent blue sky. Never shall I forget that sky.

Never shall I forget those flames which murdered my hopes forever.

Never shall I forget that nocturnal silence which deprived me, for all eternity, of the desire to live.

Never shall I forget those moments which murdered my soul and turned my dreams into dust, into smoke . . . . Never shall I forget these words even if I am condemned to live as long as God himself.

But Mr. President and friends -- what does one do with such memories of fire -- with so many fragments of despair? How does one live in a world which witnessed the murder of one million children and remained world?

Those of us who were there are haunted by those whose lives were turned into ashes, by those whose cemetery was the sky.

Terror-stricken families hiding in ghetto-cellars. Children running with priceless treasures: a potato or two, a crumb of bread. Endless lines of quiet men and women on their way to mass graves, reciting the Kaddish, the prayer for the dead, over themselves. Teachers and their pupils, mothers and their infants, rabbis and their followers, rich and poor, learned and illiterate, princes and beggars -- all pushed inexorably toward death. Father, says a young boy, is it painful to die? Must I die? Think of something else, answers the father. Think of tomorrow.

Treblinka and Ponar, Auschwitz and Babi-Yar, Majdanek and Blezec: What happened? Did creation go mad? Did God cover his face? Did the Creator turn against his creation? Did the God of Israel turn against the people of Israel? The question everyone asked upon arrival inside the gates was: What does it all mean? Was there a design, a secret pattern?

We didn't know, we still don't. How can anyone explain evil of such magnitude? How can anyone comprehend so much pain and anguish? One cannot conceive of Auschwitz with or without God. But what about man? Who can understand the calculated deprivation of the killers? The indifference of the onlookers? When Jews did have a possibility of leaving Europe, how many countries were there ready to accept them?

What was the Holocaust: an end or a beginning? Prefiguration or culmination? Was it the final convulsion of demonic forces in history? A paroxysm of centuries-old bigotry and hatred? Or, on the contrary, a momentous warning of things to come?

Turning-point or watershed, it produced a mutation on a cosmic scale, affecting all possible areas of human endeavor. After Auschwitz, the human condition is no longer the same. After Treblinka, nothing will ever be the same. The Event has altered man's perception and changed his relationship to God, to his fellow man and to himself. The unthinkable had become real. After Belsen, everything seems possible.

Admittedly, I belong to a traumatized generation, hence I speak of my people, the Jewish people. But when I, as a Jew, evoke the tragic destiny of Jewish victims, I honor the memory of all the victims. When one group is persecuted, mankind is affected. Still, for the sake of truth, we must remember that only the Jewish people's extermination was an end in itself. Jewish victims, stripped of their identity and of their death, were disowned by the whole world: they were condemned not for what they did or said, but for who they were: sons and daughters of a people whose suffering is the most ancient in recorded history.

Every occupied nation, every underground movement received help from London, Washington or Moscow. Not the Jews: they were the loneliest victims of the most inhuman of wars. A single air-drop, a single rescue mission would have proved to them, and to the enemy, that they were not forgotten. But, Mr. President and friends, the truth is that they were forgotten.

The evidence is before us: the world knew and kept silent. The documents that you, Mr. President, handed to the Chairman of your Commission on the Holocaust, testify to that effect. Actually, pictures of Auschwitz and Birkenau had reached the free world much earlier. Still, when the Hungarian Jews began arriving there, feeding the flames with ten to twelve thousand persons a day, nothing was done to stop or delay the process. Not one bomb was dropped on the railway tracks to the death factories. Had there been a similar Joint Session of Congress then, things would have been different for many Jews . . . .

And yet, and yet when the nightmare lifted, there was no hate in the hearts of those who survived. Only sadness. And, paradoxically, hope, hope as well. For some reason they were convinced that out of grief and so much suffering a powerful message of compassion and justice would be heard and received. They were convinced that the Messiah would come and redeem the world. They were convinced that, after Auschwitz, people would no longer yield to fanaticism, nations would no longer wage war, and racism, antisemitism and class humiliation would be banned forever, shamed forever.

Little did we know that, in our lifetime, we would witness more wars, new racial hostilities, and an awakening of Nazism on all five continents. Little did we know that, in our lifetime, books would appear in many languages offering so-called "proof" that the Holocaust never occurred, that our parents, our friends did not die there. Little did we know that Jewish children would again be murdered, in cold blood, by killers in Israel.

The survivors advocated hope, not despair. Their testimony contains neither rancor nor bitterness. They knew too well that hate is self-debasing and vengence self-defeating. Instead of choosing nihilism and anarchy, they chose to opt for man. Instead of setting cities on fire, they enriched them. Many went to rebuild an ancient dream of Israel in Israel; they all chose to remain human in an inhuman society, to fight for human rights everywhere, against poverty everywhere and discrimination, for humankind, always.

For we have learned certain lessons. We have learned not to be neutral in times of crisis, for neutrality always helps the aggressor, never the victim. We have learned that silence is never the answer. We have learned that the opposite of love is not hatred, but indifference. What is memory if not a response to, and against, indifference?

So let us remember, let us remember for their sake, and ours: memory may perhaps be our only answer, our only hope to save the world from the ultimate punishment, a nuclear holocaust.

Let us remember, let us remember the heros of Warsaw, the martyrs of Treblinka, the children of Auschwitz. They fought alone, they suffered alone, they lived alone, but they did not die alone, for something in all of us died with them.

FOREST HILLS EXCLUDE "SCHWARTZES"

Dear Mr. Rustin; Jews use Blacks for votes, political power, & economic gains. Hitler never voiced opinions against Blacks. Jewish news dramatized Jesse for their own gains. German-Americans never captured Blacks for slavery. A. Young said the English did. Jews in Russia, along with Schiff millions, launched the Bolsheviks. A Jew, Beria, of KGB, tortured millions of Christians. ③ Jews, Paulker Ratkosi & Slansky grabbed E. Europe in 1947 for the Reds. Andropov was a Jew. Rosenbergs despicably stole secrets. Jew Morganthau put Japs in Camps in 1941 Sharon massacred Arabs. To Hell with the Memorial.

FLUSHING, NY 113
1 PM
22 MAY
1984

Olympics 84
USA
13c

Bayard Rustin
A. Phllp Instute
260 Park ave South
Ny

RECEIVED MAY 24 1984

© USPS 1983

CP

Hate letters

Christie

See x Jane

Noted

CG

1

Officers
Bayard Rustin
President
Norman Hill
Executive Director
Charles Bremer
Associate Director
Mrs. Arthur C. Logan
Treasurer
Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph
Educational Fund
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

June 10, 1985

Elie Wiesel
Chairman
United States Holocaust Memorial Council
2000 L Street, N.W. - 5th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20036-4907

Dear Elie:

What a joy it was to see you at the Haverford commencement and to listen to your stirring remarks. The response to your presentation led me to question those who continually refer to this generation as apathetic. You certainly inspired them!

I am writing to formally accept your invitation to serve on the Joint United States-West German Committee. I hope that my presence will help the committee to achieve its objectives.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Chron.
✓ US Holocaust Council

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Office of the
Chairman

[illegible]

May 17, 1985

RECEIVED MAY 24 1985

The Honorable Bayard Rustin
Chairman
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

Recent events have intensified the need to learn from the past, and subsequently, I hope, provide ways whereby genuine reconciliation between peoples can be achieved. Toward this goal, a Joint United States-West German Committee is being established. Five scholars from each country will meet several times a year, either in Germany or in the United States, to explore the lessons of the Holocaust and their ramifications. This dialogue may provide an opportunity to deepen our understanding of one another, an understanding that can serve as a guide for future generations.

As Chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, I hereby appoint you to serve on this important Joint Committee. I believe that your participation will greatly enrich the exchange of ideas.

The first meeting, which I will chair, is tentatively set for June 24 in New York.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience that you will accept this historic challenge.

With best wishes,

Sincerely, Your friend —

Elie

Elie Wiesel

Enclosure: Names of West German scholars

Fifth Floor, 2000 L Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036-4907
(202) 653-9222

Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Appointments:

Dr. Biser
Professor of Theology
University of Munich

Dr. Erdmann
Professor of History
University of Kiel

Klaus Schutz
Former Mayor of Berlin and a German Ambassador
in Israel
Presently: Head of Radio Network, "Deutsche Welle"

Dr. Bergsdorf
Ministerialdirektor

Peter Petersen
Member of Parliament

May 17, 1985

Officers

Bayard Rustin
President
Norman Hill
Executive Director
Charles Bremer
Associate Director
Mrs. Arthur C. Logan
Treasurer
Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

June 18, 1985

Mr. Elie Wiesel
Chairman
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council
2000 L Street, N.W.
Suite 588
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Elie,

I received your mailgram concerning the Joint Committee meeting scheduled for Monday, June 24, 1985.

I consider it a very great honor to be included on the Committee, and so it is with deep regret that I must inform you that it will not be possible for me to be with you at this inaugural session. As my office told Marion Craig on the phone some time ago, I will be traveling in Southern Africa as part of an International Rescue Committee team invesitgating the conditions of the many refugees fleeing from South Africa into the surrounding countries. I hope that it will be possible for me to receive a full report of the proceedings sometime during the summer.

Meanwhile, I send my best wishes for the success of the deliberations on Monday. Hopefully, it will be a good beginning.

With warm regards,

Bayard Rustin

BR/hrs

filed: Chron
Holocaust Council - Reconcilation Comm. ✓

US HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL M
2000 L ST NORTHWEST SUITE 588
WASHINGTON DC 20036 17AM

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4-028965S168 06/17/85 ICS IPMMTZZ CSP NYAB
2026539220 MGMB TDMT WASHINGTON DC 91 06-17 0228P EST

AT

BAYARD RUSTIN
A PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 PARK AVE SOUTH
NEW YORK NY 10010

THIS IS TO CONFIRM THAT THE JOINT COMMITTEE WILL MEET AT BRANDEIS HOUSE, 12 EAST 77 ST, NEW YORK CITY, ON MONDAY, JUNE 26, BEGINNING AT 11AM. A LIGHT KOSHER BUFFET LUNCHEON WILL BE SERVED. WE WILL ADJOURN AT 3PM. THE AGENDE WILL BE ESTABLISHED AT THE MEETING. PARTICIPANT NAMES WILL BE MAILED TO YOU ON TUESDAY, JUNE 18.

I AM VERY MUCH LOOKING FORWARD TO SEEING YOU NEXT MONDAY.
ELIE WIESEL CHAIRMAN US HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL

14:27 EST

MGMCOMP

RECEIVED JUN 18 1985

Told Marian Craig BR not able to attend - in Southern Africa on IRC trip

5241 (R 7/82)

XI

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Writer's Direct Number

(202)653-9220

RECEIVED JUL 22 1985

July 12, 1985

MEMORANDUM FROM THE CHAIRMAN, ELIE WIESEL

FOR: MEMBERS AND ADVISERS OF THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL

Attached are the New York Times and Washington Post articles referring to the establishment of an incorrectly titled "West German-United States Committee on Learning and Reconciliation." The committee's proper title is: United States-German Committee on Learning and Remembrance.

2000 L Street NW, Suite 588, Washington, D.C. 20036-4907

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, JUNE 25, 1985

Wiesel Announces New Panel

Elie Wiesel, chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, yesterday announced the formation of a West German-American group to "bear witness together" to the scars of World War II and "open new avenues" of understanding between the two countries.

The West German-American Committee on Learning and Reconciliation, Mr. Wiesel said, intends to explore ways to make citizens of both countries aware of the complicated moral questions that have been "haunting our generation for the last 40 years." The group's 12 founding members include historians, theologians, politicians, writers and human rights specialists from both countries.

Mr. Wiesel said plans for the group started "six or eight months ago, long before Bitburg." He said the controversy provoked by President Reagan's visit to the German military cemetery at Bitburg, West Germany, pointed out the need for such an organization.

"If we had been in existence, perhaps the Bitburg affair would not have happened," he said.

Among the five West German members of the committee are Peter Petersen, a Christian Democratic member of the West German Parliament, and Klaus Schütz, a former Mayor of Berlin and former Ambassador to Israel.

Mr. Petersen said the group had been set up "not to assign responsibility for the past" but to "see what we have in common." The group hopes to disseminate books, lectures and museum displays to help younger West Germans and Americans understand World War II and the German crimes.

GIVE TO THE FRESH AIR FUND

WASHINGTON POST June 25, 1985

Holocaust Panel Formed

Wiesel Stresses Better U.S.-German Relations

Associated Press

NEW YORK, June 24—Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel today convened a committee of prominent West Germans and Americans to begin an exploration of what one member called "the worst part of German history."

Wiesel, chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, said he had been planning formation of the panel for the past six months.

He said it was possible that "had this committee been in existence six months ago, we would have avoided the Bitburg affair," a reference to President Reagan's visit to the German military cemetery at Bitburg, where members of the SS are buried.

The panel, the West German-United States Committee on Learning and Reconciliation, will be dedicated to opening "a new avenue" in German-American relations without forgetting the Holocaust, Wiesel said.

Its 15 members will be Wiesel and seven Americans appointed by him, and seven Germans appointed by West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Eleven members have so far been appointed.

One of the German members, Peter Petersen, a member of West Germany's parliament representing the Stuttgart area, said Kohl planned to participate in the committee's next meeting, to be held in Germany in October.

Petersen recalled the words of Kohl's speech to a joint United States-German remembrance at the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, saying the committee's goal was "healing out of remembrance."

Noting that plans are under way for a comprehensive museum of German history, Petersen said, "We feel that this committee could help to tell the worst part of German history," the Holocaust, without leaving young Germans "burdened and bitter and hurt."

Wiesel, asked how the committee could bring about change, said: "We feel if we speak frankly and respectfully of what concerns us so deeply, somehow it will have an effect outside as well."

However, he said the panel might develop more concrete plans, such as a student exchange program that would send American students to West Germany and vice versa.

Among the other members of the committee are:

From Germany: Wolfgang Bergsdorf, advisor to Kohl; Eugen Biser, professor of theology at the University of Munich; Klaus Hildebrand, professor of history at the University of Bonn; and Klaus Schuetz, former mayor of Berlin, former ambassador to Israel and current head of Radio Network Deutsche Welle.

From the United States: Rabbi Joseph Asher, Temple Emanuel, San Francisco; Raoul Hillburg, political science professor at the University of Vermont, Burlington; Franklin Littell, professor of religion at Temple University, Philadelphia, and honorary board chairman of the National Institute on the Holocaust; Bayard Rustin, chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, New York; and Sigmund Strochlitz, past president, American Friends of Haifa University.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release July 12, 1985

The President today announced his intention to appoint George Deukmejian to be a Member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council for the remainder of the term expiring January 15, 1986. He will succeed Mario M. Cuomo.

He was elected Governor of California in 1982 and was inaugurated on January 3, 1983. Previously, he was Attorney General for the State of California in 1979-1982. He served as a Member of the California State Senate in 1967-1979. Prior to that time, he was a Member of the California State Assembly (1963-1967).

Governor Deukmejian graduated from Sienna College (B.A., 1949) and St. John's University (J.D., 1952). He is married, has three children and resides in Sacramento, California. He was born June 6, 1928 in Albany, New York.

# # #

Report to the President

President's Commission on the Holocaust

Elie Wiesel, Chairman

September 27, 1979

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402
Stock Number 052–003–00707–0

Report to the President

President's Commission on the Holocaust

Elie Wiesel, Chairman

September 27, 1979

President's Commission on the Holocaust

Office of the
Chairman

September 27, 1979

Dear Mr. President:

It is with a deep sense of privilege that I submit to you, in accordance with your request, the report of your Commission on the Holocaust. Never before have its members, individually and collectively, given so much of themselves to a task that is both awesome and forbidding, a task which required reaching far back into the past as well as taking a hard look into the future.

Our central focus was memory—our own and that of the victims during a time of unprecedented evil and suffering. That was the Holocaust, an era we must remember not only because of the dead; it is too late for them. Not only because of the survivors; it may even be late for them. Our remembering is an act of generosity, aimed at saving men and women from apathy to evil, if not from evil itself.

We wish, through the work of this Commission, to reach and transform as many human beings as possible. We hope to share our conviction that when war and genocide unleash hatred against any one people or peoples, all are ultimately engulfed in the fire.

With this conviction and mindful of your mandate, Mr. President, we have explored during the past several months of our existence the various ways and means of remembering—and of moving others to remember—the Holocaust and its victims, an event that was intended to erase memory.

Our first question may sound rhetorical: Why remember, why remember at all? Is not human nature opposed to keeping alive memories that hurt and disturb? The more cruel the wound, the greater the effort to cover it, to hide it beneath other wounds, other scars. Why then cling to unbearable memories that may forever rob us of our sleep? Why not forget, turn the page, and proclaim: let it remain buried beneath the dark nightmares of our subconscious. Why not spare our children the weight of our collective burden and allow them to start their lives free of nocturnal obsessions and complexes, free of Auschwitz and its shadows?

These questions, Mr. President, would not perhaps be devoid of merit if it were possible to extirpate the Holocaust from history and make believe we can forget. But it is not possible and we cannot. Like it or not, the Event must and will dominate future events. Its centrality in the creative endeavors of our contemporaries remains undisputed. Philosophers and social scientists, psychologists and moralists, theologians and artists: all have termed it a

Suite 7233, 726 Jackson Place, NW, Washington, D.C. 20503
202—395—7343

watershed in the annals of mankind. What was comprehensible before Treblinka is comprehensible no longer. After Treblinka, man's ability to cope with his condition was shattered; he was pushed to his limits and beyond. Whatever has happened since must therefore be judged in the light of Treblinka. Forgetfulness is no solution.

Treblinka and Auschwitz, Majdanek and Belzec, Buchenwald and Ponar, these and other capitals of the Holocaust kingdom must therefore be remembered, and for several reasons.

First, we cannot grant the killers a posthumous victory. Not only did they humiliate and assassinate their victims, they wanted also to destroy their memory. They killed them twice, reducing them to ashes and then denying their deed. Not to remember the dead now would mean to become accomplices to their murderers.

Second, we cannot deny the victims the fulfillment of their last wish; their idée fixe to bear witness. What the merchant from Saloniki, the child from Lodz, the rabbi from Radzimin, the carpenter from Warsaw and the scribe from Vilna had in common was the passion, the compulsion to tell the tale—or to enable someone else to do so. Every ghetto had its historians, every deathcamp its chroniclers. Young and old, learned and unlearned, everybody kept diaries, wrote journals, composed poems and prayers. They wanted to remember and to be remembered. They wanted to defeat the enemy's conspiracy of silence, to communicate a spark of the fire that nearly consumed their generation, and, above all, to serve as warning to future generations. Instead of looking with contempt upon mankind that betrayed them, the victims dreamed of redeeming it with their own charred souls. Instead of despairing of man and his possible salvation, they put their faith in him. Defying all logic, all reason, they opted for humanity and chose to try, by means of their testimony, to save it from indifference that might result in the ultimate catastrophe, the nuclear one.

Third, we must remember for our own sake, for the sake of our own humanity. Indifference to the victims would result, inevitably, in indifference to ourselves, an indifference that would ultimately no longer be sin but, in the words of our Commissioner Bayard Rustin, "a terrifying curse" and its own punishment.

The most vital lesson to be drawn from the Holocaust era is that Auschwitz was possible because the enemy of the Jewish people and of mankind—and it is always the same enemy—succeeded in dividing, in separating, in splitting human society, nation against nation, Christian against Jew, young against old. And not enough people cared. In Germany and other occupied countries, most spectators chose not to interfere with the killers; in other lands, too, many persons chose to remain neutral. As a result, the killers killed, the victims died, and the world remained world.

Still, the killers could not be sure. In the beginning they made one move and waited. Only when there was no reaction did they make another move and still

another. From racial laws to medieval decrees, from illegal expulsions to the establishment of ghettos and then to the invention of deathcamps, the killers carried out their plans only when they realized that the outside world simply did not care about the Jewish victims. Soon after, they decided they could do the same thing, with equal impunity, to other peoples as well. As always, they began with Jews. As always, they did not stop with Jews alone.

Granted that we must remember, Mr. President, the next question your Commission had to examine was whom are we to remember? It is vital that the American people come to understand the distinctive reality of the Holocaust: millions of innocent civilians were tragically killed by the Nazis. They must be remembered. However, there exists a moral imperative for special emphasis on the six million Jews. While not all victims were Jews, *all* Jews were victims, destined for annihilation solely because they were born Jewish. They were doomed not because of something they had done or proclaimed or acquired but because of who they were: sons and daughters of the Jewish people. As such they were sentenced to death collectively and individually as part of an official and "legal" plan unprecedented in the annals of history.

During our journey to Eastern Europe—a full description of which is attached (Appendix B)—the Commission observed that while Jews are sometimes mentioned on public monuments in Poland, they were not referred to in Russia at all. In Kiev's Babi Yar, for instance, where nearly 80,000 Jews were murdered in September 1941, the word Jew is totally absent from the memorial inscriptions.

Our Commission believes that because they were the principal target of Hitler's Final Solution, we must remember the six million Jews and, through them and beyond them, but never without them, rescue from oblivion all the men, women and children, Jewish and non-Jewish, who perished in those years in the forests and camps of the kingdom of night.

The universality of the Holocaust lies in its uniqueness: the Event is essentially Jewish, yet its interpretation is universal. It involved even distant nations and persons who lived far away from Birkenau's flames or who were born afterward.

Our own country was also involved, Mr. President. The valiant American nation fought Hitler and Fascism and paid for its bravery and idealism with the lives of hundreds and thousands of its sons; their sacrifices shall not be forgotten. And yet, and yet, away from the battlefield, the judgment of history will be harsh. Sadly but realistically, our great government was not without blemish. One cannot but wonder what might have happened had the then American President and his advisors demonstrated concern and compassion by appointing in 1942 or 1943 a President's Commission to prevent the Holocaust. How many victims, Jews and non-Jews, could have been saved had we changed our immigration laws, opened our gates more widely, protested more forcefully. We did not. Why not? This aspect of the Event must and will be explored thoroughly and honestly within the framework of the Commission's work. The decision to face the issue constitutes an act of moral courage worthy

of our nation.

The question of how to remember makes up the bulk of the Commission's report. Memorial, museum, education, research, commemoration, action to prevent a recurrence: these are our areas of concern. I hope that these recommendations will be acceptable to you, Mr. President, reflecting as they do the joint thinking of the members of the Commission and its advisors over a period of 7 months.

During that time, we held meetings and hearings and studied known and hitherto undisclosed material. Our hope was to reach a consensus among our diverse membership, which includes academicians and civic leaders, Christians and Jews, native Americans and survivors from the deathcamps who found a welcome and a refuge here and who now, as American citizens, enjoy the privileges of our democracy.

Special attention was paid to the opinions, views, and feelings of the survivors, men and women who know the problems from the inside and who ask for nothing more than the opportunity to show their gratitude. "Our adopted country was kind to us," says Commissioner Sigmund Strochlitz, "and we wish to repay in some way by helping to build a strong and human society based on equality and justice for all." Their willingness to share their knowledge, their pain, their anguish, even their agony, is motivated solely by their conviction that their survival was for a purpose. A survivor sees himself or herself as a messenger and guardian of secrets entrusted by the dead. A survivor fears he or she may be the last to remember, the last to warn, the last to tell the tale that cannot be told, the tale that must be told in its totality, before it is too late, before the last witness leaves the stage and takes his awesome testimony back to the dead.

In the hope that you will enable this testimony to be brought to the attention of the American people, and the world, I submit the attached report to you, Mr. President.

Respectfully yours,

Elie Wiesel

Chairman

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I. FUNCTIONING OF THE COMMISSION

On November 1, 1978, President Carter established the President's Commission on the Holocaust and charged it with the responsibility to submit a report "with respect to the establishment and maintenance of an appropriate memorial to those who perished in the Holocaust, to examine the feasibility for the creation and maintenance of the memorial through contributions by the American people, and to recommend appropriate ways for the nation to commemorate April 28 and 29, 1979, which the Congress has resolved shall be 'Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust.' "*

The Commission, chaired by Elie Wiesel, consisted of 34 members, including survivors, lay and religious leaders of all faiths, historians and scholars, five Congressmen and five Senators, and was aided by a 27-person Advisory Board.

The Commission began its operations on January 15, 1979, holding its first meeting one month later on February 15. Subsequent to the first meeting, the Commission divided into a series of working subcommittees: *Museum and Monument, Secondary Education and Curricula, Higher Education and Research, Human Rights, "Days of Remembrance," Fact-Finding and Travel Mission,* and *Funding.* Each of the subcommittees, co-chaired by a member of the Commission and of the Advisory Board, met to formulate and refine the Commission's recommendations. All formulations were then presented to a meeting of the Advisory Board on April 10 and to the Commission as a whole on April 24.

In addition, during the first weeks of the Commission's life, suggestions were solicited from thousands of Americans: survivor organizations and individual survivors; a broad range of civic, labor, and religious leaders; Holocaust scholars and educators; members of the Polish-American community who had been subject to Nazi persecution as well as Armenian, Black, and other Americans whose historic experience make them particularly sensitive to the issues raised by the Holocaust.

In its surveys and dialogues, the Commission sought to formulate collectively what might constitute an appropriate national memorial to all those who had perished in the Holocaust while still honoring the memory and identity of those groups singled out for mass annihilation. In many respects, the recommendations and proposals of the Commission reflect the collective wisdom gleaned from discussion with a broad cross-section of individuals and groups.

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*Executive Order Number 12093, dated November 1, 1978. See Appendix A. An identical copy of the Report was submitted to the Secretary of the Interior as mandated by the Executive Order.

During this formative period, several Congressmen held local hearings in their districts on the work of the Commission, with testimony from scores of witnesses, including survivors, teachers, clergymen, representatives of a broad range of community organizations, civic and political leaders, scholars, educators, theologians, artists, and writers. After the Commission had reached its preliminary conclusions, additional public hearings were held.

Within the first 3 months the Commission planned many of the activities conducted during the Days of Remembrance and developed models for future commemorations of the Holocaust. The Days of Remembrance activities culminated in a National Civic Holocaust Commemoration Service held in the Capitol Rotunda on April 24, the internationally recognized memorial day for the Holocaust (see Proposal 4 for a report of nationwide activities).

The second Commission meeting was actually held on the Day of Remembrance, April 24. It refined the proposals of the various subcommittees, and then charged the staff and committees to develop final recommendations. On June 7, the Commission met a third time to consider the proposals; overwhelming approval was given to the recommendations which make up the body of this report. Furthermore, the Commission decided to undertake a fact-finding mission, at the members' personal expense, to sites of Holocaust annihilation and memorials in Poland, the Soviet Union, Denmark, and Israel. The purpose of the journey was threefold: to ascertain what other countries have done, to lay the foundation for future cooperation between the Commission and major memorial and scholarly institutions; and to pay tribute to the victims of the Holocaust by visiting the places of their death and the shrines erected to their memory. (A report of the fact-finding mission is in Appendix B.)

II. GUIDING PRINCIPLES

The Commission's efforts have been undertaken in the service of memory, with the conviction that in remembrance lie the seeds of transformation and renewal. Throughout the Commission's work, two guiding principles have provided the philosophical rationale. They are: (1) the uniqueness of the Holocaust; and (2) the moral obligation to remember.

The Uniqueness of the Holocaust

The Holocaust was the systematic, bureaucratic extermination of six million Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators as a central act of state during the Second World War; as night descended, millions of other peoples were swept into this net of death. It was a crime unique in the annals of human history, different not only in the quantity of violence—the sheer numbers killed—but in its manner and purpose as a mass criminal enterprise organized by the state against defenseless civilian populations. The decision was to kill every Jew everywhere in Europe: the definition of Jew as target for death transcended all boundaries. There is evidence indicating that the Nazis intended ultimately to wipe out the Slavs and other peoples; had the war continued or had the Nazis triumphed, Jews might not have remained the final victims of Nazi genocide, but they were certainly its first.

The concept of the annihilation of an entire people, as distinguished from their subjugation, was unprecedented; never before in human history had genocide been an all-pervasive government policy unaffected by territorial or economic advantage and unchecked by moral or religious constraints. Ordinarily, acts of violence directed by a government against a populace are related to perceived needs of national security or geographic expansion, with hostilities diminishing after the enemy surrenders. In the case of the Nazis, however, violence was intensified after subjugation, especially in Poland and other parts of Eastern Europe, against all the subjugated populations. Jews were particular targets despite the fact that they possessed no army and were not an integral part of the military struggle. Indeed, the destruction frequently conflicted with and took priority over the war effort. Trains that could have been used to carry munitions to the front or to retrieve injured soldiers were diverted for the transport of victims to the death camps. Even after the Nazi defeat on the Russian front, when it became evident that the Germans had lost the war, the killings were intensified in a last desperate attempt at complete annihilation. Clearly, genocide was an end in itself independent of the requisites of war.

In the Nazi program of genocide, Jews were the primary victims exterminated not for what they were but for the fact that they were Jews. (In the Nuremberg Decree of 1935, a Jew was defined by his grandparents' affiliation. Even conversion to Christianity did not affect the Nazi definition.) While Gypsies were killed throughout Europe, Nazi plans for their extermination were never completed nor fully implemented. However, Nazi plans for the annihilation of European Jews were not only completed but thoroughly implemented. Many Polish children whose parents were killed were subjected to forced Germanization—that is, adoption by German families and assimilation into German culture—yet Jewish children were offered no such alternative to death.

The Holocaust was not a throwback to medieval torture or archaic barbarism but a thoroughly modern expression of bureaucratic organization, industrial management, scientific achievement, and technological sophistication. The entire apparatus of the German bureaucracy was marshalled in the service of the extermination process. The churches and health ministries supplied birth records to define and isolate Jews; the post office delivered statements of definition, expropriation, denaturalization, and deportation; the economic ministry confiscated Jewish wealth and property; the universities denied Jewish students admission and degrees while dismissing Jewish faculty; German industry fired Jewish workers, officers, board members and disenfranchised Jewish stockholders; government travel bureaus coordinated schedules and billing procedures for the railroads which carried the victims to their deaths.

The process of extermination itself was bureaucratically systematic. Following **the mob destruction of *Kristallnacht,* a pogrom in November 1938 in which at** least 36 Jews were killed, 20,000 arrested, thousands of Jewish businesses looted and burned, and hundreds of synagogues vandalized, random acts of violence were replaced by organized, passionless operations. Similarly, the angry, riotous actions of the S.A. gave way to the disciplined, professional procedures of the S.S., which by 1943 had substituted massive, impersonal factories of extermination for the earlier mobile killing units. The location and operation of the camps were based on calculations of accessibility and cost-effectiveness, the trademarks of modern business practice. German corporations actually profited from the industry of death. Pharmaceutical firms, unrestricted by fear of side effects, tested drugs on camp inmates, and companies competed for contracts to build ovens or supply gas for extermination. (Indeed, they were even concerned with protecting the patents for their products.) German engineers working for Topf and Sons supplied one camp alone with 46 ovens capable of burning 500 bodies an hour.

Adjacent to the extermination camp at Auschwitz was a privately owned, corporately sponsored concentration camp called I. G. Auschwitz, a division of I. G. Farben. This multi-dimensional, petro-chemical complex brought human slavery to its ultimate perfection by reducing human beings to consumable raw materials, from which all mineral life was systematically drained before the bodies were recycled into the Nazi war economy; gold teeth for the treasury, hair for mattresses, ashes for fertilizer. In their relentless search for the least expensive and most efficient means of extermination, German scientists experimented with a variety of gasses until they discovered the insecticide Zyklon B, which could kill 2,000 persons in less than 30 minutes at a cost of one-half-cent per body. Near the end of the war, in order to cut expenses and save gas, "cost-accountant considerations" led to an order to place living children directly into the ovens or throw them into open burning pits. The same type of ingenuity and control that facilitates modern industrial development was rationally applied to the process of destruction.

During previous centuries, excess populations were alleviated through emigration to less populated regions, but by 1920 the frontiers had receded and the New World no longer absorbed the overflow from the Old. When Germany could not ship out a population she wished to eliminate (no country was willing to accept Jews), she took the next fatal step and sent them up in smoke. In a world of increasing over-population, the inclination to duplicate the Nazi option and once again exterminate millions of people remains a hideous threat. The curse of the Holocaust is a dire warning.

The Holocaust could not have occurred without the collapse of certain religious norms; increasing secularity fueled a devaluation of the image of the human being created in the likeness of God. Ironically, although religious perspectives contributed to the growth of anti-Semitism and the choice of Jews as victims, only in a modern secular age did anti-Semitism lead to annihilation. Other aspects of modern dehumanization contributed to the Holocaust, notably the splitting of the human personality whereby men could murder children by day and be loving husbands and fathers at night. The division of labor that separated complete operations into fractions of the whole permitted thousands to participate in a massive bureaucracy of death without feeling responsible. For example, Adolf Eichmann, who supervised the roundup of Jews for deportation, could claim he never personally killed a single person; employees could insist they did not know what they were doing; executioners could explain they were only following orders.

Whether the product of technology or a reaction against it, the horror of the Holocaust is inextricably linked to the conditions of our time. By studying the Holocaust, we hope to help immunize modern man against the diseases particular to the twentieth century which led to this monstrous aberration.

The Moral Obligation to Remember

The American philosopher George Santayana has warned that those who forget history are condemned to repeat it. The Holocaust reveals a potential pathology at the heart of Western civilization together with the frightening consequences of the total exercise of power. Remembering can instill caution, fortify restraint, and protect against future evil or indifference. The sense of outrage in the face of the Holocaust expressed in the declaration "Never Again"—neither to the Jewish people nor to any other people—must be informed by an understanding of what happened and how.

Although we have no guarantees that those who remember will not repeat history, the failure to remember the past makes repetition more likely. Nothing more clearly illustrates this claim than Hitler's alleged response to those in his government who feared international oposition to genocide. "Who remembers the Armenians?," he asked. Indifference to that earlier twentieth-century attempt at genocide may well have fortified those who later questioned the impact of extermination if not its wisdom or necessity. Conversely, memory can avert future errors. Perhaps it is no accident that the government official most responsible for a fundamental shift in American policy toward the plight of the Jews, former Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., was the son of the Ambassador to Turkey during the Armenian massacre in World War I. It was at the behest of Secretary Morgenthau that a report was prepared for the President on the murder of the Jews.

To remember the Holocaust is to sensitize ourselves to its critical political lessons. Nazism was facilitated by the breakdown of democracy, the collapse of social and economic cohesion, the decline of human solidarity, and an erosion of faith in the political leadership and in the ability of democratic governments to function. Recalling these danger signals intensifies our concern for the health of the body politic and the processes of democracy, the forms of government, and the importance of human and social values.

By remembering the excesses that marked the Nazi era, we can learn again the importance of limits, of checks and balances. We can also learn that a democratic government must function and perform basic services and that human rights must be protected within the law. We can renew our appreciation for moral and philosophical guidelines, for the need to consider the human cost of scientific experimentation. We can strengthen our belief in inalienable individual rights. We can also come to understand that a universalistic ethic unbalanced by respect for particular variation is ultimately tyrannical. Tolerance for ethnic diversity and pluralism can be enhanced.

But remembering is not easy for either individual or group. Confronting the Holocaust threatens to sear our souls and challenge our perceptions, our complacency. It introduces a tone of somberness and tragedy into human discourse and heightens our awareness of the precariousness and vulnerability of life. Not only has the moral landscape of human reality been altered by the Holocaust, but the acceleration of technology and nuclear power now threaten human existence itself. By focusing on the dangers inherent in the ends and means of a technological, bureaucratic society, study of the Holocaust and its implications can encourage a renewal of commitment to sanity and humanity.

Americans have a distinct responsibility to remember the Holocaust. Millions of our citizens had direct family ties with its victims, our armies liberated many concentration camps and helped rehabilitate their inmates, and many thousands of survivors have since made their homes in this country. On the negative side, although the United States assumed a leadership role in rehabilitation after the war, our failure to provide adequate refuge or rescue until 1944 proved disastrous to millions of Jews.

In a 1944 memo presented to the President, senior officers of the Department of the Treasury accused State Department officials of neglect and acquiescence:

> [State Department officials] have not only failed to use the Government machinery at their disposal to rescue Jews from Hitler, but have even gone so far as to use this Governmental machinery to prevent the rescue of these Jews.
>
> They have not only failed to cooperate with private organizations in the efforts of these organizations to work out individual programs of their own, but have taken steps designed to prevent these programs from being put into effect.
>
> They not only have failed to facilitate the obtaining of information concerning Hitler's plan to exterminate the Jews of Europe but in their official capacity have gone so far as to surreptitiously attempt to stop the obtaining of information concerning the murder of the Jewish population of Europe.
>
> They have tried to cover up their guilt by:
>
> (a) concealment and misrepresentation;
>
> (b) the giving of false and misleading explanations for their failures to act and their attempts to prevent action; and

(c) the issuance of false and misleading statements concerning the "action" which they have taken to date.*

The preceding memo was written at the height of the war, when the industries of death were working 24 hours a day to eliminate European Jewry, yet there was still time to save Hungarian Jews. The document marked a turning-point in American policies toward the Holocaust for it moved the President to appoint the War Refugee Board. Prior to entering the war, the United States had reacted to Nazi atrocities with guarded outrage and quiet diplomacy. Many isolationists had considered the Nazi treatment of Jews a German domestic matter. When emigration was still part of the Nazi approach to the Jewish question, American officials erected paper walls by rigidly enforcing both quota regulations and obscure requirements of the immigration laws so as to minimize the number of persons admitted to our shores. Jewish children were summarily denied admission or any form of preferential treatment. American consular officers demanded that immigration applicants produce certificates of good character from their government at the very time that the Nazis considered Jewishness itself criminal. The American principle of separation of church and state, which blinds our laws to the religious affiliation of individuals, found ironic misapplication. Instead of being recognized as refugees, German Jews were considered citizens of a hostile nation and were thus excluded.

Government conferences on world conditions issued public utterances of displeasure toward the Nazis, but such pronouncements only diffused public pressure, giving the appearance of action rather than substantively altering the situation. The international conference held in 1938 at Evian demonstrated the unwillingness of the nations involved to receive Jews. The United States refused to relax its immigration laws or to borrow on future quotas; Great Britain failed to open the doors of Palestine to immigrants; Canada, Argentina, France, Australia, New Zealand, and Panama were also among 32 nations unwilling to come to the rescue of the victimized Europeans. Ships of refugees seeking haven were turned away from port after port while the Nazis viewed the world's response as tacit compliance if not silent assent to their policies.

Failures of communication included the State Department's closing of secured embassy lines to private organizations, thus blocking the transmission of vital information confirming the existence of extermination camps and the plans to exterminate all the Jews. The State and War Departments displayed no recognition of the fact that the Holocaust was distinct from the general German war effort. Eyewitness accounts, reports from informed sources, and oft-repeated Nazi pledges to exterminate the Jews were not integrated, analyzed and internalized to form a basis of action.

During the work of this Commission, the controversy as to why Auschwitz was not bombed by the Allies was raised once again. Considering the documents that have been made available recently, a more thorough analysis of American policy can now be undertaken. If we are to be responsive to crises in the future, an examination of the errors, the value judgments and reasoning processes that led to decisions may be useful.

America did play a major role in bringing Nazi criminals to justice. Herbert Pell, the United States representative to the War Crimes Commission, was the

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*January 13, 1944, "Report to the Secretary on the Acquiescence of This Government to the Murder of the Jews," *Henry Morgenthau Diaries*, Book 693, pp. 212–229, located in the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library. This report was later edited and retitled by Secretary Morgenthau, "Personal Report to the President," *Henry Morgenthau Diaries*, Book 694, pp. 194–202.

driving force behind the American assent to charge war criminals with crimes against humanity. The Nuremberg trials represent a new international moral standard for they reflect the conviction that each individual is responsible for his actions even in times of war.

Americans recognized early the need to confront and remember the Holocaust. General Dwight D. Eisenhower insisted that the concentration camps be fully documented and photographed, and General George S. Patton demanded that Germans in surrounding towns be forced to visit the scenes of the Nazis murders. For more than 6 years following the war, American soldiers managed the displaced persons camps, aiding in the suvivors' recovery. These and similar efforts were among the most honorable in our nation's chronicles. Our armed forces witnessed not only the depths of despair and depravity but the resurgence of the human spirit, the yearning to live in freedom.

In reflecting on the Holocaust, we confront not only a collapse in human civilization but also the causes, processes, and consequences of that collapse. As we analyze the American record, we can study our triumphs as well as our failures so as to defeat radical evil and strengthen our democracy.

III. PROPOSALS AND PROJECTS: SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

Because of the magnitude of the Holocaust, its scope and the critical issues it raises, the Commission recommends establishment of a living memorial that will speak not only of the victims' deaths but of their lives, a memorial that can transform the living by transmitting the legacy of the Holocaust.

The Commission recommends that the three components of such a living memorial be:

1. *A memorial/museum*
2. *An educational foundation*
3. *A Committee on Conscience*

While a monument alone may commemorate the victims, no structure can fully reveal the process that culminated in extermination; nor can it document the awesome dimensions of the crime or analyze its causes and implications. While no monument in and of itself can speak to the present or inform the future, the Commission does recommend the erection of a physical structure as a setting for a living memorial.

1. National Holocaust Memorial/Museum

The Commission recommends that a National Holocaust Memorial/Museum be erected in Washington, D.C. The museum must be of symbolic and artistic beauty, visually and emotionally moving in accordance with the solemn nature of the Holocaust.

The Commission proposes that the museum become a Federal institution, perhaps an autonomous bureau of the Smithsonian Institution offering extension services to the public, to scholars, and to other institutions.

The museum would present the Holocaust through pictorial accounts, films, and other visual exhibits within a framework that is not merely reportorial but analytic, encouraging reflection and questioning. Furthermore, the museum would provide a fluid medium in which to apply historical events to contemporary complexities; its presentations would not be static but designed to elicit an evolving understanding. Recent technological innovations in computers and information banks now make it possible for museum visitors to become active learners and inquirers.

Museum exhibits would focus on the six million Jews exterminated in the Holocaust and millions of other victims. Changing displays would allow for emphasis on areas of current concern.

Special emphasis would also be placed on the American aspect of the Holocaust—the absence of American response (exclusion of refugees, denials of *the Holocaust, etc.), the American liberation of the camps, the reception of survivors after 1945, the lives rebuilt in this country and their contribution to American society and civilization, the development of a new sensitivity to the Holocaust, and the growing respect for the multi-ethnic, multi-dimensional aspects of American culture. Also incorporated would be the life and culture of the victims and not just the destruction process. Similarly, the museum would depict the extraordinary efforts to preserve human dignity and life during the Holocaust, the heroic resistance efforts, and the response of renewed life after the Event.*

The museum would house a library, an archive of Holocaust materials, computer linkage to existing centers of Holocaust documentation, and a reference staff. Such facilities would enable both the general public and specialized scholars to study the record of the Holocaust. Conference rooms, a lecture hall, and audiovisual equipment would also be provided.

While the Commission has reached no specific conclusions as to the exact programmatic content of the museum—such conclusions await the creative imagination of designers, planners, and architects working in cooperation with scholars and survivors—it has formulated guidelines for the substantive themes to be conveyed.

Life as Well as Death: The museum is to treat the existence and culture of the Jews of Europe before and during the war, their religious practices, their social and political convictions, and their economic character as well as the cultures of other peoples exterminated by the Nazis in order to recreate a vision of the world that was lost.

The Universal and the Particular: The Jews were Hitler's primary victims against whom the total fury of the Holocaust was unleashed: to dilute or deny this reality would be to falsify it in the name of misguided universalism. Since Jews were not the only people to suffer and since others perished for their convictions or affiliations, for their nationality or race in the machinery of death initially designed for the destruction of Jews, the Commission recommends that the museum incorporate displays on the Poles, the Gypsies, and other exterminated groups. Similarly, the museum should speak of the heroic individuals and groups of many nations who risked their freedom and their lives to save Jews from arrest and extermination—*e.g.*, the Danish people whose noble efforts resulted in the rescue of 92 percent of the Jewish population of Denmark, and of Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat assigned to Hungary who saved 30,000 Hungarian Jews. The breakdown of human solidarity must also be presented, the betrayals, the failure of some underground movements to provide arms for resistance, the collaboration of some local populations with the Germans to isolate and execute Jews, and the cooperation of leadership.

The universal implications of the Holocaust challenge Western civilization and modern, scientific culture. What threatened one people in the past could recur to threaten another people or, indeed, all humanity.

The American Experience: Since the museum is to be a national institution, it should deal with the American role during World War II. This includes

American accomplishments, such as the War Refugee Board which saved thousands, the military successes that led to liberation of the concentration camps, the reception of suvivors, and the support for a Jewish homeland; but it must also confront our nation's failures. The museum should deal, for example, with the inability of people to believe that the Holocaust was happening or to translate information into effective action.

An Understanding of the Holocaust: The museum should trace the roles of the bystanders as well as the perpetrators and victims, delving into such issues as the collapse of the Weimar Republic, the rise of Nazism, the reasons for the choice of the Jew as principal victim. It should elucidate the mechanisms of social control and psychological manipulation perfected by the Nazis.

Location: The Commission resolved that the memorial should be built in Washington, D.C., the capital of the country and the seat of government, for the materials to be presented by it affect all Americans, raising fundamental questions about government, the abuses of unbridled power, the fragility of social institutions, the need for national unity, and the functioning of government. By reminding us of the potential for violence in human society, the museum can contribute to a strengthening of the democratic processes.

Model: When the Commission inquired as to an appropriate location for the memorial within the framework of current governmental activities, an independent institution and/or autonomous bureau of the Smithsonian Institution were presented as possible models. In addition to offering displays, the memorial/museum could parallel other services offered by the Smithsonian and other Federally sponsored institutions. For example, the plan to sponsor curricula development and other educational programs (see page 12) might be analogous to those of the Alliance for Education in the Arts, a program of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts which offers school systems throughout the nation a wide variety of outreach programs. The archival resources proposed for the memorial/museum could, like the Kennedy Center library, be linked to the Library of Congress and thus be enabled to provide research facilities and informational retrieval systems servicing both the casual student and the serious scholar. Like the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, another bureau of the Smithsonian, the memorial might also become a center of learning hosting conferences and stimulating Holocaust-related research. In the manner of the National Gallery of Art, it could also assist local museums and resource centers throughout the country in planning and developing Holocaust presentations. The relationship between institutions and the memorial/museum would be one of cooperation and mutual nourishment, with the national center playing a central cooperative role.

An association with the Smithsonian Institution either as an autonomous bureau or in a cooperative working relationship is desirable by virtue of a shared concern. Dedicated to the diffusion of knowledge among men, its various divisions celebrate the triumphant achievements of human history and creativity: the evolution of the human species (The National Museum of Natural History), the increasing human control of environment (The National Museum of History and Technology), the aesthetic genius of the human imagination (The National Collection of Fine Arts and the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden), and the extension of the boundaries of human civilization to the skies and outer space (The National Air and Space Museum).

If the present branches of the Smithsonian represent the accomplishments of civilization, the Holocaust illuminates an alternate dimension of human experience, as well as the power of life to resist and renew itself. The Holocaust raises basic questions about human nature and its capacity for evil. The fact that this process of destruction was committed by one of the most cultured and technogically advanced societies adds a somber dimension to the progress of humanity celebrated by the Smithsonian. The connection of the memorial/museum with the various parts of the Smithsonian would allow the presentation of a more complete picture of civilization, a greater vision of its promises and dangers.

2. *Educational Foundation*

The Commission recommends that there be included as part of a Holocaust memorial an Educational Foundation dedicated to the pursuit of educational work through grants, extension services, joint projects, research and exploration of issues raised by the Holocaust for all areas of human knowledge and public policy.

The Foundation should stimulate and support such work in all sections of the country within existing programs, both academic and educational, as well as within the network of institutions that deal with the Holocaust. The Educational Foundation should also assist with the development of appropriate curricula and resource material while working cooperatively with those school systems which wish to implement the study of the Holocaust. The Washington center would function also as a clearinghouse for the exchange of information.

To implement the conviction of the Commission that the study of the Holocaust become part of the curriculum in every school system in the country, the Foundation should include various support systems, financial aid, evaluation of Holocaust courses presently offered in public and private schools, consortia, conferences, teacher-training workshops, and summer institutes for educators and scholars.

In the area of higher education, the Foundation should make available to scholars and graduate students fellowships for research and travel as well as matching grants for institutions or faculty who work with students. Other activities to be coordinated by the Educational Foundation would involve project funding, translations into English of important works in many languages and a visiting faculty program.

The Commission recommends that a publishing program be part of the Educational Foundation, with priority given to out-of-print classics, new works of special merit, survivors' accounts, and documentary or photographic publication. Emphasis should also be placed on scholarly studies which are essential to an understanding of the Holocaust but which are not commercially viable.

Finally, in recognition of the powerful educational role of the media, the Foundation should offer development grants and prizes for work in the arts, literature, and the media.

Because of the Commission's conviction that the teaching of the Holocaust is a critical dimension of the living memorial, the Educational Foundation is proposed to complement the museum by helping and encouraging the introduction of the study of the Holocaust in junior and senior high schools and universities, as well as by stimulating the development of resources for such teaching and study. Further, the Educational Foundation would encourage research on the Holocaust and promote the interaction of scholars and educators.

The Educational Foundation would confine itself to developmental and supportive functions. Standard history and other textbooks can be encouraged to deal with the Holocaust as a substantive part of their treatment of World War II.

Teacher-training is another major area for the Educational Foundation, a need intensified by the growth in the number of colleges and secondary schools teaching the Holocaust. Within the past 5 years, course offerings have increased fifty-fold, and it is estimated that by 1985 over a thousand school systems will offer specific courses. While the subject of the Holocaust is now handled on the college level within a variety of departments—literature, history, philosophy, religion, psychology, and sociology—there is only one graduate program in Holocaust studies anywhere in the United States: Temple University, which offers a Ph.D. in religion with a specialty in the Holocaust. Many university and high school teachers assigned to teach the Holocaust courses would profit from more adequate preparation.

The availability of teaching resources during this sensitive stage in the development of Holocaust studies could have a beneficial effect on the projects undertaken and help set standards in the field. New materials could be widely disseminated.

While the growing interest in the Holocaust has evoked the publication of scores of new books in recent years, research funds are still very scarce. Through its financial support, the Foundation could stimulate research and publications in the field. Through its archive and library facilities, equipped with information retrieval systems, it could facilitate access to scholarly material from centers throughout the world.

The Commission recommends that the Foundation also be charged with funding oral history projects of survivors living in America as well as of American soldiers who helped liberate concentration camps. This uniquely American aspect of the Holocaust will be lost with the passage of time and the death of those witnesses if such projects are not initiated soon. While some attempts have been made,—*e.g.*, the oral history projects of the Center for Holocaust Studies, Emory University and the American Jewish Committee—these undertakings have been handicapped by limited resources and the absence of a coordinating repository for materials.

The Foundation could also sponsor or co-sponsor social science research on the effects of trauma on survivors and their children. It might also commission musical or artistic activities relating to the Holocaust and offer creative input to improve the quality of media presentations on the Holocaust.

3. Committee on Conscience

The Commission recommends that a Committee on Conscience composed of distinguished moral leaders in America be appointed. This Committee would receive reports of genocide (actual or potential) anywhere in the world. In the event of any outbreak, it would have access to the President, the Congress, and the public in order to alert the national conscience, influence policy makers, and stimulate worldwide action to bring such acts to a halt.

Of all the issues addressed by the Commission, none was as perplexing or as urgent as the need to insure that such a totally inhuman assault as the Holocaust—or any partial version thereof—never recurs. The Commission was burdened by the knowledge that 35 years of post-Holocaust history testify to how little has been learned. Only a conscious, concerted attempt to learn from past errors can prevent recurrence to any racial, religious, ethnic, or national group. A memorial unresponsive to the future would also violate the memory of the past.

In the years following the Holocaust, Americans repeatedly explained: "We didn't know. We didn't understand the magnitude of the problem. If only we had known, something would have been done." Trusting in the moral responsiveness of the American people and other peoples throughout the world, the Commission feels that the task now is to combat silence and ignorance; if evil cannot be totally eliminated, it may at least be alleviated.

The Commission recognizes that genocide has both a legal and political definition. It knows well the potential for the politicization of a Committee on Conscience, but the risks are worth taking if such a body can provide maximal exposure for dangerous developments, raising, in one scholar's words, an "institutional scream" to alert the conscience of the world and spark public outcry. Open hearings could be instituted in the event of major offenses against peoples, so that early reports of atrocities would not be suppressed, as they were between 1941 and 1943.

The Committee on Conscience would not duplicate the roles of existing human rights agencies, whether national or international, but would concentrate upon genocidal situations, transmitting information and advocating strong action on the part of the United States, other countries, or the United Nations.

To explore the potential for preventive action, as an example, the Chairman of the President's Commission on the Holocaust traveled to Argentina this summer to witness first-hand the massive human rights violations that have been reported. Because of regretable State Department unresponsiveness, the scope of the Chairman's contacts were limited. Valuable information, however, was obtained.

The Boat People further illustrate the unique role that the Committee on Conscience can play. Speaking for the Commission, the Chairman appealed directly to the President of the United States to intervene on their behalf. He was also named to the delegation at the international conference at Geneva, in which role he was able to help bring about international relief activities. This is not to presume that the Commission is or would be the lone voice to redress an outrage; the media, by the persistence of its reporting, has continually focused attention on the plight of the Boat People. Yet the voices which spoke out of the experience of the Holocaust resonated with special authenticity. By being reminded of Evian (a conference of 32 nations held in 1938 that failed to rescue the Jews when Hitler flung that challenge in the world's face), the recent Geneva Conference on the Boat People was sensitized to the price of inaction. Because of the Administration's awareness of the failures of the past, the Vice President's somber address invoking the spectre of Evian commanded great urgency. He said:

> Our children will deal harshly with us if we fail. The conference at Evian 41 years ago took place amidst the same comfort and beauty we enjoy at our own deliberations today. One observer at those proceedings—moved by the contrast between the setting and the task—said this:
>
> > "These poor people and these great principles seem so far away. To one who has attended other conferences on Lake Geneva, the most

striking thing on the eve of this one is that the atmosphere is so much like the others."

Let us not be like the others. Let us renounce that legacy of shame. Let us reach beyond metaphor. Let us honor the moral principles we inherit. Let us do something meaningful—something profound—to stem this misery. We face a world problem. Let us fashion a world solution.

History will not forgive us if we fail. History will not forget us if we succeed.

4. *Days of Remembrance*

The Commission recommends that the Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust be proclaimed in perpetuity to be held annually, commencing on the Sunday of (or preceding) the internationally recognized Holocaust Commemoration Day.

The Commission further recommends that the Holocaust Memorial be charged in its charter with the continuing responsibility to develop means of commemorating the Days of Remembrance. This mandate is integral to the work of the proposed Holocaust Memorial.

The President charged the Commission to implement the Congressional resolution calling for the observance of April 28 and 29, 1979, as "Days of Remembrance." The authors wanted the observance "to occur on days when Americans worship in the churches and synagogues of the nation, to coincide with the internationally recognized Holocaust Commemoration Day, and to mark the anniversary of a significant American involvement in the Holocaust, namely, the liberation of Dachau by American troops." Mindful of the legislative intent and the task of commemorating events so shattering as to defy description, the Commission extended the commemoration to a week-long period so as to include the internationally recognized Holocaust Commemoration Day.

The programs initiated by the Commission were built on the foundation of two decades of commemoration activities, intensified this year by governmental involvement. Given the limited resources of the Commission, the number of activities were restricted to those capable of providing models for future years. Working on its own and in cooperation with several states, communities, and national organizations, the Commission organized the following activities:

1. National Civic Holocaust Commemoration Service in the Capitol Rotunda. President Carter led the leaders of the nation and invited guests in a memorial service that included music from the Holocaust sung by the Atlanta Boy Choir, a Presidential address, remarks by the Vice President, an address by the Chairman of the Commission, a candle-lighting ceremony, and appropriate prayers.

2. In the State of Minnesota, a model for state observances, with the help of the local community and the state leaders, programs included:
   a. An exhibit of Holocaust art in the Interchurch Center of Minnesota.
   b. A conference and teacher workshop, featuring Professor Raul Hilberg as the keynote speaker and scholar in residence, on "The Implications of the Holocaust for Western Society."
   c. A state civic ceremony similar to the national ceremony, held in the state capitol with an address by the Governor and a Commissioner.

d. An ecumenical Christian service of commemoration with the participation of all major Christian churches.

e. A Jewish service of commemoration with the participation of all the local synagogues of Minneapolis-St. Paul.

f. A series of documentaries and Holocaust films shown statewide on public and network television.

3. Other Activities: Similar statewide activities were held in Connecticut and New Jersey with a member of the Commission or its Advisory Board participating in the services at the state capitols.

The Commission also participated in the largest Holocaust commemoration service in North America held annually in New York City, organized by the Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization and sponsored by other survivors' organizations. Over 25,000 people attended.

The Commission also joined in a Holocaust commemoration service at the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C., at which Senator John Danforth, an ordained Episcopal minister, was the guest preacher. A special liturgy and litany were composed for the occasion which was shared with all Episcopal ministers throughout the United States.

As a model for future observances, the Commission has worked with the City of Sommerville, Massachusetts, on a series of commemorative and educational assemblies in its high schools, featuring films and talks by survivors. The Commission also assisted the National Educational Television network with the selection of appropriate documentary films related to the Holocaust for broadcast throughout the commemorative week.

The Commission's views regarding the Days of Remembrance directly reflect this year's experience. Foremost among its proposals is that these days become a part of the national calendar. The international Holocaust commemoration day falls on the 27th of Nisan by the lunar calendar, a date that never conflicts with either Easter or Passover; the week of Remembrance should begin on the preceding Sabbath.

5. Additional Recommendations

The following recommendations for governmental action are offered by the Commission as appropriate forms of remembering the victims of the Holocaust:

a. Ratification of the Genocide Convention:

The Commission joins with the President of the United States in urging the Senate to ratify the Genocide Convention.

The Genocide Convention itself was the outgrowth of the worldwide moral revulsion upon the revelation of the full enormity of the Holocaust. The Commission believes that the knowledge that perpetrators will be held responsible for the crime of genocide can play some role in preventing such acts in the future. Moreover, the punishment of criminals involved in the genocidal activities of World War II was criticized on the grounds that genocide was not recognized as a crime by international law prior to 1939.

b. Prosecution of Nazi War Criminals in America:

The Commission recommends direct governmental intervention to:

1) *Assure high priority to the investigation and, if warranted, prosecution of Nazi war criminals in America.*
2) *Insure adequate funds and staffing for the Office of Special Investigator charged with the prosecution of accused Nazi war criminals in our midst.*
3) *Assign experienced trial lawyers to the prosecution staff.*
4) *Insist that government agencies render accessible all relevant records and testimony.*
5) *Exert diplomatic influence to assure the cooperation of other governments in obtaining materials pertaining to ongoing investigations and trials of alleged Nazi war criminals.*

Since the end of World War II, more than 200 individuals accused of direct complicity in genocide and other Nazi crimes have lived in the United States, free from prosecution or deportation in cases where their American citizenship was obtained by fraud or denial of their past record. The allegation that some of these criminals found refuge and employment under the auspices of various U.S. agencies lends dramatic emphasis to the moral necessity for finally resolving this issue.

The Commission has viewed with gratitude recent steps taken by the Congress and the Executive Branch to rectify these situations. It wishes to underscore the historical importance of this quest for justice.

c. *Jewish Cemeteries Abroad:*

The Commission recommends that in recognition of the sanctity of the physical remains of the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe and the right of the dead to a final resting place, the State Department should continue to express its concern over the destruction of cemeteries, urging that they be maintained in a suitably respectable manner.

One of the few remnants of Jewish life in Eastern Europe are the cemeteries. In recent years, the cemeteries have been destroyed by new building projects, housing developments, and road construction. The Commission strongly urges that pressure be brought to prevent vandalization, to repair markers or to supply markers where they are missing, and to maintain grounds.

F. *Funding*

The Commission concludes that the proposed physical memorial/museum to the Holocaust with its educational foundation is achievable.

The Commission recommends that financial support be provided through a public-private partnership involving government participation and private fund-raising, employing the model of the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and other major memorials. The Federal Government would provide seed money (up to $1 million) for the broad design of facilities and program plus a challenge grant to be matched in the private sector over a 3-year period.

The Commission respectfully requests the direct moral support, endorsement, and involvement of the White House in this effort.

The sources of funds for establishing and maintaining the Holocaust memorial and its programs can include large individual contributors, foundations, associations, institutions, corporations, civic organizations, churches, and *synagogues as well as voluntary contributions from Americans in all walks of life throughout the country.*

In accordance with the President's guidelines and in the light of the universal significance of the Holocaust, the Commission holds that funding for the memorial should be realized principally through public subscription. Despite the size of the project, the Commission believes that it can receive extensive public support.

While financial support may be largely non-governmental, issues raised by the Holocaust are so fundamentally tied to public policy that funding of the memorial must involve a national effort. The Commission deems Federal participation crucial to the mobilization and channeling of public concern.

A land grant and governmental status would symbolize Federal commitment while leaving the major responsibility for funding and initiative to the American people through the private sector, as was the case in the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars or the National Gallery of Art. The dialectic of a government-private partnership, a national center with grass-roots programming, and an academic endeavor with ethical exploration would in itself be an extraordinary cultural and political model.

Funds will be needed for the museum/memorial, for endowing or capitalizing both continuing programs and one-time building costs, and for the acquisition and computerization of scholarly archives. Cost estimates will depend on many factors to be considered by the successor body to the Commission. It is intended that these funds will be raised primarily by private contributions supplemented by a land grant and challenge grants from the Federal Government.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
EXECUTIVE ORDER

ORDER No. 12093

THE WHITE HOUSE

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution of the United States of America, and in order to create, in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Advisory Committee Act (5 U.S.C. App. I), an advisory committee on the establishment of a memorial to the victims of the Holocaust, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1–1. *Establishment and Membership.*

1–101. There is established the President's Commission on the Holocaust.

1–102. The Commission shall consist of not more than thirty-four members as follows:

(a) The President shall appoint twenty-four members of the Commission and shall designate one of these members to chair the Commission.

(b) The Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate are each invited to designate five members of their respective Houses to serve as members of the Commission.

1–2. *Functions of the Commission.*

1–201. The Commission shall submit a report to the President and the Secretary of the Interior containing its recommendations with respect to the establishment and maintenance of an appropriate memorial to those who perished in the Holocaust.

1–202. The Commission's report shall examine the feasibility of obtaining funds for creation and maintenance of the Memorial through contributions by the American people.

1–203. The Commission shall recommend appropriate ways for the nation to commemorate April 28 and 29, 1979, which the Congress has resolved shall be "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust."

1–3. *Administrative Provisions.*

1–301. To the extent permitted by law, the Secretary of the Interior shall provide all necessary administrative services, facilities, support, and funds necessary for the performance of the Commission's functions.

1–302. Each member of the Commission who is not otherwise employed in the Government may receive compensation for each day such member is engaged in the work of the Commission at a daily rate to be determined by the Secretary of the Interior. Such rate shall not exceed that payable pursuant to the Federal Advisory Committee Act.

1–303. Members of the Commission shall be entitled to travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 5702 and 5703) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

1–304. The functions of the President under the Federal Advisory Committee Act which are applicable to the Commission, except that of reporting to the Congress, shall be performed by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with guidelines and procedures prescribed by the Administrator of General Services.

1–4. *Final Report and Termination*

1–401. The Commission shall submit its final report to the President and the Secretary of the Interior not later than six months from the date of its first meeting.

1–402. The Commission shall terminate not later than thirty days after submitting its final report.

JIMMY CARTER

THE WHITE HOUSE,
November 1, 1978.

APPENDIX B
STUDY MISSION TO EASTERN EUROPE, DENMARK AND ISRAEL

On July 29, 1979, 57 members of the Commission and Advisory Board, their spouses, and special consultants to the Commission departed on a 14-day working mission to study memorials and museums to the victims of the Holocaust, to visit sites of destruction, and to meet with government leaders and directors of institutions whose commitments and undertakings parallel the work of this Commission. Traveling at their own expense to Poland, the U.S.S.R., Denmark and Israel, the group confronted the past and its commemoration to further inform the Commission's recommendations.

In Warsaw the Commission began its agenda with a ceremony at the site of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Tribute was also paid to the Polish losses during the war at the Nike Monument for the general Warsaw uprising, followed by a series of meetings with Polish officials. At a session with the Minister of Justice, the painful and critical issues of justice and truth were explored—justice to those who perpetrated the crime, and truth in understanding the roles of criminal, victim, and bystander. An exchange of Polish and American documents was discussed, and a tour conducted of Polish archives which included critical documents and photographs, Nazi manuals and albums. In the evening the Commission attended a performance by a remnant of the Jewish theater of Warsaw. The performance was a lyrical and musical interpretation of Chagall's paintings, spoken and sung in Yiddish, a language understood by few of the actors. Heavily subsidized by the Polish government, this troupe recalls the great theatrical tradition of the Yiddish stage.

The following morning the Commission traveled to Treblinka, the site of an extermination camp at which some 800,000 Jews were killed. (Unlike Auschwitz, Treblinka was restricted to Jews.) The camp was destroyed near the end of the war as the Nazis tried to eradicate all traces of their crime. The Polish government has built an extraordinary monument on the now-wooded site of Treblinka, a total environment of remembrance. Identical slabs of stone, suggesting railroad ties, lead the visitor to the center of the camp where two enormous stone forms stand separated only by a narrow opening. A shattered menorah is engraved near the top of the stone monument, and, on all sides, stretching as far as one can see, are hundreds of rough-hewn, jagged stones of various shapes and sizes, each inscribed with the name of a Jewish community obliterated during the Holocaust. Beyond the central monument, a flat, rectangular representation of charred and disfigured bones is set in a long ditch to symbolize the burned pyres of those who were gassed. The power of this unforgetable sculpture at Treblinka convinced the Commission of the importance of a monument.

Throughout the journey in Eastern Europe, members of the delegation shared their impressions and their anguish. A scholar explained the relationship between the geographic location of a camp and its proximity to a population center; a survivor recollected a wartime experience—stories were told of betrayal and torture, anxiety and loss, desperation and agony, and some of hope and rescue.

On the third day the Commission traveled to Auschwitz, the largest and without doubt the most lethal of all extermination camps. Auschwitz contained persons from every country and nationality controlled by the Axis. In addition to Jews, most especially Poles, Soviet prisoners of war, Frenchmen, Serbs, Slavs, and Gypsies were killed at Auschwitz. An enormous railroad complex was located at the entrance to the camp; and the still sturdy brick construction of the barracks attest to its intended function as a continuing institution of subjugation and liquidation. Only with great difficulty could the survivors of Auschwitz in the delegation re-enter the infamous camp, seeing the walls, the electrified barbed wire, the torture chambers, the hospital for medical experiments, and the gas chambers where their loved ones had been put to death. A few kilometers away, at Birkenau, words of prayer were recited, wreaths laid, and spirituals sung, yet all attempts to speak seemed inadequate.

The visit to Poland was concluded by a series of meetings with the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Polish Academy of Science, the Janusz Korczak Committee, the Ministry of Monuments, the Combatants Organization, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the curators of the Museum at Auschwitz and the Jewish Museum in Warsaw. Everywhere the need to remember the Holocaust was discussed and the groundwork laid for future cooperation between the American and Polish governments, including the exchange of archival information and scholarship, educational resources for teaching, films, and publications. A number of Polish documentaries on the Holocaust were also viewed. The Commission was pleased by the general interest and encouragement it encountered and by the mutual commitment to remember.

Before leaving Poland, the Commission visited the Jewish cemetery in Warsaw, the burial place for over one-half-million Jews who died in Warsaw in the centuries preceding the liquidation of the ghetto. Seven hundred years of Polish Jewish culture are represented by the graves of scholars and rabbis, writers, teachers, political leaders, artists, scientists, and actors. An empty field devoid of any marker is the mass grave of some 150,000 Polish Jews who perished from starvation or disease during the war before the ghetto was destroyed. The general neglect of the cemetery—disrepair and vandalization—disturbed the Commission, and our concerns were expressed to the appropriate authorities.

The Commission traveled from Poland to the Soviet Union, first visiting Kiev in the Ukraine where 100,000 people were massacred by the Nazis at Babi Yar. Beginning on the first day of the Jewish New Year in 1941 and continuing for 10 days until the Day of Atonement, 80,000 Jews were brought to Babi Yar and killed there within earshot of downtown Kiev. The monument is most impressive, set in the center of a ravine where the victims were buried. However, in both content and inscription the memorial is devoid of any reference, direct or oblique, to the fact that Jews were killed at Babi Yar. Shocked by this conspicuous omission, the Commission was alerted to the danger of historical falsification or dilution.

In Moscow the Commission met with the National Archivist, the Writer's Guild, the Soviet Academy of Sciences, the Institute of the History of World War II, the Deputy Minister of Culture, the War Veterans' Organization, and the Solicitor General to explore the difficulties of writing about the Holocaust, of sensitizing people to pain and suffering without feeling a sense of morbidity, encouraging despair, or developing an immunity to pain. Furthermore, discussions were conducted pertaining to archival exchange and scholarly interchange. In a meeting with Solicitor General, Roman Rudenko, the Commission addressed the trials of Nazi war criminals. (Mr. Rudenko was the chief prosecutor of Nuremberg.) Before leaving Moscow, the Commission placed a wreath at the Soviet Union's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

For its last stop in Europe, the Commission traveled to Denmark to present a scroll of tribute to the Danish people and their government. The scroll reads as follows:

> *In tribute to the Danish people and their government whose actions during the Holocaust served as a moral beacon of light in a world of total darkness. Your noble behavior has illuminated the moral landscape of humanity. May your deeds serve as a reminder of courage and human solidarity to a world still desperately in need of such lessons.*

In casual conversation with our American delegation and in formal declarations, our Danish hosts frequently repeated that they had done nothing extraordinary or heroic in saving Jews and protecting their property. One Dane who is an accountant explained that he needs no congratulations for having refused to embezzle funds from his Jewish compatriots. When compared to the total cooperation of the entire Nazi economic ministry in the confiscation of Jewish holdings, the Danish humility toward their responsibility and their integrity was striking. During the Holocaust, ordinary, decent behavior became the extraordinary.

That there were great acts of courage in those dark times is indisputable. In Denmark, the Commission presented a scroll of honor in absentia to Raoul Wallenberg, a junior diplomat in the Swedish legation in Hungary, who coordinated a large-scale rescue operation during the war in which 30,000 lives were saved. Among many daring and innovative moves, Wallenberg rented buildings and flew the Swedish flag above them to declare them part of the Swedish Embassy, thus granting diplomatic protection to the inhabitants. He also issued Swedish passports to thousands of Jews in Budapest to prevent their deportation. Wallenberg was taken prisoner by the liberating Russian armies immediately after the war, and neither his presence in Russian prisons nor his fate have been satisfactorily clarified. (The Russian government produced a death certificate indicating that Wallenberg died in jail in 1947, but his death remains unconfirmed, and reports of his alleged whereabouts circulate periodically, as recently as last year.) The scroll presented to Wallenberg reads as follows:

> *In tribute to Raoul Wallenberg, a man of rare daring and imagination, whose deeds saved thirty-thousand Jews in Budapest. His heroism and character have shown the world what could have been done and what should have been done. His compassion and courage will be remembered forever. For his actions, he paid with his freedom, if not with his life. This scroll is presented to his sister in his absence though conscious of his presence.*

The Commission also toured the Museum of Danish Rescue and Resistance in Copenhagen.

The final leg of the trip brought the Commission to Israel where it visited Yad Vashem, the Israeli National Remembrance Authority in its capital, Jerusalem, consisting of a museum, memorial and sculpture garden, archives, documentation center, research facilities, and educational resources. The Commission met with the leaders of Yad Vashem and working subcommittees of the Commission met with staff of the institution, and with prominent Israeli scholars who shared the fruits of their vast experience. The Commission was deeply impressed by the achievements of Yad Vashem and felt that close cooperation—a special relationship—with the Commission's successor body must be established.

The Commission also visited the Museum of the Diaspora, to examine its treatment of the Holocaust and use of modern media and display techniques, computer learning, and engaging presentations. Having visited Warsaw, the

Commission included in its itinerary the Warsaw Ghetto Fighters' Memorial at a kibbutz in the Galilee founded by survivors of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The kibbutz also houses a museum on the Holocaust. The Commission visited Mashuah, an experimental education institution designed to teach the Holocaust to both adolescents and adults through creative curricula, seminars, films, and educational materials. The delegation was also welcomed at Nes Ammim, a moshav founded by Dutch Christians and dedicated to atonement for the Holocaust. The Commission's work in Israel concluded with a meeting with the President of Israel at his home.

During its mission abroad, the Commission was able to secure or explore access to more archival records and documents for research on the Holocaust, for the memorial/museum envisioned, and for the prosecution of Nazi war criminals. The Commission learned from the examples of other Holocaust museums and memorials, and arranged for cooperation between other countries and the American endeavor. Finally, the trip itself, its meetings, and its ceremonies on behalf of the dead served as part of the living memorial which shall continue to bring the memory of the Holocaust and its implications to public consciousness.

APPENDIX C
ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER

Made at the
National Civil Holocaust
Commemoration Ceremony
April 24, 1979
United States Capitol Rotunda
Washington, D.C.

I am honored and also grave and solemn as I participate in this ceremony during Days of Remembrance for victims of the Holocaust.

Just five weeks ago, during my trip to Israel, I visited again Yad Vashem—the memorial to the six million. I walked slowly through the Hall of Names. And like literally millions before me, I grieved as I looked at book after book, row after row, each recording the name of a man or a woman, a little boy or a little girl, each one a victim of the Holocaust.

I vowed then—as people all over the world are doing this week—to reaffirm our unshakeable commitment that such an event will never recur on this earth again.

A philosopher has written that language itself breaks down when one tries to speak about the Holocaust and its meaning. Our words pale before the frightening spectacle of human evil which was unleashed upon the world, and before the awesomeness of the suffering involved; the sheer weight of its numbers—11 million innocent victims exterminated—6 million of them Jews.

Although words do pale, yet we must speak. We must strive to understand. We must teach the lessons of the Holocaust. And most of all, we ourselves must remember.

We must learn not only about the vulnerability of life, but of the value of human life. We must remember the terrible price paid for bigotry and hatred and also the terrible price paid for indifference and for silence.

It is fitting also that we recall today the persecution, the suffering and the destruction which has befallen so many other people in this century, in many nations, peoples whose representatives have joined us for this observance. For the central lesson of the Holocaust must be that, in the words of the poet, "Each man's death diminishes me."

To truly commemorate the victims of the Holocaust, we must harness the outrage of our memories to banish all human oppression from the world. We must recognize that when any fellow human being is stripped of humanity; when any person is turned into an object of repression; tortured or defiled or victimized by terrorism or prejudice or racism, then all human beings are victims, too.

The world's failure to recognize the moral truth 40 years ago permitted the Holocaust to proceed. Our generation—the generation of survivors—will never permit the lesson to be forgotten. Human rights and human dignity are indivisible. America must, and always will, speak out in the defense of human rights not only in our own country, but around the world.

That commitment imposes special responsibilities on us to uphold the highest possible standards of human justice and human rights here at home. I applaud the Congress in calling for this day of remembrance of the Holocaust. And I renew my call to the Senate to take a long overdue step this year by ratifying the International Treaty on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. Without concrete action, our words are hollow. Let us signify by deed as well as by word that the American people will never forget.

It is, perhaps, ironic that we meet today in a season of rebirth and renewal to recall a time of darkness and destruction that has no parallel in human history. And yet it is also fitting that we do so in this Rotunda, along with actual survivors of the Holocaust itself. For the Holocaust is also a story of renewal and a testament to the power of the human spirit to prevail.

People who saw their homes destroyed helped build a new homeland in the State of Israel. People like Elie Wiesel, the Chairman of my Holocaust Commission, who witnessed the collapse of all vision, created and shared with us a new vision. It is an incredible story of a people who refused to allow despair to triumph, who after having lost their children, brought new families into the world.

It is our collective task as well to learn from this process of renewal, the roots of hope—a hope not based on illusion or ignorance, but hope grounded in the rebirth of the human spirit and a reaffirmation of the sacredness of life.

With that hope, we will strive to build out of our memories of the Holocaust a world joined by a true fellowship of human understanding, a world of tolerance and diversity in which all peoples can live in dignity and in peace.

APPENDIX D
REMARKS MADE BY VICE PRESIDENT WALTER F. MONDALE

Made at the
National Civic Holocaust
Commemoration Ceremony
April 24, 1979
United States Capitol Rotunda
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Majority Leader, Members of Congress, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am profoundly honored to join you, and all Americans, as we commemorate both the tragedy of the Holocaust, and the vibrant resilience of the human spirit.

Human nature casts a complex shadow on the history of civilization. The triumph of the human heart has its memorials—in our miracles of art, in the genius of our democracies, in the lesson of compassion at the soul of all religions.

But the history of humanity is also scarred by ignominy. Hatred, injustice, oppression, bloodshed: these, too, have their monuments that litter our nobler history like trash in a garden.

We meet today to recall both sides of human history—triumph as well as tragedy. We meet both to renew our grief, and to recommit our courage—to say Kaddish for the fallen, and to sanctify as well the work of the living.

The Holocaust beggars the human imagination. To recall it is to think the unthinkable. To describe it is to say the unsayable. To be its heir is to inherit a nightmare.

But the horror we commemorate today must not blind us to the life whose roots lie in its ashes. For today we also affirm that genocide has no part in human history. Today we declare that decency and dignity and life itself are inalienable, and must forever remain so. Today we bear witness not only to the unanswered cries of the eleven million, but also to the duty they confer on us: the duty to banish bloodshed from the annals of our children's future.

Today we bear witness. Elie Wiesel, the distinguished Chairman of President Carter's Holocaust Commission, put it this way in his moving novel, *The Oath*:

> "We must tell, awaken, alert, and repeat over and over again without respite or pause, repeat to the very end those stories that have no end . . ."

We will repeat those stories without end. One of them is the tragedy of the Holocaust. But another—and just as important—is the story of the human heart in its relentless service of high ideals.

APPENDIX E
THE HOLOCAUST: BEGINNING OR END?

Remarks Made by
Elie Wiesel
Chairman
President's Commission on the Holocaust
Made at the
National Civic Holocaust
Commemoration Ceremony
April 24, 1979
United States Capitol Rotunda
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, Leaders and Members of the House and the Senate, Distinguished Guests:

Allow me to tell you a story.

Once upon a time, far away, somewhere in the Carpathian mountains, there lived a small boy, a Jewish boy, whose dreams were filled with God, prayer, and song.

Then one day, he and his family, and all the Jews of his town, were rounded up and exiled to a dark and evil kingdom. They arrived there at midnight. Then came the first separation, the first selection.

As the boy stood with his father, wondering whether his mother and sisters would come back, an inmate came to tell them the truth; this road led to the final destination of the Jewish people; the truth was there: in the fire, the ashes, the truth was in death. And the young boy refused to believe him; it had to be a lie, a nightmare perhaps, this could not be happening, not here, not now, not in the heart of civilized Europe, not in the middle of the twentieth-century. "Father," said the boy: "if this were true, the world would not be silent. . . ." "Perhaps the world does not know," said the father. And father and son walked on, part of an eerie nocturnal procession, toward mysterious flames of darkness.

Thirty-five years later—almost to the day—the same Jewish boy stands before you with a deep sense of privilege, to remind our contemporaries that in those times of anguish and destruction, only one people—the Jewish people—were totally, inexplicably abandoned—only one people were simply, cynically handed over to their executioners.

And we, the few survivors, were left behind to bear witness and tell the tale.

But before doing so, allow me, on behalf of your Commission on the Holocaust and its Advisory Board, to thank you, Mr. President, for summoning our Nation—and all nations—to keep their memory alive.

We also wish to express our profound gratitude to all the distinguished guests and national leaders for being here today at this unprecedented assembly, responding to this call for remembrance. No other country, and its government, besides Israel, has issued or heeded such a call, but then Israel is a case apart. Israel's commitment to memory is as old as its history itself.

On my first night in the camp, which was the last for most of my friends, my family, my relatives, my teachers, I wrote:

> Never shall I forget that night, which has turned my life into one long night, seven times cursed and seven times sealed. Never shall I forget that smoke.
>
> Never shall I forget the little faces of the children whom I saw being thrown into the flames alive beneath a silent blue sky. Never shall I forget that sky.
>
> Never shall I forget those flames which murdered my hopes forever.
>
> Never shall I forget that nocturnal silence which deprived me, for all eternity, of the desire to live.
>
> Never shall I forget those moments which murdered my soul and turned my dreams into dust, into smoke.
>
> Never shall I forget these words even if I am condemned to live as long as God himself.

But Mr. President and friends—what does one do with such memories of fire—with so many fragments of despair? How does one live in a world which witnessed the murder of one million children and remained world?

Those of us who were there are haunted by those whose lives were turned into ashes, by those whose cemetery was the sky.

Terror-stricken families hiding in ghetto-cellars. Children running with priceless treasures: a potato or two, a crumb of bread. Endless lines of quiet men and women on their way to mass graves, reciting the Kaddish, the prayer for the dead, over themselves. Teachers and their pupils, mothers and their infants, rabbis and their followers, rich and poor, learned and illiterate, princes and beggars—all pushed inexorably toward death. "Father," says a young boy, "is it painful to die? Must I die?" "Think of something else," answers the father. "Think of tomorrow."

Treblinka and Ponar, Auschwitz and Babi Yar, Majdanek and Blezec: What happened? Did creation go mad? Did God cover his face? Did the Creator turn against his creation? Did the God of Israel turn against the people of Israel? The question everyone asked upon arrival inside the gates was: What does it all mean? Was there a design, a secret pattern?

We didn't know, we still don't. How can anyone explain evil of such magnitude? How can anyone comprehend so much pain and anguish? One cannot conceive of Auschwitz with or without God. But what about man? Who can understand the calculated deprivation of the killers? The indifference of the onlookers? When Jews did have a possibility of leaving Europe, how many countries were there ready to accept them?

What was the Holocaust: an end or a beginning? Prefiguration or culmination? Was it the final convulsion of demonic forces in history? A paroxysm of centuries-old bigotry and hatred? Or, on the contrary, a momentous warning of things to come?

Turning-point or watershed, it produced a mutation on a cosmic scale, affecting all possible areas of human endeavor. After Auschwitz, the human condition is no longer the same. After Treblinka, nothing will ever be the same. The Event has altered man's perception and changed his relationship to God, to his fellow man and to himself. The unthinkable has become real. After Belsen, everything seems possible.

Admittedly, I belong to a traumatized generation, hence I speak of my people, the Jewish people. But when I, as a Jew, evoke the tragic destiny of Jewish victims, I honor the memory of all the victims. When one group is persecuted, mankind is affected. Still, for the sake of truth, we must remember that only the Jewish people's extermination was an end in itself. Jewish victims, stripped of their identity and of their death, were disowned by the whole world. They were condemned not for what they did or said, but for who they were: sons and daughters of a people whose suffering is the most ancient in recorded history.

Every occupied nation, every underground movement received help from London, Washington or Moscow. Not the Jews: they were the loneliest victims of the most inhuman of wars. A single airdrop, a single rescue mission would have proved to them, and to the enemy, that they were not forgotten. But, Mr. President and friends, the truth is that they were forgotten.

The evidence is before us: The world knew and kept silent. The documents that you, Mr. President, handed to the Chairman of your Commission on the Holocaust, testify to that effect. Actually, pictures of Auschwitz and Birkenau had reached the free world much earlier. Still, when the Hungarian Jews began arriving there, feeding the flames with ten to twelve thousands persons a day, **nothing was done to stop or delay the process. Not one bomb was dropped on the railway tracks to the death factories. Had there been a similar Joint Session of Congress then, things would have been different for many Jews.**

And yet, and yet when the nightmare lifted, there was no hate in the hearts of those who survived. Only sadness. And, paradoxically, hope, hope as well. For some reason they were convinced that out of grief and so much suffering a powerful message of compassion and justice would be heard and received. They were convinced that the Messiah would come and redeem the world. They were convinced that, after Auschwitz, people would no longer yield to fanaticism, nations would no longer wage war, and racism, anti-Semitism and class humiliation would be banned forever, shamed forever.

Little did we know that, in our lifetime, we would witness more wars, new racial hostilities, and an awakening of Nazism on all five continents. Little did we know that, in our lifetime, books would appear in many languages offering so-called "proof" that the Holocaust never occurred, that our parents, our friends did not die there. Little did we know that Jewish children would again be murdered, in cold blood, by killers in Israel.

The survivors advocated hope, not despair. Their testimony contains neither rancor nor bitterness. They knew too well that hate is self-debasing and vengeance self-defeating. Instead of choosing nihilism and anarchy, they chose to opt for man. Instead of setting cities on fire, they enriched them. Many went to rebuild an ancient dream of Israel in Israel; they all chose to remain human in an inhuman society, to fight for human rights everywhere, against poverty everywhere and discrimination, for humankind, always.

For we have learned certain lessons. We have learned not to be neutral in times of crisis, for neutrality always helps the aggressor, never the victim. We have learned that silence is never the answer. We have learned that the opposite of love is not hatred, but indifference. What is memory if not a response to, and against indifference?

So let us remember, let us remember for their sake, and ours: memory may perhaps be our only answer, our only hope to save the world from the ultimate punishment, a nuclear holocaust.

Let us remember, let us remember the heroes of Warsaw, the martyrs of Treblinka, the children of Auschwitz. They fought alone, they suffered alone, they lived alone, but they did not die alone, for something in all of us died with them.

APPENDIX F

PRESENTATION OF THE REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST

TO

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

by

Elie Wiesel
Chairman

The Rose Garden
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President, Ambassador Evron, Distinguished Members of the Senate and House, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Thirty-eight years ago on September 27th, 1941, during the *aseret yemei teshuva,* what we call in our tradition the Days of Repentence, thousands of Jewish men, women and children were led through the sunny and peaceful streets of Kiev to be slaughtered at a place called: Babi Yar. For ten days—from Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year, until Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement—the massacre continued. The procession seemed endless. The killers killed, the victims tumbled into ditches, and creation somehow remained unchanged and undisturbed.

What took place in Kiev, Mr. President, was repeated elsewhere in hundreds and hundreds of towns and villages in the Ukraine, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Poland. All over Eastern Europe the process of destruction went on and on and on. Entire communities perished overnight. Families disappeared. Ancient dynasties whose lineage could be traced back to King David and Moses were swept away with the winds of ashes. And God Himself must have covered His face in pain and anguish. Were they but a spasm of history? A tear in the ocean? An experiment of eternity in death?

In the course of our study, Mr. President, we tried to capture some of their silent outcries. We asked them for guidance. We returned to some of the sites where they perished. And all those who were there came away changed.

Mr. President, we were struck first by the beauty of the surroundings; the hills around Treblinka, the skys over Birkenau, the silence in Auschwitz. The killers had chosen the most beautiful sites and the most poetic words for their most hideous crimes.

We were struck by the proximity to cities and villages. Treblinka, Mr. President, is a 2-hour bus or train ride from Warsaw. Babi Yar is part of Kiev. Buchenwald is near Weimar. Auschwitz is close to Cracow. Ten thousand human beings were being murdered and burned every day, and nearby, life went on as usual.

How was all this possible? We do not have the answer, Mr. President. Perhaps there is none. Any given answer must be the wrong answer. But the members of your Commission believe, Mr. President, that we must seek an answer and this will not be easy. Unprecedented and unparalleled in magnitude, the Event of Auschwitz and Belsen is still surmounted by a wall of fire which no outsider can penetrate. All one can do is come close to the gate.

Some are living gates, the survivors. They alone know what happened. And they are ready and willing to share their knowledge; they know that they survived only to tell the tale, only to bear witness.

The words of the dead, too, are gates. Documents, poems, messages, diaries, letters, prayers, meditations; through them one can feel something of what they felt as they were waiting for the angel of death, for the Messiah.

I confess, Mr. President, that I belong to a traumatized generation and a traumatized people.

As a Jew, I was—and am—distressed by the tragic fate of the Jewish people; after all, they alone were destined to be totally annihilated; they alone were totally alone.

However, as a Jew I also came to realize that although all Jews were victims, not all victims were Jews.

But this is perhaps the first lesson we may draw from the Event, Mr. President, that although Jews were the first to be killed, they were not the only ones; others followed. The murder of one group inevitably provokes more murder.

We must also learn from what happened that words must be taken seriously. The time lapse between the antisemitic slogans in Berlin and the death industry in Treblinka was only 10 years.

We must take seriously all those who threaten other people today and all those who threaten the Jewish people today. From words to deed, the distance is not great.

We must also learn the dangers of indifference and neutrality. In times of evil, indifference to evil is evil. Neutrality always helps the killer, not the victim.

And we must learn the importance of stressing the moral dimension of all human endeavors. We have seen that scientists, scholars, physicians, politicians, and artists murder children, and still enjoy the cadence of a poem, the beauty of the painting. Culture without morality can easily push mankind to darkness, not redemption.

Yes, Mr. President, there are urgent lessons to be learned from this awesome event. And yet, and yet. We, the members of your Commission and their advisors are aware of our limitations. We have acquired some knowledge, but what are we to do with that knowledge? What are we to do with the whispers of men and women going to their graves? With the wisdom of ghetto children who knew more about life and death than the oldest of my teachers? What are we to do with the sounds of the dead; the mute dreams of the living? What are we to do with them?

We must share them, and we understood this most intensely when we visited Poland, Soviet Russia, and Israel. Birkenau arouses man's most secret anguish. Jerusalem symbolizes our most fervent hope, and, therefore, we are attached to Jerusalem in such love and admiration. We must share whatever we receive with conviction and dedication if mankind is to survive.

Thus, Mr. President, it is with a profound sense of privilege and hope that on behalf of the President's Commission on the Holocaust and its Advisory Board I present to you its report. And for your own historic initiative, Mr. President, it is submitted to you with infinite gratitude.

APPENDIX G
REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE PRESENTATION OF THE FINAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST

The Rose Garden
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Chairman, the beauty of your words and the solemnity of your thoughts and the importance of the work of this Commission are all very impressive.

Eight months ago, I asked Elie Wiesel, and a distinguished group of Americans, some from the Congress, to take on an awesome responsibility. Jim Blanchard of Michigan and others said they couldn't be here because there is a vote pending in the House, but they have served well, along with a broad cross-section of Americans who have gone into this effort with a great deal of dedication and who have produced a report that will solve problems and picture for us proper actions in the future.

This is an awesome responsibility that you have performed. I asked this group to recommend a fitting memorial in the United States to the victims of the most unspeakable crime in all of human history—the Holocaust. Rarely has a Presidential Commission faced a more sobering or a more totally important challenge. This event of the Holocaust, the crime against humanity itself, has no parallel in human history. A philosopher wrote that human language itself breaks down when confronted with the monstrous challenge of describing this evil.

So I want to pay a special tribute, on behalf of our Nation, to all those who have contributed to this effort and for the tremendous service that you have performed.

Your very work as a Commission is part of a living memory to the victims of the Holocaust. Your grappling with the meaning of this event has helped bring new understanding and moral vision to all who must confront this question. Your historic trip to the concentration camps in Eastern Europe, at the Babi Yar in the Soviet Union, has helped to arouse the conscience of the world and helped remind us once again we must never forget. And I know our country appreciates the fact that many of you went on those trips, not at Government expense, but at your own expense.

Out of our memory and understanding of the Holocaust we must forge an unshakeable oath with all civilized people that never again will the world stand silent, never again will the world look the other way or fail to act in time to prevent this terrible crime of genocide.

In addition to the Jewish people who were engulfed by the Holocaust simply because they were Jews, 5 million other human beings were destroyed. About 3 million Poles, many Hungarians, Gypsies, also need to be remembered. To memorialize the victims of the Holocaust, we must harness the outrage of our own memories to stamp out oppression wherever it exists. We must understand that human rights and human dignity are indivisible. Wherever our fellow human beings are stripped of their humanity, defiled or tortured or victimized by repression or terrorism or racism or prejudice, then all of us are victims. As Americans, we must, and we also will speak out in defense of human rights at home and everywhere in the world.

And I might add that as Americans we must share the responsibility for 40 years ago not being willing to acknowledge that this horrible event was in prospect.

And I think that the action of this Holocaust Commission is long overdue, because we have not had a constant center which could be visited by Americans of all faiths and all races to be reminded of our omission in the past, to have the memory of this horrible event kept vivid in our minds, to prevent a recurrence of such an action anywhere on earth in the future.

In view of the 6 million Jewish victims of the Holocaust, it is particularly appropriate that we receive this report during the High Holy Days, just prior to Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement. Yom Kippur is a day and time for looking back. It is a time for reflection. It is a time for remembrance. But it is also a time for the reaffirmation of life, a time for looking ahead.

So I will consider this report most carefully and will respond personally to this Commission and to the people of our Nation, with my personal prayer that the memory of the Holocaust shall be transformed into a reaffirmation of life. And as President, I can pledge to you that I will do everything in my power to carry out the recommendations of this report.

The Members of the Congress will be intensely interested in arousing support in the Legislature. And I am sure the people of this country will be looking with anticipation to this reminder of the victims and also a warning that this horrible event will never again occur on earth.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and all the members of the Commission.

APPENDIX H
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APPENDIX I
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Commission wishes to acknowledge with gratitude the services of many people who have given tirelessly of themselves for the work of the Commission. In particular, appreciation is expressed to Mr. James C. Gross of the National Capital Region, National Park Service, who served as the Commission's liaison with the Department of the Interior, and Ms. Charlita Lindsay who served as the Commission's secretary. Ms. Ginger Harris, Ms. Joy Hessler, Mr. Steven Ellman, Ms. Anne Kirk Smith, Mr. David Solomon, Ms. Jane Marks and Mr. Sam Totten gave substantive help to the Commission in a variety of activities necessary to fulfill our mandate.

To the Secretary of the Interior, the Honorable Cecil Andrus, to Mr. William Whalen, Director of National Park Service, and to Mr. Manus J. Fish, Director of the National Capital Region, National Park Service, as well as their entire staffs go the Commission's deepest thanks for the many ways in which they have been of assistance and for the graciousness with which they offered their help and expertise.

The Commission is indebted to Ms. Mildred Lehman who served as Public Information Officer and to Dr. Linda Berenbaum who helped in the preparation of this report not only for their assistance but for the manner in which it was offered.

Above all, the Commission wishes to express its appreciation to the members of the White House staff, especially Mr. Edward Sanders, Senior Advisor to the President, Ms. Sara Seanor, his Staff Assistant, and Mr. Seymour Bolten of the Domestic Policy Staff for their unceasing efforts on behalf of the Commission.

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Wiesel Announces New Panel

6/18/85

F

Elie Wiesel, chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, yesterday announced the formation of a West German-American group to "bear witness together" to the scars of World War II and "open new avenues" of understanding between the two countries.

The West German-American Committee on Learning and Reconciliation, Mr. Wiesel said, intends to explore ways to make citizens of both countries aware of the complicated moral questions that have been "haunting our generation for the last 40 years." The group's 12 founding members include historians, theologians, politicians, writers and human rights specialists from both countries.

Mr. Wiesel said plans for the group started "six or eight months ago, long before Bitburg." He said the controversy provoked by President Reagan's visit to the German military cemetery at Bitburg, West Germany, pointed out the need for such an organization.

"If we had been in existence, perhaps the Bitburg affair would not have happened," he said.

Among the five West German members of the committee are Peter Petersen, a Christian Democratic member of the West German Parliament, and Klaus Schütz, a former Mayor of Berlin and former Ambassador to Israel.

Mr. Petersen said the group had been set up "not to assign responsibility for the past" but to "see what we have in common." The group hopes to disseminate books, lectures and museum displays to help younger West Germans and Americans understand World War II and the German crimes.

GIVE TO THE FRESH AIR FUND

The above was dictated before I got your July 4th letter. I don't see that this suggestion that I am making about Bayard and your suggestion necessarily clash to any great extent. In general, your suggestion sounds good to me, but we ought to make sure that the interracial work in the East, the situation with respect to M.O.W., isnot such asto make it unwise ~~as~~ to have Jim and Bayard both away from the office/for an extended tour at the same time.

I think possibly a good deal of emphasis on race institutes will meet with a hearty reception by the membership. Careful thought ought to be given to the point so often raised that we don't give enough time to any one community on these trips, and also that it takes longer to get around to C.P.S. Camps than one is likely to recognize, and that too hasty visits to camps are not particularly fruitful. It would be a good idea if before definitely scheduling such a trip as this, reaction of key people in a number of places as to the best approach, were secured.

AJM:dg

SPL

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH
OF NEW YORK

MINISTER
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

STUDY
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Kennebunk Beach, Maine
September 14, 1948

Dear Bayard:

First of all, I want to congratulate you on this wonderful opportunity which has come to you for travel in the Pacifist cause in many countries. I know of no one who can more truly and devotedly represent this cause than yourself. On the other hand, I think of what the conference which you are attending and all the accompanying journeyings and visitations will mean to you. The whole thing is just perfect, and I am very happy for your sake.

You ask me for information - names, addresses, etc.- which is not easy to put together for your use. I can do nothing here, as all my papers, etc. are in my study in New York. When I return, I shall be engulfed in the maelstrom of opening and dedicating our new church building. But I note that I can reach you in London, at any time up to November 25, and so I hope to be able to forward some material to England. Perhaps you can give me your London address.

With cordial greetings and best wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

John Haynes Holmes

Mr. Bayard Rustin
℅ The Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York

[1948]

SPL

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Hernlu Road
Fort,Bombay

Brian Rigby
Imperial Chemical Industries (India)Ltd.
Ballard Estate,Bombay
(May - September c/o Barkley's Bank Ltd.
Millbank, London S.W.1
("March" Spec.Correspondent)

Sarah P. Patell
Lansdowne XXXX House
Anolla Bunder
Bombay

Shri Shanti Kumar N.Mararjee
Scindia House, Dougal Road
Ballard Estate, Ballard Pier, Bombay
(Managing agent of Scindia Steam and Nav. Co, Ltd. Gandhiji's host)

K.G.Mashruwala XXXXX Haryan
South Ave.
Santa Cruz, Bombay 23

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SPL

From J.N. Sayre extra copy of p.1-2

[London]

A. J. Muste,
2929, Broadway,
New York, 25, U.S.A.

17th September 1948.

Dear A.J.,

I was glad to receive your letter of September 9th this morning with the fine news that both F.o.R. Conferences had been exceptionally good and also that the anonymous gift of ten thousand dollars had been received. I cordially agree with the recommendation of Passmore and yourself, that five thousand dollars should be used for the regular F.o.R. budget to offset the deficit with which we started this year and that the remaining five thousand dollars should be put into the Capital Reserve Fund.

I wonder if you are making any progress in the discovery of Mr. X. Herbert wrote me that he was leaving this month. I guess that your patience was the right way to handle the problems involved.

Last week I wrote Muriel Lester ~~enquiring~~ if she would not like to take Bayard to India with her when she sails from London on the 25th November. Muriel is in Germany, but if she replies affirmativel in a day or two, I will immediately write Bayard asking him to leave for India with Muriel then. I doubt if it will be possible for him to get there as early as December 1st by taking an earlier boat, but the best chance for this would be by applying to Miss Marquis. I think that she is in a better position to get space on a British steamer sailing from London than I am here. The Government here is doing everything to secure American dollars. However, my own strong opinion is that Bayard should go with Muriel rather than ahead of her. She has been invited to stay with Devados Gandhi immediately on her arrival in India. If she has Bayard with her and can write ahead about his coming, I believe that better doors will be opened to her than if he goes in advance of her. Also the association with Muriel on the voyage out to India might mean a great deal to Bayard. He had better contact Miss Marquis about his return steamer. I understa your eagerness to get him back to the United States as soon after the Indian Conference as possible. If he goes out with Muriel, he would not have to stay a month in India after the Conference; but I think that he should stay, if possible, for two weeks following the Conferen because I imagine that some valuable opportunities for him will occur

P.T.

after the Conference which may not be open before the Conference meets. I believe that the date now set for the Conference is January 7th to 15th, 1949. I understand that a post-conference itinerary has been planned running up to the 15th February concluding at Bombay. Bayard would naturally sail from Bombay if he wants to come back to Eastern United States. Miss Marquis told me that it was cheaper that way than going across the Pacific.

Please send me at once by air mail 25 copies of the enclosed picture of Bayard Rustin, and also send 25 copies by ordinary mail. We wish to use them in making arrangements for Bayard's speaking. If he has another photograph which he would prefer to send, that is all right with me. My only desire is to have something which will show people a little bit what he looks like.

Kathleen's Doctor has now taken the plaster cast off her leg, and he hopes we can go back home on the 18th October. I certainly want to see you first thing that you might be thinking about is where I can best be used in the American field. I would not want to start off on a trip immediately after my return as I am sure that there will be a lot of things that I ought to catch up on in and around New York. Also I fear that Kathleen's leg may need continuing treatment, so that she won't be fully independent again before the first of next year. Perhaps a longish field trip after New Year would be right for me. On the other hand, we mustn't wait so long that my story of Europe and the Amsterdam Conference etc. is stale. You can be thinking about this with John and we may be able to come to a conclusion soon after my return.

The pacifist statement submitted to the World Council of Churches previous to the Amsterdam Conference got practically no attention at all. I know this from Siegmund-Schultze who was a member of a preliminary committee which met at Geneva before Amsterdam. All such resolutions were turned over to a Committee of Section IV appointed to handle resolutions. Had it not been for the fact that certain pacifists on this Committee, such as Henry Carter pushed for some consideration of these resolutions, I think they would all have been buried. As things turned out, the pacifists on this resolutions Committee were able to force a report in one of the meetings of Section IV about these resolutions, but there was so much pressure for time to speak by delegates who were present in the flesh that the report on the pre-conference memorials occupies less than two minutes. Our statement was the only one there referred to deals with pacifism. The secretary of the Resolutions Committee who gave the report (who, by the way, was a good pacifist from Australia) alluded very briefly to the preliminary part of our statement and then read the key sentences from each of the concluding paragraphs. He also said that the statement was influentially signed, but this was about all. There was no discussion of this particular statement whatever, unless it occurred in the drafting Committee whichmet between sessions of Section IV. However, the fact that our statement had been specifically mentioned in Section IV opened the door for me to put copies

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Boston University
Boston, Mass.
Sept. 17, 1948.

To Whom it May Concern,

I have known Mr. Bayard Rustin for almost three years now and have the highest possible respect for him for his integrity and for the way in which he has paid the price for his convictions.

He is one of the finest men among the young Americans of ~~this country~~ today. He is an impressive speaker, especially on the several experiments on non-violence in this country in which he has played a prominent part. In addition to his ability as a speaker, he is a much sought-after singer and can pour out the soul of his people through music.

I heartily recommend Mr. Rustin for lectures to University and other audiences. He is well qualified to speak not only on non-violence but also on current affairs in the United States, especially as they affect international relations.

Eddy Asirvatham
Professor of Christian International
Relations, Boston University
Formerly, Head of the Dept. of
Politics & Public Administration
University of Madras, India

X [illegible] SPL

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
INFORMATION SERVICES
2111 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.
TELEPHONE COLUMBIA 5050

CABLE ADDRESS
INDINFO

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PLEASE FORWARD TO LONDON

29th September, 1948

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
Fellowship of Reconciliation,
2929 Broadway,
NEW YORK 25, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin,

I was very glad to know that you are going to India to attend the World Pacifist Meeting at Sanitinikatan. I believe this is your first visit to India, and you will enjoy being there.

Personally I do not know many people exclusively engaged in the Gandhian movement, but I do know some newspapermen in Delhi, Lucknow, Banaras and Patna, who would be glad to introduce you to the kind of people you would most like to see. I shall write to them in my next letter. However, my readers do know a lot about you and the work done by the Fellowship of Reconciliation - through my articles which I wrote last year after meeting you in Woodstock International Seminar.

I advise you to visit the editors of the following newspapers when and if you visit their cities:

✱ 1. Mr. Krishna Chandra Vidyalankar
Editor "Veer Arjun"
Shradhananda Bazar
Delhi

✱ 2. Mr. Ashokji
Editor "Swatantra Bharat"
Pioneer Press
Lucknow

✱ 3. Mr. Laxmi Shankar Vyas
Editor "Aj"
Banaras

* 4. Mr. Raghunandan Pd. Sinha
Editor "Aryavarta"
Patna (Bihar)

I hope you will visit Banaras, the holy city and the seat of Indian art and education. I shall be very glad if you stay with my parents while in Banaras. My father will be happy to show you around and I shall write to him to introduce you to Mr. Ram Narayan Misra, President of the Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha, who in turn will arrange your visit to cultural organizations and also for your speeches which I believe people in India would most welcome.

My father's address is:-

L. Sant Ram Arora
Kashi Gramophone Stores
Bulanala, Banaras

Please drop him a line before you arrive in Banaras enabling him to arrange your stay.

About the Gandhian movement in particular, I believe you will visit Seva Gram, Vardha in Central India, where Gandhi spent most of his time.

I wish it were possible for me to be in India to greet you. But I assure you that India is honored by your visit and you will be able to enjoy and like the country and will be able to see the Gandhian spirit working in the hearts of the millions.

With my personal regards and good wishes.

Yours very sincerely,

Jagdish C. Arora
J.C. Arora

[Sep. 1948?]

500 ROOMS 500 BATHS

[redacted] HOTEL PÈRE MARQUETTE

JERRY B. GORDON, MANAGING DIRECTOR

PEORIA 2, ILLINOIS

To Whom it May Concern:-

This is to introduce Mr. Bayard Rustin to my friends in India. He is a delegate to the Shantiniketan Conference of world Pacifists. He is a man of character, ability, courage and dedication. I commend him to my friends of India.

Yours Sincerely

E. Stanley Jones.

150 Fifth Ave
N.Y.

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SPL

File Rustin

Muriel, This is a good letter
and I am prepared to
follow through on what
ever suggestion the staff
decide / Bayard

15th October 1948.

A. J. Muste,
2929, Broadway,
New York, 25.

Dear A. J.,

Bayard has written you about the setback to the Indian Conference. To-day I have just come from sitting in at the meeting of the London Committee for this Conference. The Committee was rather up in the air because now it has received a cablegram from Delhi advising postponement of the Conference and another cablegram from Calcutta, advising against the postponement. Consequently, a new cablegram is being dispatched from London urging the Calcutta and Delhi members of the Conference Committee to get together and immediately cable London what their final joint decision is. The chief obstacles to holding a Conference in January appear to be:

(1) The Indians have not raised the required money.
(2) ~~[illegible]~~ Some feel that enough preparation for the Conference has not been made, and
(3) the very serious question as to whether the passages for 20 delegates going by sea from London can be obtained.

There will be another meeting of the Committee here, probably early next week to consider the latest advice from India. My own guess is that a decision will be made to postpone the Conference to January 1950. If this is done, my own guess again is that after a bit the whole plan will be called off. However, that is a question that would come up later.

Meanwhile Bayard has to know as soon as possible your thinking in regard to his plans if the Conference is not held next January. There appear to be four possibilities confronging him:

(1) He might proceed to India with Muriel Lester on November 25th, spend abott the same time in India as he would have done if the Conference were being held and return to New York about the 1st of March according to the schedule which he had planned. He has the

P.T.O.

necessary steamship accommodation, he is very anxious to go to India and I believe that Muriel Lester, Devedas Gandhi, Shridhararni and others in India would use him there in a very useful way.

I gather from various remarks that I have heard that the pacifism of a good many people in India is in a somewhat critical state owing to the absence of Gandhi and the tough question of Hyderabad and other things and the general state of the world. It might help some of these people if they could meet Bayard and hear his testimony as an American Negro, and the validity and indeed necessity of pacifism for East and West. Of course, they will get this from Muriel Lester and others, but Bayard with his personality and background would strike a different note and may be ring a different bell. Whether this ~~plan Bishop Lawrence and Ray Newton would still be willing to continue the investment which they have made in Bayard's Indian journey in spite of fact that he will not go the World Pacifist Meeting. I~~ programme can be carried through might depend on whether Bishop Lawrence and Ray Newton would still be willing to continue the investment which they have made in Bayard's Indian journey in spite of the fact that he will not go to the World Pacifist Meeting. I would think that the Quaker investment would be justified not only for the reason given above, but also because the Quakers use Bayard a lot for their International Institutes, and Bayard would presumably have quite a story to tell on the basis of this Indian visit, and it might make him a better worker for peace all the rest of his life.

For such reasons, I favour his going and am ready to join with you in requesting Ray Newton and Bishop Lawrence to let Bayard now use the money which they have generously contributed. If you agree with me in this, will you please take the matter up with Ray Newton and Bishop Lawrence immediately. It must not wait until I come home.

(2) If money is not available to pay for Bayard's journey to India, he still wants to go there and if you are willing, he would try to work his way out there and back as well as maintain himself in India. Whether he could succeed or not with this idea is problematic but I should think it very unlikely that he will, if he is required to be back in New York by March 1st. Working one's way may be excellent human experience, but it generally takes a good deal more time and involves more uncertainty. On this plan I should suppose that Bayard would have to ask the F.O.R. Executive Committee to extend his present leave of absence by two or three or more months. Whether we could afford to do that, is a question for you and our staff to consider.

(3) Although Bayard would be disappointed not to make the trip to India, he could, if you think best, return to New York right after the conclusion of the Continental journey which I have planned for him. That is to say, he is to start out next week on a speaking itinerary in England, France, Belgium, Holland and Germany. He returns from Germany

to London November 22nd. If you need him urgently in the United States, he should take measures at once to book a return sailing from London to New York soon after Nov 22nd as possible. The I.F.O.R. is covering expenses of the above itinerary, so that nothing will be subtracted from the money which Ray Newton and Bishop Lawrence have provided The people to whom I have written about Bayard are eagerly looking forward to his coming. As some of them are already disappointed once, because he did not come over last August, it is unthinkable that we should cancel these European arrangements now. I am sure that you will agree.

(4) Assuming that Bayard does not go to India and in view of the fact that opportunities in American colleges will not be any good for him during the Christmas vacation, a pretty good case can be made for him staying in Europe until after Christmas and not getting back to New York until about January 2nd. I think that it would not be difficult to fix up engagements for him in England that would carry him through until about Christmas without involving us in any extra expense. Or he might stay a little longer on the Continent before returning to England. This plan would be my No. 2 choice, if Bayard can't go to India as proposed in (1).

In conclusion, perhaps I ought to say that unfortunately, it is not possible for I.F.O.R. to dip into our travel budget to assist Bayard's Indian journey. We are sending Muriel Lester to India, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa, and there is no opportunity for her to visit the United States and raise money there to defray this travel bill. Furthermore, the budget adopted at Le Chambon calls for I.F.O.R. expenditure in 1949 for about 8,000 dollars more than is now in sight, even assuming that the American F.O.R. continues its contribution of 10,000 dollars. The raising of this 8,000 dollars will fall more or less on me. In the face of it, I can't undertake anything extra for Bayard.

Please write Bayard what you are thinking as soon as you possibly can, even though you should not be in a position to give him your final answer; he needs to have a line on what it may possibly be.

Ever affectionately yours,

[J.N. Sayre]

Chairman
Henry J. Cadbury

Honorary Chairman
Rufus M. Jones

Executive Secretary
Clarence E. Pickett

American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, Rittenhouse 6-9372

Nevin

SP2

November 2, 1948

A. J. Muste
2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York

Dear A. J. :

This will confirm our telephone conversation of this morning to the effect that the American Friends Service Committee is willing that Bayard Rustin should use the $1,000 which we contributed toward his expenses for the World Pacifist Meeting in India to proceed now to India in accordance with the plans that you and Nevin Sayre outlined.

Personally, and I know this is true of others, I am very enthusiastic about the opportunity for Bayard to spend some time now close to the leaders of non-violence in India learning from them first-hand of their philosophy and techniques. I know of no one in this country who has the interest in this approach or is more apt to use it effectively than is Bayard.

The American Friends Service Committee is pleased to share in making this trip possible. We all regret that it was not possible for the World Pacifist Meeting to go forward as planned. However, because of the uncertainty as to when the conference will be held it seems to us wise for Bayard to get his India experience now and be sure of it.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Ray.

Ray Newton

RN:cn

SPL

November 4, 1948

Bayard Rustin
c/o Percy Bartlett
38 Gordon Square
London W. C. 1, England

AIRMAIL

Dear Bayard:

A. J. has cabled Percy that Ray Newton's committee will make good on the $1,000 promised for your trip to India. Bishop Lawrence will do the same. It is settled that you can go and we all hope that you will have a good visit, both to give a lot and to get a lot.

I called Sarah Marquis this morning about your ticket. She said the SS company was very slow in delivering the ticket but that it is promised to her tomorrow and that she will send it at once by airmail c/o Percy Bartlett. She will also send Muriel's ticket. She has not been able to get a reservation for your return journey but she expects to do so. When this is secured and she knows the exact cost of everything she will send you whatever balance may be due you.

I had a letter from Magda Trocme a little bit hurt about the change in your schedule on which you insisted. By this time you will have seen her and no doubt won her heart. Nevertheless it is very bad business to upset schedules once they have been arranged by our field secretaries. You did not inform me until you got to London (which of course was too late) that you were expecting to have two days for your own plans in Paris. Even then after you had agreed to the "two days" telegram which I sent Magda you later insisted that one of those days had to be a Monday. If you were going to insist on this we should have cabled Magda to that effect from London but you hesitated to make the cable too definite at that point.

Well, this is in the past now but I speak of it in order to emphasize that you should not subject any friends in India who may arrange meetings for you there to similar treatment. It is generally more trouble to arrange schedules abroad than it is in this country, the telephone, telegraph and mail service being usually worse than it is here. It is a thankless job at best to arrange a visitor's schedule and we want people to love and be keen about our visitors when they come. So I am depending on you from here on out to be very punctillious in this regard.

May God bless you in all ways and may He bring to a good harvest the seed that you will sow.

Yours,

jns/e

John Nevin Sayre

SPL

November 4, 1948

Percy Bartlett
38 Gordon Square
London, W. C. 1 England

Dear Percy:

Please forward the enclosed to Bayard and keep one copy for your own information. I also enclose a copy of my letter to the Bishop of Chichester and a notice from the Friend's Quarterly. that my subscription has expired. I was under the impression that we had canceled it sometime ago. Will you kindly look into it and cut it out because I can't keep up with all the stuff I have to read. If there is ever an article which you think I ought to see will you please mark same and send to me? If we owe the Friends' Quarterly something will you please pay it.

I expect that I may still owe you something on my British visit for we never got around to a final accounting on that. Unless I hear from you I will assume that what you have paid on the sum of my tickets is charged to sums in your care for the IFOR travel budget. I just talked with Sarah Marquis' office and understand that I am to pay them for Muriel's SS passage to India from London. I take it that you will arrange for the coverage of Muriel's later expenses. If you need anything on that from me please advise in due course.

The books, magazines and small personal items that you paid out for me from time to time I can remit a check to you once or twice a year. If you need more money from the American IFOR account to cover expenditures on the IFOR Budget, please always let me know it at least a couple of weeks in advance when that is possible.

With greetings to all in the office,

Yours affectionately,

jns/e

John Nevin Sayre

SPL

November 5, 1948

Mr. Ray Newton
20 S. 12th Street
Philadelphia, PA.

Dear Ray:

I am very thankful that the AFSC committee saw fit to continue to Bayard Rustin the one thousand dollars which had been contributed for his journey to India. Bishop Lawrence has also continued his $450 which I got from him last spring. Bayard will sail from London with Muriel Lester the 15th of this month. He should be back here around the first of March and ought to have an effective story to tell at Friends Institutes.

I presume that you will have a meeting of the American Committee on the India Conference when Horace Alexander gets here. I feel that we should go into the whole matter of a postponed conference afresh. Horace Alexander is going to be very disappointed if American support is not obtained for the postponed conference. I don't say we should not go ahead with it but I think that it is an open question and that the responsibility for preparing the conference and making arrangements needs to be more clearly fixed than appears to be the case in the past.

Please let me know as far in advance as you can about the date when we shall meet with Horace Alexander.

Hoping to see you soon.

Yours affectionately,

jns/e

John Nevin Sayre

SPL

[Dec. 1948]

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
NEW DELHI

Dear Nevins,

Muriel and I are being taken care of by Devadas beautifully. We are staying here with the Governor General – Rajaji – for a few days prior to Congress at Jaipur. I cannot tell you in this note about my trip but it is going nicely. Will you please ask Sarah Marquis to send my ticket as about it to me to Bombay

Joseph Austin,
care of
Shri Shantikumar N.
Morarjee,
Scindia House,
Dougal Road,
Ballard Estate,
Bombay.

It is important for me to get it since I must know the sailing date in order to complete plans.

I am seeing everyone and everything I desire. Oh the going of India House! But more about that later.

My love to Kathleen and all in [illegible].

Sincerely
Joseph Austin

SPL

Phone: [illegible]

61, Constitution House,
Curzon Road, New Delhi.
December 24, 1948.

My dear Mian Iftikharuddin Saheb,

This is to introduce Mr. Bayard Rustin who is Secretary of Fellowship of Reconciliation, U.S.A. I shall be grateful if you will give him an interview and necessary assistance and co-operation to fulfil his mission of promulgation of goodwill amongst Asiatic people.

With best wishes to all of you.

Yours sincerely,

Mridula Sarabhai
(MRIDULA SARABHAI)

Mian Iftikharuddin,
Edward Road,
Lahore.

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Phone No.7111/192.

61, Constitution House,
New Delhi,
24 Dec. 1948.

My dear Shri Puri,

This is to introduce Mr.BYARD RUSTIM who is Secretary of Fellowship of Reconciliation, U.S.A. He is touring India and visiting LAHORE (Pakistan) with an object of promulgating good will amongst Asiatic People.

I shall be grateful if you will give him an interview and help him if he finds any difficulty in getting back to India.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Mridula Sarabhai

(MRIDULA SARABHAI).

To,
Shri Puri,
Deputy High Commissioner for India in Pakistan
92 Mall Rd.
Opposit Residency
Lahore

Tele. 3569

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SPL

Bayard

Gandhi Gram,
Ambathurai
So. India
Dec. 26, 1948

Dear Nevin:

I cannot say too strongly what a tremendous contribution it would be if Bayard Rustin might be with us this year, 1949 – in + preparation for World Pacifist Conf. He can do a job here that no white Westerner can do at the moment. And some one needs to work at the job, as I believe Bayard can do, or India will not be prepared for the job she should do before and at the Conf. I am convinced Bayard will receive substantial cooperation at many levels, from many groups and from many individuals. How we need a man like him in our Colleges just now. We have organizations in the Colleges that can give him plenty and worthwhile opportunities. Do try to give him this year with us in India. It is strategic. I assure you we shall make the best use of him if he stays.

In gratitude, Dick Keithahn

The following original pages are of poor quality. UPA has made every technical effort to provide the best possible reproduction.

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RECENT COMMENTS ON BAYARD RUSTIN

From Muriel Lester

Allahabad, India
December 26, 1948

" Bayard Rustin can do and does at once, three times as much as a white pacifist . . . His quiet ways, his commanding stature (he really looks a mighty man of valor in his Indian style homespun) irresistible friendliness and his savoir faire endear him to all. He is getting into the very center of power here - and perhaps no one else could work so effectively with Nehru against militarism - but for February and March or for just February he is utterly necessary for the Colleges of this country. . . "

From Richard Keithahn

Gandhi Gram
Ambathurai, South India
December 26, 1948

" I cannot say too strongly what a tremendous contribution it would be if Bayard Rustin might be with us this year, 1949 - in preparation for World Pacifist Conference. He can do a job here that no white Westerner can do at the moment.

I am convinced that Bayard will receive substantial cooperation at many levels, from many groups and from many individuals . Now we need a man like him in our Colleges just now. We have organizations in the colleges that can give him plenty and worthwhile opportunities. Do try to give him this year with us in India. "

From Asta Bruggelmann

Secretary Versoehnungsbund
Cologne, Germany
November 15, 1948.

" I am very happy to report that we had one of the best meetings ever held with Bayard Rustin. He impressed us greatly, spoke excellently, and everybody was extremely pleased, He is now on his way through the British Zone, finishing via Kassel and Frankfurt. "

From Magda Trocmé

Secretary International I.F.O.R.
Le Chambon, France
November 8, 1948

" we have been ever so happy to have had Bayard Rustin here at Le Chambon where he did a very good work indeed and thus we are even more sorry that his stay has been such a short one. He has a wonderful voice and has been so kind as to sing in the big meeting at the cinema-hall and in church, His speech has been most interesting fo our Le Chambon public and in particular very useful on the question of non-violent resistance and non-violent strikes as we just had the nearly strikes of the miners at St. Etienne and other places in France. He certainly has made a profound impression on more than one and has made them think over the whole question of non-violence once more, and this in a particular and critical situation.

Many of the teachers and students of " College Cevenol " too, have expressed their gratitude for Bayard's visit and talks and questions.

We do hope that it will be possible for Bayard to stop here for a week or so on his back trip from India. We will prepare for him a speaking tour through the Hugenot's churches. "

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
2929 Broadway, New York 25, N.Y.
January 4, 1949

SPL

Muriel Lester
c/o Devadas Gandhi
New Delhi, India

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Dear Muriel:

Within a couple of hours of receiving your letter about extending Bayard's stay in India, Nevin, John Swomley, Al Hassler, George Houser and I had a staff meeting about it. We feel that there may be an opportunity for an exchange of correspondence by airmail and possibly cable with you and some other people in India before we make a final decision on what we agree is an extremely important matter. I know you will feel that we are trying to think with you and others about this, and not thinking of it as IFOR against American FOR etc.

I shall do the best I can to lay before you the substance of our discussion. We can see that there may be a very great opportunity in India in two main fields: 1) with respect to the policy of the India government and the development of a Gandhian movement which will be a break with its tendency to go military. 2) in connection with the Christian churches and community in India.

As to the first, we realise that it would mean a tremendous lot for the entire world, and for the pacifist movement everywhere, if Gandhiism would become a great force in determining the policy of the Indian government, as it was in achieving Indian independence. From here it sometimes looks as though surprisingly little opposition exists there to the military development in the government. I realize that it may be said that the Indian military establishment is not imperialistic and is not on anything like so vast a scale as that of some of the big western powers; but that it is simply defensive. But so is every nationalistic military establishment at the outset. If it is too much to ask that India should take as distinctive a course here as it did in achieving independence by non-violence, then it certainly remains very important that a Gandhian movement should be built up there which is now willing to be unpopular and "against" the government on such issues as conscription

Since you speak of Bayard having exceptional access to key people it may be now is the moment when either the course of the India government might be significantly affected or at least a strong anti-military pacifist movement developed. Now, after the first shock of Gandhi's death and of some of the events that have followed, there may be a strong disposition on the part of large numbers to turn to such a movement. If the next few months were indeed decisive in this respect, it would be very difficult to say that Bayard ought not to remain to make a contribution to it. But is the moment as critical as this? Are the chances of exerting influence so much greater now then they will be again soon? Is Bayard, who after all is not himself an Indian, as important at this juncture as you thought when you wrote your letter?

Turning to the situation in the Christian churches in India, I am personally inclined to think that the opportunity there is at least on a smaller scale than the opportunity which may possibly exist with respect to affecting the course of the India government, etc. as sketched above. However, it would certainly be a matter of the greatest meaning for the whole Christian church, would mean a revolution in the ecumenical movement, if there were actually a possibility that the Indian churches or even the India Christian youth organisations would come out squarely for pacifism-- would say to India and its government, in effect, and therefore to all oriental as well as western peoples:

"To be a Christian means of course to foreswear war and to live by the spirit that takes away the occasion of all war."

Once again, we raise the question whether anything like such an opportunity really . .

exists. Whether it is not rather the case that the chance to make a fairly substantial beginning with building an FOR among Indian Christians is more what now has emerged. We certainly do not for a moment suggest that this too would not be a pretty significant development and one which we would heartily welcome. But it would obviously not be as momentous in its import as the possibilities I have just mentioned. We would also wonder whether in this case you, the considerable number of American Christian pacifists who are already there and other members of the Indian community might not do very nearly ~~mxx~~ if not quite as much without more of Bayard's time than with it.

(In this connection I wonder whether you have been intouch with C. S. Paul, executive secretary of the S. C. M. in India, Pakistan and Ceylon. You may remember that he signed the pacifist memorandum to Amsterdam. I saw a great deal of him at Oslo and he declared himself ready to help the Christian pacifist cause in India. In connection with your own work, Muriel, you certainly ought to see him if you have not already done so. I am not at all sure that he would not serve as chairman or at least on the executive of an FOR for India.)

Over against these questions we put to you and others with respect to the situation there, we want to state our own American problem. For one thing, there is a good deal to be said for the proposition that the most critical field for pacifism is in the United States. This is partly because of the tremendous power of the U.S., our tragic po~~sition~~ssession of the atomic bomb, etc.; partly of course because it is the U.S. vs Russian conflict which is threatening to tear the world to pieces and ~~xkm~~ because the great gesture of reconciliation will have to come, if there is to be any, from the United States. There is great need of a development of a Gandhian movement here. Some beginnings have been made. In connection with these Bayard has played a pretty important part. He is needed here right now from that angle.

Also, small and weak as the A.FOR is when you think of it in the setting of the world need, it is the instrument on which to a very great extent the IFOR must now lean in various ways. The stronger and more vital the AFOR is, the better for the whole IFOR. We have started on an important program in the college and university and theological seminary field. It is the kind of work for which Bayard is eminently fitted and desperately needed. George Houser and John Swomley have practically had to carry the program all alone this first semester and of course have by no means been able to devote all of their time to it even so. It makes all the difference in the world, so far as the present college year is concerned, whether Bayard gets back here by the 7th of March, in which case he can still be available during the most favorable part of the second semester. If he puts off his return a day beyond that, then he may as well make it an additional two months in India since by the beginning of May students begin to study for finals, get involved in pre-graduation activities, etc. In view of the great hopes we have ~~gx~~ put in our college program, it will be a real wrench for us to acquiesce in eliminating Bayard from it for this entire college year.

This brings me round to the question of the role Bayard ought to be playing in the world pacifist movement in the years immediately ahead. I personally feel perhaps even more strongly than some of the other members of the staff that we have to be very sure of ourselves before we consent to any extension of his stay after having had a clear understanding all around that he was to be back here in time for the 2nd semester. Bayard's qualities are such that he will practically never be in any country without the demand developing that he stay there longer. It also follows that the ~~question is constantly going to come up as to whether he ought not to be going to this international con~~ question is constantly going to come up as to whether he ought not to be going to this international conference of that, spending six months in this or that racial or anti-militarist situation abroad, etc., etc. We might pretty easily slip into a situation where to all intents and purposes he was a roving ambassador of IFOR rather than a member of the AFOR staff. It is at least possible that this would be the best use to make of his time and talents, but we certainly ought to make a decision of that kind with our eyes open and not in a fit of absent-mindedness. On the whole, I am disposed to think that Bayard ought not to take ~~xxx~~ this roving ambassador role at this stage. For one thing, he needs to develop his own spirit at certain points before undertaking that kind of mission. Obviously, he would in part get the experience he needs through work abroad but there is a limit to the investment of that kind which a poor and understaffed organisation can make in the personal development of a staff member.

More fundamental than this is a consideration that in the long run a person's effectiveness outside his own country depends upon whether he has first made a major contribution at home. Unless a person has proved over a considerable period of time in a situation where he has to assume continuous responsibility that he is equipped, his work elsewhere is bound to be shallow. Furthermore, until he has rooted himself in one situation and developed a "following" there, he represents himself rather than being the representative of a movement, of people. It is like the official in a national labor federation who has no standing in his own union. Now of course Bayard has already gone a considerable distance with respect to all this; but I am strongly of the opinion that he ought to dig in in the American situation at least for several years before coming to be regarded as a person who can be called out of that situation for extended periods almost any time. I am sure you can readily see how very ~~much~~ important the decision involved in dealing with your request is, both for the whole movement and for Bayard himself.

If you will now think and pray about all this and let us hear from you soon by air mail--if necessary by cable, we shall be grateful.

Yours in fellowship,

A. J. Muste

AJM:p

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SPL

KASTURBA GANDHI NATIONAL MEMORIAL TRUST
(Central Office)
Bajajwadi, Wardha, C.P.

Camp: Arsikere (Mysore State)

PROGRAMME FOR 9TH JANUARY 1949.

MORNING : 8.30 to 11.30 A.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee.

NOON : 2.30 to 4.40 P.M. - do -

EVENING : 5.0 to 6 P.M. Civic address in Travellers' Bungalow Compound at Arsikere

6.0 to 6.45 Seva Sadan Girls' Demonstration, music etc.

6.45 to 7.30 P.M. Prayers and Mr. Bayard Rustin's Speech.

7.30 to 8.30 P.M. Dinner at Mr. Venkataswamy's place.

8.30 to 9.30 P.M. Press Conference at Mr. Venkataswamy's place.

10th January, '49.

8.30 to 11.30 A.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee.

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SPL

January 12, 1949

Mr. Richard Hoiland
Executive Director
Northern Baptist Convention
1703 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 3, Penna

Dear Mr. Hoiland :

It just occurred to me that possibly you would like to make some use this coming summer of Mr. Bayard Rustin, Race Relations Secretary of the F.O.R., at present in India with Muriel Lester .

Mr. Rustin and Miss Lester have been entertained at Governor's House in New Delhi at the request of Devidas Gandhi who invited them to attend the recent meeting of the Indian National Congress. Mr. Rustin has had personal talks with many of the leading people in India, including, I think, Mr. Nehru. Rustin is speaking in various cities of India until the end of February when we shall bring him back to the United States to begin a speaking tour in American Colleges about the middle of March. He will be open for engagements from then on and during the summer except that I expect him to be at the summer conferences of the F.O.R. August 9 - 28. He will also be speaking at Institutes of the AFSC. He is a Negro with a very fine tenor voice who sings spirituals like something out of this world.

If you can use Mr. Rustin at one of your summer Institutes for a week , I believe you will find that he makes a hit. You can check on this by asking Roy McCorkel or someone else at the AFSC what their opinion is of his abilities.

If you are interested you might let me know about what you think you can pay for his services and the time when you can use him. We are just beginning to set up his schedule, so if I hear from you fairly soon, I think we could manage a convenient date.

Yours sincerely

John Nevin Sayre

INDIA FOUNDATION

South Point Professional Plaza, Lansing, Michigan 48910

August 29, 1975

Bayard Rustin, President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, NY 10010

Dear Bayard:

It was my pleasure to meet with you on my recent trip to New York City.

I have suggested to our mutual friend Devi Prasad that you be coordinator of his speaking tour because of your interest in the current situation in India.

Enclosed you will find a copy of my correspondence with Devi on this subject. Our organization would be very happy to work very closely with you on this matter.

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

Shrikumar Poddar, blb

Shrikumar Poddar

AUG 12 1975

Vesterhaninge
Sweden
August 6, 1975
Hiroshima Day

(London by 14th Aug)

Shrikumar Poddar
Educational Subscription Service,Inc.
3308 S. Cedar St.
Lansing,Mi.48910, U.S.A.

Dear Shrikumar,

I received your letter a few minutes before leaving London on August 1st.

The schedule here at the Seminar has been very hectic and will remain so through out.

However I am working on the report to update it as far as possible. Every day things seem to change so much. Todays news (a day late for us here) of the change in the Constitution is the limit of every thing you can think of. Any way I hope to send you the additional material as soon as it is ready, which might be some time in the middle of this month. It is amatter of putting the matter I have collected in order and typed.

I have a good news for you. We have found a veryniceperson to work for the clearing house. In fact you have met him. If things go as we hope Dharampal has agreed to do the job. The Peace Pledge Union at their EC meeting last week decided to make room available for the "house". It is now only the question of funds. Tomorrow I shall be talking to some people here in Sweden about the question of raising funds here. I have also approached some others and am writing more letters about it every now and then. Do you think some money can be found from the States?
There is a general agreement that the campaign in UK will be organised on different levels and as far as possible will remain decentralised. The Free JP campaign and the Clearing centre will be two of the several independent branches of it. In the coming weeks we have planned some meetings with a few leaders of theIndian community in London. It is likely that I might go for a 3/4 day tour to other cities of UK to meet Indian groups. You must have already seen reports of the demonstration on 3rd August by the Akalies of UK. Several thousand people took part I understand.

As far as my proposed trip to the Statesis concerned I have made the following schedule as a suggested one. It will depend upon your plans for a USA national conference:
Leave London Sept. 25; NY 26/28;Penn 29/30; Mass Oct 1/2; Michgan etc 3/5;
Colo 6/7;Washington (Seatle) 8/9;Bay area 10/12;South-West (?) 13/15;
Washington 16/17; return to London 17/18 Oct.
Contacts: NY War Resisters League and Center for War Peace Studies;
Phil: Movement for a New Society and AFSC;Boston: AFSC(Ad Lazar),Randy Kehler;
Mic:Shrikumar;Boulder(Colo) Elese Boulding and Paul Wher,University;Seatle:AFSC;
Sanfransisco:WRL,Institute for the Study of NV,Roy Kepler,Los A;Henry Gieger;
SW: WRL;Washington:Center for Creative NV,AFSC
After receiving your first reactions I shall send addresses of contacts as well as undertake to write to them as much as possible.

Did you meet or talk on telephone with R?
And thanks for JP's photo. By the way,R said that JP's health was as good or bad as expected under present sircumstances.

With every best wish and regards,
Yours sincerely,

Devi

(Devi Prasad)

[illegible] the horrible typing! have
[illegible] make corrections

COPY

August 29, 1975

Devi Prasad
67 Sutherland Rd
London N97QL
ENGLAND

My dear Devi:

I was very happy to hear from you. Our work is progressing quite rapidly. I shall put you on our mailing list so you will see what activities Indians for Democracy are undertaking.

As soon as you send us a proposal for Information Clearing House, I would like to take it up with the national steering committee for Indians for Democracy. I am confident that we would be able to make significant contributions toward the work of such a center.

As regards your proposed visit, may I suggest Bayard Rustin, President of A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York, as the chief coordinator, simply because my hands are full at the moment. Of course our contacts in various cities would cooperate with Bayard.

I think a trip by you at this time would be an excellent idea because most Americans as well as Indians are very confused about the current situation in India.

Please ask the "Free JP" committee to put me on their mailing list for Swaraj and other materials.

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

Shrikumar Poddar
Indians for Democracy

cc: Bayard Rustin

H

Rusty—
Can you help us
with Coretta King?
Sidney

SIDNEY HERTZBERG

35 IROQUOIS AVENUE
PALISADES, NEW YORK 10964
—
914 359-6224

February 21, 1976

To the original signatories
of the statement on India:

The following additional signatures are in hand one week after the appeal was mailed:

Alan Barth
Emanuel Celler
Dorothy Day
James S. Dumpson
James Farmer
Charles Frankel
Anne Fremantle
Richard N. Gardner
Frances R. Grant
Joseph P. Lash
Robert Jay Lifton
James Loeb
Isamu Noguchi
Margaret Parton
Leo Rose

Lewis Mumford
Donald Rosenthal
Jonathan Schell
Marian Willard
Benjamin Spock
I. F. Stone
John K. Fairbank
Ralph Ellison
John Updike
Werner Levi
Richard L. Park
Paul Wallace
Michael Harrington
George Wald

This is a respectable group, but I think more can be obtained . I'll make a few calls and wait another week before closing the list and sending it out for publicity.

Please let me know if you have further suggestions, here or at 212/490-2828.

Jai Hind.

SH

To Mr. Rustin

Date 1/27/76 Time 11:49 A.M. P.M.

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Sidney Hertzberg

of

Area Code & Exchange 490 - 2828

TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL	✓
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT	
	RETURNED YOUR CALL		

Message

MR
Operator

No. 153 S.P.T.

BR activities.
India Protest

We are Americans concerned with maintaining and furthering human rights, and our concern extends to all people throughout the world. Consequently, we are distressed by the loss of fundamental human rights in India following the proclamation of a national emergency there on June 26, 1975. Thousands of critics of the government have been arrested without a charge, and without even the right of habeas corpus. The press has been put under strict censorship and government control. Now the emergency has been extended and national elections have been cancelled.

We deplore these events, expecially in India, because there democracy was established after a long struggle for freedom led by some of the greatest contemporary exponents of human rights, and also because the respect of democratic India for these human rights was for so many years a beacon light for all newly independent and developing countries. Experience shows that when human rights are suppressed anywhere they are threatened everywhere, and that the longer they are suppressed the longer it takes to restore them. We therefore call for the restoration of these rights in India.

Revised final draft
Hertzberg/Mehta
12276

APR will sign
BR

VIVIAN C JACKSON
184 5 AVE
NEW YORK NY 10010

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FRED O'NEIL
ACTOR EQUITY ASSN
1500 BROADWAY
NEW YORK NY 10036

DEAR MR O'NEIL

YOUR SUPPORT IS URGENTLY NEEDED TO PROTEST THE UPCOMING SOUTH AFRICAN PRODUCTION OF IPI-TOMBI WHICH IS SCHEDULED TO OPEN ON BROADWAY, DECEMBER 28 1976.

MARCIA GILLESPIE EDITOR, ESSENCE MAGAZINE IS IN RECEIPT OF A LETTER FROM THE BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN CAST MEMBERS DETAILING THE RACIST PRACTICES AND THE SUBSTANDARD WAGES WHICH THEY ARE SUBJECTED TO. NO DOUBT, THE QUESTION OF INDIVIDUAL DEFECTION BY CAST MEMBERS OCCURS TO YOU AS A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE. YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT OUR COUNTRY WILL NOT OFFER POLITICAL ASYLUM TO BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN AS THEY HAVE DONE, FOR EXAMPLE FOR RUSSIAN WRITERS AND DANCERS. OUR COMMITTEE IS ALSO IN RECEIPT OF NEWS ARTICLE REPRINTS FROM THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN OF LONDON DESCRIBING THE PROTEST AND DEMONSTRATION ORGANIZED BY LONDONERS ON BEHALF OF THE CAST. PLEASE JOIN US IN PROTESTING AND BOYCOTTING THE INFAMOUS AND IMMORAL RACIST PRACTICES WHICH IMPACT ON THE QUALITY OF OUR LIVES AND NEGATE THE EQUALITY OF ALL HUMAN KIND. WE THEREFORE URGENTLY REQUEST YOUR PARTICIPATION TO PLAN STRATEGY FOR ACTION. A MEETING WILL BE HELD ON TUESDAY DECEMBER 21 AT 304 WEST 58 STREET 3 FLOOR AT 930AM. PLEASE R S V P TO: ELLIS B HAIZLIT 212-262-8367 AND WILLIAM LYNCH 212-989-6235.

ELLIS HAIZLIT

17:01 EST

MGMCOMP MGM

Press Conference
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Ctr
44 West 63rd
Empire Hotel
Monday at 11 am

Ann Klein
KI 8-3376
[illegible] [illegible] on 1-3

Amsterdam 12/30/76

500 Protest Ipi Tombi Opening

By LYNDONN PRINCE

Ipi Tombi is a Zombi. This and similar, chants were the strong messages echoing through the freezing night air as over 500 vociferous protestors demanded the closing of the South African production of Ipi Tombi. The play scheduled to begin, previews Tuesday night at the Harkness theater, 62nd Street and Broadway, was delayed for over one hour by the demonstration and scores of sympathetic patrons who demanded a refund of their advance ticket purchases. As these rebellious customers exited the theater, with their ticket money raised in a clinched fist, they were greeted by a rousing round of applauds and cheers from the young and middle-aged demonstrators circling the entrance.

The circumstances surrounding this Black vs Black paradox, surfaced last week when Essence magazine's Marcia Gillespie received a letter from dissident members of a London "Tombi" production beleaguered with similar controversy. The performers complained of ill-treatment at the hands of the shows white producers. They cited a pay scale equivalent to $14 per week, inadequate lodging and poor food.

A coterie of concerned New York citizens including Dianne Lacey, Ellis Hazlip, Mrs. Gillespie and others, formed an Emergency Committee To Protest The South African Production of Ipi Tombi, During a press conference on Monday, December 26th, they outlined their objections to the musical's proposed Broadway run.

Rip Off

Since the show is a composite of traditional native dances and songs, the committee remonstrated the unjust exclusion of any Black in South African from legally receiving a patent or royalties for their work. The play's copyrights have been usurped by white South African, Bertha Egnos, who has laid claim to a cultural expression alien to her own.

The emergency committee also views the play as an attempt by the South African regime to publicize a non existent happy-go-lucky atmosphere among the nation's 19 million oppressed Blacks. This is considered particularly repulsive in light of the 600 youngsters killed during the summer Soweto riots and the current resumption of fighting in the Guguletu and Nyanga townships near Capetown. Press reports coming from these areas indicate thousands of residents have fled their homes, while at least 70 persons have been killed and over 300 injured.

Position

In a position paper, the committee cites, the producers dismal track record in London, Canada and Israel. In each country, the show's profits were diverted from the Black originators into the hands of white South Africans whose ostensive purpose, is to maintain the status quo of racist white minority rule.

The demonstration included a coalition of several New York based organizations who have been the vanguard of previous protests against the policies of the South African regimes. Involved in organizing this public contradiction were the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, Fight Back, The Young Queens Intellectuals, Black Theater Alliance, The South Africa Freedom Day Coalition and others. David Sibeko, United Nation representive of PAc and a native South African, also joined the picketing and stated" Any show exported from Azania (South Africa) should express the tragic situation there and not give a false impression that the Blacks are happy." This was an allusion to the musical's advertising slogan of "Happiness is a play called Ipi Tombi."

Ralph Roseman, New York manager of the African Musical Company, the shows producer, stated that the investors were not South Africans and the play was not sponsored by the South African governmnet. He however admitted that the play's copyrights belong to a hwite South African and the government had eased its stringent travel restrictions against Blacks in allowing the 50 performers of the two troupes to travel abroad.

In an interview with the members of the cast, they initially expressed disappointment at the prospect of the shows premature closing. After discussion among themselves, they compared their predicament to the African athletes at the summer Olympics who returned home in support of Black Africa's stand against apartheid and minority rule.

The show is scheduled to begin regular performances on January 12th, however the shivering demonstrators slushing through the snow, vowed to continue their protest until the musical Ipi Tombi closes down tight.

BOYCOTT IPI TOMBI

2nd leaflet

PLEASE DO NOT BUY TICKETS FOR "IPI TOMBI"

JOIN US — STARTING 28 DECEMBER 1976 AT 6:00 PM — FOR MASS DEMONSTRATIONS AND PICKETING IN FRONT OF THE HARKNESS THEATRE, 62nd & BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY

THIS MUSICAL EXPLOITS THE BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN EXPERIENCE AND GIVES A FALSE IMPRESSION OF BLACK LIFE IN THE HOMELANDS OF SOUTH AFRICA. IT INSIDIOUSLY REINFORCES THE NEGATIVE AND ONESIDED IMAGES, WHICH THE ENEMIES OF AFRICA HAVE WORKED SO HARD TO PERPETUATE. THE PRODUCERS ARE EXPLOITING US ALL!!!

WE WILL BE DEMONSTRATING FROM DECEMBER 28, 1976 UNTIL "IPI TOMBI" IS CLOSED!!!

HAZEL BRYANT / MARCIA ANN GILLESPIE / ELLIS B. HAIZLIP
CHARLES HAYES / DIANE LACEY and others

In Association With

RICHARD ALLEN CULTURAL CENTER / BLACK THEATRE ALLIANCE /
FIGHT BACK / BSO, JOHN JAY COLLEGE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE /
PATRICE LUMUMBA COALITION / SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY /
SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY COALITION

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE TO PROTEST THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRODUCTION OF IPI TOMBI
184 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10010
(212) 989 6235

TO: ALL OUR FRIENDS IN The Interchurch Center [redacted]

IN THIS SEASON, WHEN THE TRADITIONAL THEME IS: "PEACE ON EARTH GOOD WILL TO MEN".

We, the Black History Study Group, urge the employers and employees of The Interchurch Center to join in an affirmative action stand and ask that you and your friends

Don't buy tickets for "IPI TOMBI"

[redacted]

Leaflet

[redacted]

WE URGE YOU TO Boycott this musical "IPI TOMBI" because we have learned

- -that it has the full sanction and approval of the South African Government
- -that it gives the impression, through song and dance, that conditions for the Black South African are tolerable, if not satisfactory.
- -that in an interview in London, recently, the author, Bertha Egnos said, "You can't hold an African down when there is music", thus perpetuating the myth which has so long been prevalent in our own country of the "happy darkie".
- -that wages of the South African cast are comparable to the wages which they would earn in South Africa -- not Equity scale.
- -that the producers are exploiting the South African entertainers and the funds are pocketed, rather than helping the disadvantaged Blacks of South Africa.

An extensive BOYCOTT CAMPAIGN is underway, starting TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1976 (when the play opens for preview) in front of the Harkness Theatre at Broadway and 63rd Street, New York at 7:00 P. M. The play is scheduled to open on Wednesday, January 12. Demonstrations will continue, however, until the play is closed.

NOTE: If you have already purchased tickets and are unable to return them for refund, we suggest that when you view this play you bear in mind that it does not truly depict the plight of Blacks under the oppression of a White minority South African Government.

Perhaps this is the GIFT which Christmas is all about --Loving thy bother as thyself by supporting our fellow brothers and sisters at times like this.

ALSO:

DO NOT BUY THE KRUGERRAND: There are alternatives, such as:

-Take stock in America and invest in U.S. Savings Bonds
-Give this money to the O.A.U. for the victims and families of Black South African prisoners -- it's tax deductible.
-Let your money draw interest in your bank account
-Give this money to the NAACP, United Negro College Fund, or some other worthwhile organization

REMEMBER: The Kruggerrand helps to support the South African Government and to oppress and imprison Black South Africans.

12.76

DEC 5 - 1976

3, York London.

3, York Street
London W. I
England.

30th Nov; 1976.

Editor,
ence Communication Inc
OO EAST, 42,nd Street
Yew - YORK. N. Y. 10017.

ar Sir;

We wonder if your magazine will help us in our struggle for a better pay better working conditions. We are a South an troope that has been in Britain for onths, the Show will now be coming to A in Mid December.

have be paid £7.50 per week, and we complain, because when we do the gement which is South African Whites us that we will be shiped back the South African government will be at we have been preaching politics. So at reason we are faced with arest when get back home.

have been eening this miserable pay for ugest, Since we started with Bertha Egnos the director of the company also a white African, but we could never complain uth Africa. As we all know that the people cannot protest in that racist ry.

o now that we are here we are fighting a better pay and better working

itions, We also hope that our
k brothers in the United States
America will help us in
testing against this eyploitation
re-so that the show is due to
en in New York Midle of Dec.
have been treated like slaves
this day and age.
Maybe if we give you a little history
ut this show you will understand. This
le woman Bertha Egnos South African
cist, brought together various dancing
oups and asked them to perform their
tial dances and Songs. Those after
everyones suprise claimed and
py written all Songs and dances
nder her name — which really
nt belong to her — but to the
lack people of South Africa. She
d that successfully because the black
eople have no Saying in South
rica. She has made thousand of
ounds in this act of Evil — with no
e protesting. Now we are Saying
ither we want what belongs to us and
better Salary. She has sold us from place
o place. First it was Astralia, then
Britain, Now we learn She has Sold

to another Company in U.S.A.
ince the American Show, which
ally should not be there, Unless
ither hand over to us what belongs
us in that Show.

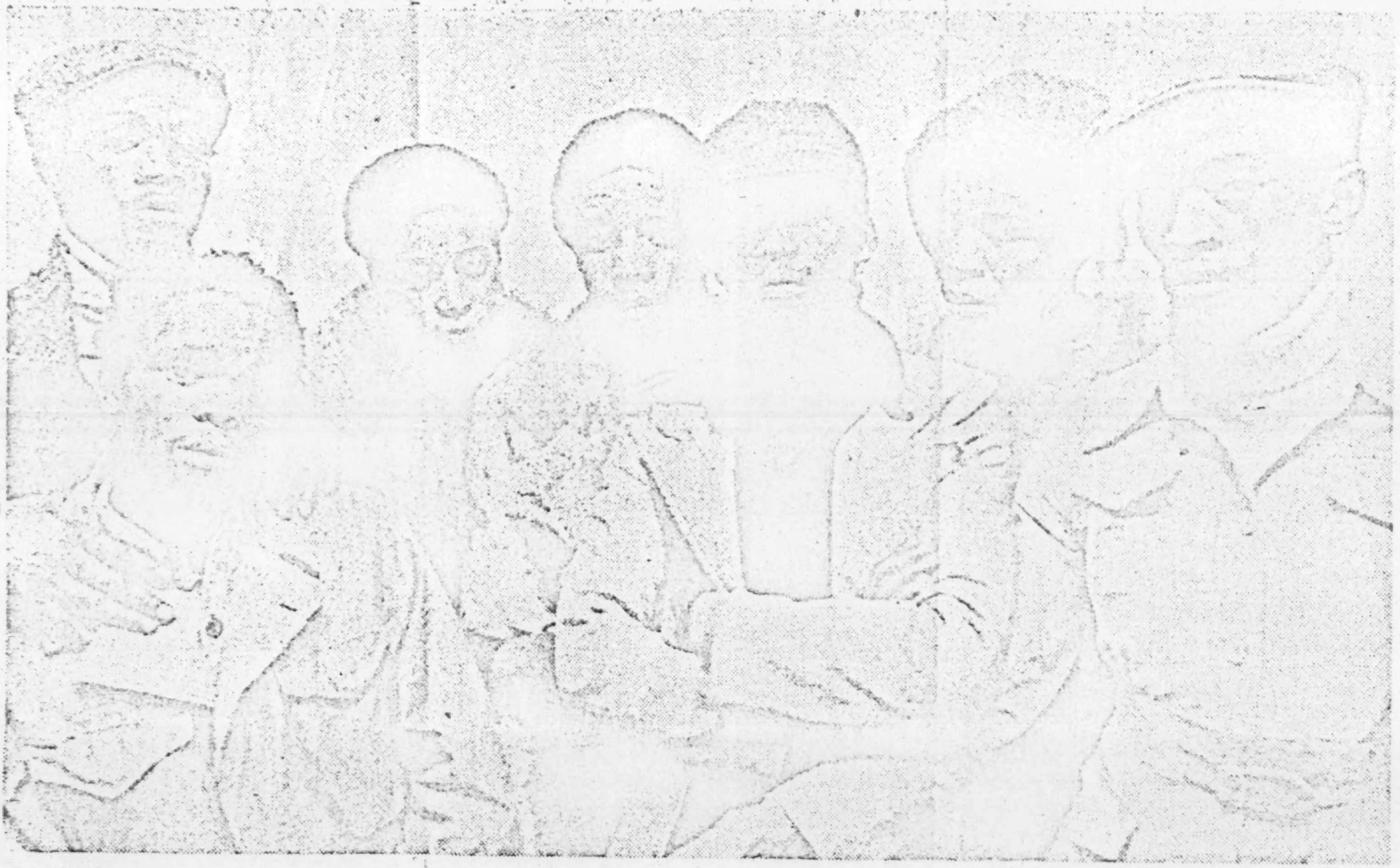
By writting this letter brothers
nd sisters we are saying help
by not supporting that Show
Iphi-NTOBI when it opens in
ew York in Mid-Dec 1976.
his exploitation by South African
hites must come to an end.

Your Black Brothers & Sisters
Iphi-Ntombi Cast Members
(Now playing in London)

THE GUARDIAN

Printed in London and Manchester Monday November 29 1976 12p

Top quality
ventilation
Vent-Ax
the fug fighte



TEN members of the cast of the musical Ipi Tombi, all from Soweto in South Africa, led by Mr Tefo Hlaele (fourth from left), who are resisting attempts to send them home, where they may face the sack and possible arrest.

ncy were to
s on the IP

slaves left

By PETER NIESEWAND

MEMBERS of the cast of the hit all-black South African musical, Ipi Tombi, which has been running at Her Majesty's Theatre in the West End for a year, said yesterday they were being "treated like slaves," and that some now feared returning to South Africa in case they were arrested.

Ipi Tombi has been praised by critics for its general air of happiness, and was on the short list for the Royal Command Performance this year. But cast members told yesterday of bitter disputes with the management over money and conditions, and attempts last May to sack more than half the artistes.

The latest row is over the contracts signed in South Africa by the replacement cast, which arrived in London a few days ago after a seven-week tour of Israel, where, members said, they played two shows a day, six days a week. The replacements discovered they were being paid R10 (about £7.50)) a week less than the original cast who got £75 a week. A complaint is to be made to Equity about this.

Meanwhile, some members of the original cast are resisting attempts to fly them back to South Africa immediately. Mr Tefo Hlaele, who has had several brushes with the management company in London, Ray Cooney Productions Ltd., said he had told them he wanted to spend his three-week holiday entitlement in Europe. "They wanted everybody to go home so they could sack a lot of people," he said. "They say we are Mafias. We think that if the South Africans hear this, we will be arrested."

Mr Hlaele and the six other artistes who presented the complaints are all from the township of Soweto, near Johannesburg, which has been hit by riots and demonstrations in which scores of people have died. He said that when rioting broke out in July, two actors and a wardrobe mistress flew home immediately, fearing for the safety of their families. "When they arrived at the airport, the authorities confiscated their passports," he said. Mr Hlaele said he and several others wanted to stay in Britain and devise their own ethnic African show.

The management company and Mr Gordon Arkley, the director who deals with Ipi Tombi, could not be contacted last night, but both have made several complaints to Equity about the cast, most of which appear to have been rejected.

In a letter to Equity last May, in which he unsuccessfully sought the dismissal of 15 of the 28 cast members, Mr Arkley wrote that "tribal differences and factions alone are a continual cause of the most heated and violent quarrels which flare up at any moment, irrespective of there being a performance in progress at the time."

The artistes denied that there had been any instances of tribalism, or violent arguments. They said they had been threatened several times with being sent back to South Africa if they did not toe the line, and that they had complained repeatedly about their accommodation during a British tour, and later in London. On one night last year they slept in a bus rather than in the rooms arranged for them.

They said they had not been able to get satisfactory replies from the management about whether they were to be paid royalties on the LP record of Ipi Tombi, which

Turn to back page, col. 2

ATES POSTA

break new gr

Geneva, on the revival of the Socialist Inter

ter slaves, left

Continued from page one

was recorded in South Africa but pressed in Britain.

Members of the new cast said that during their arduous 42-performance tour of Israel, they complained of finding flies in their food. Mr Benny Meyer said: "They told us, 'You must 'just accept it or you will be sent back home.' Then we went to Nigeria, where the government refused to let us do two shows a day because, they said, it was too much. The Government paid for us. We were provided with three meals a day and everything was free."

Four members of the original Ipi Tombi cast are believed to have been sacked by the management. A few weeks ago they refused to take part in a charity performance for the Lord's Taverners, and were asked to leave the cast. Equity stepped in to prevent this, cast members said, and the four were told instead that they would not be included in a tour of the United States, which is now being arranged from South Africa.

However, a few days ago the four were asked to attend a photo-call to provide publicity material for the US. They refused on the grounds that they were not going on the tour and were told: "I sack you now."

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM, SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR WESTERN UNION

Art, Apartheid and Ipi-Tombi

1-26-77

By JONATHAN KWITNY

Ipi-Tombi is a rousing African musical that opened recently at the Harkness Theater. Already it is in danger of closing because of forceful opposition over its South African origins.

The temperature was 2 degrees the other night when I went to see it—cold enough, without the added chill of the demonstrators in front of the theater. They were so hostile that when I smiled and greeted one—an acquaintance whose anti-apartheid organization recently asked for and got a contribution from me—she threw me a mean glance and turned away.

I wanted to see the show because I lived three years in black Africa and love the indigenous music. A lot of other people would enjoy the show, too, but there were many empty seats, probably the result of the demonstrations as much as of the weather.

The Theater

So, before talking about what marvelous entertainment Ipi-Tombi is, it's necessary to deal with the political situation, which has diverted many reviewers from any fair consideration of the musical at all.

Racial rule by a majority is abominable. In South Africa it is by a minority, which makes it worse. Anyone dealing with such a society faces a moral problem. But that doesn't mean one ought to strike at the slave to spite the master.

Ipi-Tombi portrays (very well, as I'll get to) the personal side of African life. It pays only passing attention to political subjugation, but if every stage event were required to devote itself to the political conflicts of the time, the world would be absent plays and musicals that have delighted millions of people.

True, apartheid in South Africa is particularly outrageous, and a revolt against it is in foment. In case any viewers of Ipi-Tombi might lose track of that, groups supporting the revolt would be entirely justified in reminding them. If the demonstrators outside the Harkness were playing an informative, rather than an obstructive, role, I for one would volunteer to spend a night in the cold helping pass out leaflets.

But the demonstrators apparently believe that a true dedication to justice precludes any enjoyment of art or thought that isn't pointed against the injustice of the hour. Whatever informative role the demonstrators might serve is subverted by their hysterical demeanor as they exhort each would-be spectator to stay away. And they have won over some powerful newspaper and television critics.

It isn't as if the theater was segregating its seating, or the production was owned by the South African government, or the actors were in chains. The production is private, independent and subject to American law. The performers, 25 talented black South Africans, are being paid in excess of Actors Equity requirements, with full benefits and vacations. They obviously have devoted themselves passionately to the success of the production, and have been looking forward through long runs overseas to a Broadway stint that might launch a few careers. Now, in interviews, they express mystification and anger over their strange welcome to the U.S.

On display in the lobby is their signed statement asking the demonstrators themselves to go away, so the performances can continue. They contend that several songs in the show are controversial enough to be banned in South Africa. They say the show speaks out in its own way against "the oppression of a white minority South African government."

The demonstrators, on the other hand, have adopted the same position held by those who won't recognize the Carmina Burana as great music because its composer lived in Nazi Germany, or those who prevented Pete Seeger from singing folksongs on national television because he also sang them at Communist Party functions. Art is art and shouldn't be suppressed because of where it comes from.

And speaking of art, Ipi-Tombi is a beautifully conceived, well performed, downright invigorating representation of something that has been happening in much of black Africa in this century—that is, the acceptance of new ideas without the surrender of old ones, even when the ideas seem at first glance incompatible.

Thus the show begins with colorful village rituals, then moves on to a Christian missionary scene where a baptism service is carried on with the same kind of music and dance. As is the case in much of black Africa, only the priest and the ju-ju, or witch doctor, find their two religions mutually exclusive.

Next comes a move to the modern city, where Western clothes have been adapted to retain the vivid colors of native dress, and the music and dance styles continue, with inverted metal garbage cans substituting for native drums. And at an urbanized festival, a wedding, Western musical influence has been felt, but mainly through the addition of some inane English language "love me baby"-type lyrics; the basic musical traditions are retained.

The thin story line that connects the production numbers concerns a basic recent African experience, with its tragic overtones: a man leaves the village and the pure agrarian life behind, for the urban slums and menial work. A happy ending is tacked on with a return to the village, which also conveniently rounds out the musical circle.

After Daniel Pule's beautiful rendering of a poignant lament over conditions of blacks in the white man's world—the best original song in the show—he and the cast go home to find traditional color, music and dance still alive in a closing scene much like the opening one. (By the way, it's hard to imagine that Mr. Pule's singing about "starvation in the city of gold" is the product of Prime Minister Vorster's propaganda machinery.)

Ipi-Tombi's opponents argue that this narrative is an apology for the Bantustan policies of South Africa, which sets aside tribal reservations for blacks. Actually, the tear between rural and urban life fits the experience of many black-run African countries as well. Many scenes—the village ceremonies, the Christian service, the urban wedding party—rang very true to scenes I watched often in Nigeria.

Does such a musical take a light attitude in the midst of troubled times? Sure, as did "Oklahoma!" without Indian massacres and "My Fair Lady" without colonial wars. But in Ipi-Tombi's case, many critics have chosen to pan a musical because of political circumstances. The show deserves to be judged on its contents.

Furor Surrounds Tedious 'Ipi-Tombi'

IPI-TOMBI, conceived, devised and produced by Bertha Egnos. Music by Bertha Egnos; lyrics by Gail Lakier; choreography by Sheila Wartski; additional choreography by Neil McKay and members of the cast; setting by Elizabeth Mac Leish; lighting by Timothy Heale and John Wain; costumes by Susan Wain; sound by Sander Hacker; scenic supervision by Robert Mitchell; costume supervision by David Toser; lighting supervision by Jeremy Johnson; production stage manager, Patrick Horrigan. Presented by A. Deshe (Pashanel) & Topol, by arrangement with Ray Cooney Productions Ltd. and Academy Theater and Brooke Theater, Johannesburg. At the Harkness Theater, 62d Street and Broadway.

By CLIVE BARNES

There are times when art encroaches on politics, just as there are moments (occasionally centuries) when politics flavor art. A new musical, "Ipi-Tombi," opened at the Harkness Theater last night. It was being picketed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, among others.

The cause for the picketing is that this is a black South African musical, conceived and produced by whites, which the demonstrators felt offered an unrealistic picture of the black in South Africa and could consequently be regarded as propaganda for the present South African Government and apartheid.

Curiously, the controversy regarding the presentation is more interesting than the show itself. "Ipi-Tombi"—the title apparently means "Where Are the Women?"—is not at all unlike the song-and-dance shows we have become accustomed to from various African companies. Most of them originate, as I recall it, in France and, much more significantly, the Caribbean revues of the great Katherine Dunham.

•

I saw the show at a preview and, frankly, wondered what all the fuss was about. It appears that most of the people doing the picketing have not actually seen the musical. That may be their advantage. Unfortunately, the first, and probably the last, thing to be said about "Ipi-Tombi" is simply that it is a genial bore.

It has run for months in London, but then look at the wild successes there of "The Mousetrap" or "No Sex Please, We're British." In New York we have seen far better African shows than this, which happens to make tedium into a jingle and life into a tribal drumbeat.

Nevertheless, the political point of the revue's existence does seem worth exploring. Apart from the people picketing that evening there was, for example, Bayard Rustin, generally regarded as a pillar of the black establishment, making a statement, vigorously defending the show. I must say the defense was on political rather than artistic grounds—Mr. Rustin is a friend, and I would not wish to quote him wrong.

The musical has been devised by Bertha Egnos and it seems that some of the music has been based upon traditional music. Unquestionably. The show is not quite as Uncle Tom-ish as one might have expected from a musical that is, apparently, one of the biggest hits ever in Johannesburg. But, as three of the songs in the New York version (I do not know which three, but can make a guess) are, according to the management, actually banned in South Africa, we are, perhaps, seeing a slightly different version.

Bert Andrews

Lydia Monamondi and Jabu Mbalo in "Ipi-Tombi"
Makes life into a tribal drumbeat

•

Even so, this does start with a man singing: "It was a happy time because we always seemed to be singing and dancing." Well, perhaps that could describe "Fiddler on the Roof," but when the hero announces, "Today I must shake off the coat of sadness," one does get a little worried. Unquestionably, black life in South Africa is to an extent criticized—remember the three banned songs—but it still seemed all pretty cheerful to me. And this is the truly important point.

Do you remember Mel Brooks's movie, "The Producers," in which there was a mythically triumphant Broadway monster called "Springtime for Hitler"? There were times in the drabness of "Ipi-Tombi" when one wondered whether spring had come around again.

It is interesting. We have never questioned why the Moiseyev Ensemble never spoke out against Stalinism. We watched in silence—or, perhaps, with a few embarrassedly strangled cries of "Olé!"—while innumerable Spanish dance companies glorified the bullfights and orange juice of Franco's totalitarian Spain. Hungarian dance companies have been here without our feeling the need to recall the spirit of 1956.

•

And yet an all-black troupe from South Africa arouses the ire of our pickets. It does seem inconsistent. It could be because it is so boring, but one suspects that the very sincere people picketing have never actually crossed their own lines to see the show.

It hardly matters. The dancing is moderately good, but everything else is tedious. But what would have been the moral issue had it been a work of genius? Perhaps we should not be so uptight about "Ipi-Tombi."

Protests force closing of racist play on Broadway

Antiapartheid forces in New York City won a victory last week when the racist South African musical, "Ipi-Tombi," was forced to close.

Black cultural groups and anti-imperialist forces rallied to protest the Broadway show when its previews opened Dec. 28 and the boycott steadily gained strength. When the play officially opened Jan. 12, over 500 demonstrators picketed in bitter cold weather.

Though the play's management tried to pin the shutdown on cold weather, "clearly we [the picketers] hurt them from the beginning," said Mertyn Simpson, a member of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition (PLC), which played a leading role in the boycott. "We were prepared to go indefinitely," Simpson said, adding that the quick closing was "a surprise" to the protesters. Simpson is one of several demonstrators facing misdemeanor charges stemming from the protest.

Hazel Bryant, director of the Richard Allen Cultural Center, hailed the success of the boycott, saying, "The freedom cries of our South African brothers and sisters are not hollow echoes in this country—we struggle together."

"This little issue has concretized and galvanized a group of people who are now against South Africa." PLC member Elombe Brathe told the Guardian.

"Ipi-Tombi," performed by a black South African cast and written by white South African Bertha Egnos, was advertised by billboards that read "Happiness is an African musical." The play, a racist promotion of South Africa's bantustan or "African homeland" scheme, portrayed South African blacks as nonresistant to oppression and able to pass off their suffering through blind religiosity and endless celebration.

To some, this message was acceptable. A reviewer for Time magazine wrote, "The musical is as innocent as the birth of song and dance.... The gestures, the rhythms and the sounds indicate an unbroken totemic relationship with animals. The members of the troupe slither like snakes, stalk like the great cat family of the jungle, stamp and trumpet like elephants.... The cast appears to be having the best time of its urban life."

But to the protesters, the racist, sexist musical was an affront not only to the liberation struggles in southern Africa but also to the sensibilities of all against racism. Simpson said the play "is just the beginning of a national effort to reeducate the country to the myth of the 'old darkie.' "

The show's promoters hoped to get large Black American audiences who would be attracted to a play about their "African heritage" and avoided mentioning that it was a South African play. One newspaper campaign in the play's final weeks bore the banner, "You've seen 'Roots' on television, now you must see 'Ipi-Tombi' on stage."

But for the most part, Blacks shunned the play after learning of the boycott. In any given week, the play rarely played to more than a half-filled theater. Variety magazine reported that the production grossed approximately $20,000 during its last full week, although members of its management stated early in the show's run that they would need $50,000-70,000 a week to break even. A PLC member said that investigation by the group had shown that often 50% of the audience had free tickets. L.W.

Guardian 2-23-77

Rustin Defends 'Tombi'

Bayard Rustin says the people picketing the South African musical "Ipi Tombi" at the Harkness Theater are "misguided, misinformed, and mistaken."

Protesters, mostly black, have picketed outside the Harkness since "Ipi Tombi" began previews on Dec. 26. They charge, among other things, that the show is an indirect propaganda vehicle for the South African apartheid government.

"Ipi Tombi" is scheduled to open tonight.

'Destructive to Artists'

"I am sure that some of those people who are picketing 'Ipi Tombi' believe that their action is constructive," says Rustin, "but I feel their behavior is destructive to the artists, to the theater and to the cause of freedom in Southern Africa."

Rustin president of the A. Philip Randolph Foundation and long-time civil rights leader made his remarks in a statement released this week.

He listed the charges against "Ipi Tombi" and labeled them "untrue and unsound."

"They are saying that no person [particularly a white person] should use black themes or folk music and benefit financially from such use. They forget that such use is artistically, morally, and financially traditional.

'Was Robeson Exploiting?'

"Was Paul Robeson exploiting Russians in arranging and copywriting Russian folk songs? Was Harry Burleigh wrong in arranging and copywriting a series of Negro spirituals?"

Rustin also pointed out that Frederick O'Neal, president of Actor's Equity, had investigated the charge that the actors were receiving less than union scale and found them groundless.

"I can understand the sense of urgency and commitment that has involved some in the protest, but freedom nowhere, not here nor in South Africa, can be advanced by the undemocratic methods and attitudes employed against 'Ipi Tombi'"

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12-28-76

Black Committee Urges Boycott Of 'Ipi Tombi,' From South Africa

By C. GERALD FRASER

An ad hoc black group called for a boycott of the all-black South African musical, "Ipi Tombi," that starts previews tonight at the Harkness Theater, Broadway and 63rd Street, after critical acclaim and financially successful appearances in Europe, Canada, Australia, Africa and Israel.

The group, the Emergency Committee to Protest the South African Production of "Ipi Tombi," announced at a news conference yesterday that its members would begin picketing the musical tonight, and would also demonstrate inside the theater during the show's run. They said their actions would be in protest against what they regard as the show's exploitation of South Africa's black culture and of the political conditions there.

Members of the committee include Ellis B. Haizlip, an executive producer at WNET/Channel 13; Marcia Ann Gillespie, editor in chief of Essence magazine; Diane Lacey, a Democratic district leader in the 70th Assembly District; Hazel Bryant, director of the Richard Allen Cultural Center and president of the Black Theater Alliance, and the Patrice Lumumba Coalition.

Show Is Described

Mr. Haizlip said the protest was based on three points: The "theft of a black cultural heritage; exploitation of blacks by South Africans" and America's cooperation and support of the present South African Government.

Ray Cooney of Ray Cooney Productions Ltd., the London concern that produced the musical there—it opened in November 1975 and is still running—said yesterday that "Ipi Tombi" was a series of dance numbers and songs strung along a tenuous story line.

The protests followed receipt of a letter by Miss Gillespie from some members of the London "Ipi Tombi" cast. The letter writers, she said, complained that they were underpaid and sometimes overworked. They said that in Tel Aviv they did two shows a day—10 a week—and they concluded:

"By writing this letter, brothers and sisters, we are saying help us by not supporting that show 'Iphi-Ntombi' (sic) when it opens in New York in mid-December 1976 . . . This exploitation by South African whites must come to an end."

The letter writers criticized Bertha Egnos, a South African white, who is credited in press releases as having "conceived" the show and "composed the music."

The letter said that Miss Egnos had "brought together various dancing groups and asked them to perform their native dances and songs. Thereafter, to everyone's surprise, she claimed and copyrighted all songs and dances under her name. They really don't belong to her, but to the black people of South Africa. She did that successfully because the black people have no saying in South Africa."

The title "Ipi Tombi" is a Zulu phrase that is, according to the members of the cast, more properly spelled "Iphi Ntombi" and means "Where are the girls?"

$395 a Week

The New York company has a cast of 25 South Africans. According to Max Eisen, the show's public-relations representative, none of them is receiving "less than $395 a week—road scale."

Members of the protest committee acknowledged that the actors in "Iphi Tombi" had declined to give their support to the boycott, expressing their satisfaction with their wages and stating their desire to work as professional actors in New York.

Mr. Cooney said reports that members of the London cast ended up with £28 a week, or about $46, in their hands were misleading. He said everybody was on "double the Equity minimum," practically everybody had some of his wages deducted to send back home, and had to pay for hotel and board.

Abrham Deshe and the actor Topol are producing the musical here. Yesterday, Mr. Deshe said that he had also produced "Ipi Tombi" in Tel Aviv. The cast did 10 shows a week, he said, but not every one of the six weeks the show ran. "Everybody was anxious to do a ninth and 10th show," Mr. Deshe said, "because they needed the money."

Most of the persons connected with the business side of the production contended that they were in show business, not politics; that the musical had a universal theme and did not focus on South Africa. Mr. Eisen said that many advertisements now referred to it as an African musical, rather than a South African musical. "When you mention South Africa," he said, "everybody's back goes up."

TO: ALL OUR FRIENDS IN The Interchurch Center [redacted]

IN THIS SEASON, WHEN THE TRADITIONAL THEME IS: "PEACE ON EARTH GOOD WILL TO MEN".

We, the Black History Study Group, urge the employers and employees of The Interchurch Center to join in an affirmative action stand and ask that you and your friends

Don't buy tickets for "IPI TOMBI"

[redacted]

WE URGE YOU TO Boycott this musical "IPI TOMBI" because we have learned

- -that it has the full sanction and approval of the South African Government
- -that it gives the impression, through song and dance, that conditions for the Black South African are tolerable, if not satisfactory.
- -that in an interview in London, recently, the author, Bertha Egnos said, "You can't hold an African down when there is music", thus perpetuating the myth which has so long been prevalent in our own country of the "happy darkie".
- -that wages of the South African cast are comparable to the wages which they would earn in South Africa -- not Equity scale.
- -that the producers are exploiting the South African entertainers and the funds are pocketed, rather than helping the disadvantaged Blacks of South Africa.

An extensive BOYCOTT CAMPAIGN is underway, starting TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1976 (when the play opens for preview) in front of the Harkness Theatre at Broadway and 63rd Street, New York at 7:00 P. M. The play is scheduled to open on Wednesday, January 12. Demonstrations will continue, however, until the play is closed.

NOTE: If you have already purchased tickets and are unable to return them for refund, we suggest that when you view this play you bear in mind that it does not truly depict the plight of Blacks under the oppression of a White minority South African Government.

Perhaps this is the GIFT which Christmas is all about --Loving thy bother as thyself by supporting our fellow brothers and sisters at times like this.

ALSO:
DO NOT BUY THE KRUGERRAND: There are alternatives, such as:

-Take stock in America and invest in U.S. Savings Bonds
-Give this money to the O.A.U. for the victims and families of Black South African prisoners -- it's tax deductible.
-Let your money draw interest in your bank account
-Give this money to the NAACP, United Negro College Fund, or some other worthwhile organization

REMEMBER: The Kruggerrand helps to support the South African Government and to oppress and imprison Black South Africans.

Pickets Hurting 'Tombi' Box Office

By BRETT ALEXANDER

"Ipi Tombi," an all-black South African musical which has been a hit on three continents, could fold here because of black pickets who contend it is an indirect propoganda vechicle for the apartheid South African government.

A spokesman for the show, which has been previewing since Dec. 26 at the Harkness Theater, says it has lost approximately $10,000 in potential receipts since picketing began.

"We made $57,000 the first week," the spokesman says. "We need $75,000 a week to survive. The picketing is really hurting.

The play is scheduled to open next Wednesday.

Backstage the other night, in a narrow office near the stage, Abraham Deshe, the 50-year-old Israeli-born producer of "Ipi Tombi," was lamenting the show's fate.

'Who Wants This?'

"Who wants to be in this kind of trouble," Deshe shakes his head. "Who?"

To make matters worse for Deshe and the show's American backers, members of the cast and the treasurer of the Harkness, located at 62d St. and Broadway, say they have received letter and phone "threats" to end their connection with the show or face some type of harm. No one knows where these "threats" have come from or whether they are serious but police are investigating.

"It's a moral question," says Joan Sandler, a theatrical consultant who has been working with the ad hoc committee that is picketing the play. "South Africa has been trying to soften its image in this country for some time with a well-planned publicity barrage."

"Even if the South African government is not sponsoring the show, the play's contents are very questionable."

Thin Story Line

"Ipi Tombi," which is Zulu for "Where are the girls?" has only a thin story line: a disconsolate young African leaves the city and returns to his tribal homeland where he becomes embroiled in inter-tribal conflict. But much of the story is swept away in a wave of song and dance.

No whites appear in the play and apartheid is never mentioned.

"The play does not address itself to the real issues in South Africa today," says Ellis Haizlip, an executive producer at WNET-Ch. 13 and a member of the protesting group. "It does not talk about what it is that disenchanted the young man in the city."

Haizlip and Miss Sandler acknowledged, however, that they had not seen the play.

Some Other 'Problems'

Haizlip said there were other reasons for opposition—the all-white production company being one. But he said the main gripe was not with the cast or producer.

"Our target is the South African government."

A spokesman for Voerster government in New York says he isn't suprised at the protests. "This is typical reaction from some groups. And I think its ridiculous. This is a play. It's got nothing to do with us."

Backstage at the Harkness the other night, the cast and production crews were saying the same thing. And out front; a racielly-mixed audience was watching.

"'Ipi Tombi' is not South Africa's Achilles heel,'" says stage manager Ralph Roseman. "The real Achilles heel for South Africa is overwhelming American support against apartheid. But this is not it. This is just entertainment."

Brusie Dlamini and Matthew Bodibe, speaking for the cast, agreed. They have performed "Ipi Tombi" in South Africa (before white and black audienees), London, Israel and Nigeria. Only in New York have they had trouble.

"We were expecting we would be well at home here," [illegible] Dlamini, a 26 year-old Zulu. "We didn't think it would be like this."

Yesterday, supporters of the play, many of them black and the most prominent being activist Bayard Rustin, held a press conference outside the theater.

"Ipi Tombi" was written and "conceived" by Bertha Egnos, a white South African. It has been playing in London since 1975. Recently several actor's in the London production bolted the company, charging in a letter sent to Essence, a black beauty magazine, that they had been underpaid. They also denounced the show as a propoganda vehicle.

In a telephone interview Ray Cooney, the London producer who owns the play's world rights, said the actors' charges were false.

"They said they received 28 pounds a week," said Cooney. "They received at least twice London Equity, at least 100 pounds a week including meal money."

The Critics ACCLAIM!

Russ Meyer's

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Russ Meyer's *PERSONAL* fantasies!

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"Like an Al Capp comic strip . . . goofball humor!"

NEW YORK SOHO NEWS — Ron Whyte
"Like Kool commercials gone mad . . . The women never bruise . . . the men never die!"

VARIETY — Addison Verrill
"Meyer's most graphic (film) to date . . . Hotsy performer!"

CHICAGO SUN TIMES — Karen Koshner
"Funny . . . real laughs . . . pneumatic bliss!"

BOSTON LEDGER — Barbara Brown
"Campy . . . funny . . . slickly made . . . superhuman!"

DALLAS MORNING NEWS — John Anders
"Sex and gags . . . non-stop . . . explode like fireworks!"

MIAMI HERALD — Bill Cosford
"Comedy . . . delightful sight gags!"

LEXINGTON HERALD — John Furcolow
"Sexual fantasy played for fun!"

DIE WELT — Marlin Bormann
"Meyer's first bangup comedy!"

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SUN WAVE PATCHOGUE
UA AMITYVILLE AMITYVILLE
UA WESTHAMPTON WEST HAMPTON
WHITMAN HUNTINGTON

NEW JERSEY
FOX HACKENSACK
HIWAY FAIR LAWN
LIVINGSTON DI LIVINGSTON
MALL BRICK TOWN
OLD RAHWAY RAHWAY
STATE JERSEY CITY
TURNPIKE INDOOR EAST BRUNSWICK
UA HAZLET HAZLET
WAYNE WAYNE

EVERYBODY'S GOING 'PANTHER'!

PETER SELLERS in

THE PINK PANTHER
"SELLERS WILL TICKLE YOU PINK —AGAIN." —New York Post
"ONE OF THE BIGGEST LAUGH-GETTERS IN MOVIE HISTORY." —Kathleen Carroll, Daily News
"FINE MOVIE-GOING!" —Jeffrey Lyons, WCBS Radio
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SUFFOLK
CENTURY'S MALL LAKE GROVE SMITH HAVEN SHOPPING MALL
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UA'S BABYLON BABYLON
UA'S SUNWAVE 1 PATCHOGUE
UA'S EAST HAMPTON 2 EASTHAMPTON

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BRANDT'S TOWN NEW ROCHELLE
UA'S PLAYHOUSE BEDFORD VILLAGE

UPSTATE N.Y.
CATE'S WINDSOR VAILS GATE
CATE'S JULIET POUGHKEEPSIE

NEW JERSEY
CENTURY'S PARAMUS 1 PARAMUS
GENERAL CINEMA'S HUDSON PLAZA 1 JERSEY CITY
FLORIN'S ROOSEVELT D.I. JERSEY CITY
LOEWS HARMON COVE QUAD ROUTE 3 MEADOWLANDS
GENERAL CINEMA'S ESSEX GREEN 2 WEST ORANGE
UA'S CINEMA 2 SO. PLAINFIELD
GENERAL CINEMA'S BRUNSWICK SQ. CINEMA 1 EAST BRUNSWICK
GENERAL CINEMA'S MORRIS COUNTY MALL 1 HANOVER TOWNSHIP
FLORIN'S MORRIS PLAINS D.I. MORRIS PLAINS
TRIANGLE'S OUTDOOR D.I. LEDGEWOOD
MUSIC MAKER'S FREEHOLD 1 FREEHOLD
GENERAL CINEMA'S SHREWSBURY CINEMA 2 SHREWSBURY
UA'S CINEMA 1 HAZLET
WALTER READE'S CIRCLE ASBURY PARK
GENERAL CINEMA'S BLUE STAR CINEMA 1 WATCHUNG
HECHT'S ALLWOOD CLIFTON
UA'S WILLOWBROOK WAYNE
UA'S CLOSTER CLOSTER
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FILM BOOKER'S MALL HACKETTSTOWN
MUSIC MAKER'S BRICK PLAZA 2 BRICKTOWN
GENERAL CINEMA'S OCEAN COUNTY MALL 1 TOMS RIVER

FEMALE TRUCKERS IN HOT PANTS WILL GIVE YOU THE RIDE OF YOUR LIFE!!
WORLD PREMIERE
CHERRY TRUCKERS
ⓍⓍ ADULTS ONLY
starring
AZURE TE & DEAN GARY

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B'way at 49th St.
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TAILOR MADE FOR OUR DISCRIMINATING HUDSON PATRONS. THIS IS A DYNAMITE VIOLENT MIXED COMBO. YOU WON'T WANT TO MISS!

AN APPOINTMENT WITH AGONY
Ⓧ
starring
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THE BLACK SUPERSTAR
ADULTS ONLY
plus
NAUGHTY NIGHTS
AVON-HUDSON [illegible]

SISSY SPACEK "BEST ACTRESS"
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R

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BRONX
WAKEFIELD
EARL

BROOKLYN
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REGENT
SANDERS
RUGBY #1

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PLAYHOUSE Mamaroneck
MOVIES Yonkers

QUEENS
QUARTET #2 Flushing
CENTER Sunnyside
BOULEVARD #1 Jackson Heights
LAURELTON
ROCHDALE

NASSAU
ALAN New Hyde Park
BELLEROSE
BELAIR #2 Valley Stream
GRAND AVENUE Baldwin

SUFFOLK
NORTH BABYLON North Babylon
ART Port Jefferson
ISLIP Islip
KINGS PARK

NEW JERSEY
MAYFAIR West New York
BRITANI Hackensack
PARAMOUNT Newark
PALACE Orange
RITZ Elizabeth
NEW PLAZA Linden
TURNPIKE D.I. East Brunswick
FABIAN Paterson
ABBEY CINEMA #2 West Milford
ATLANTIC Atlantic Highlands
ANTHONY WAYNE D.I. Wayne
MADISON Madison

IPI TOMBI

AFRICAN MUSICAL COMPANY

A. DESHE (PASHANEL) & TOPOL
PRODUCERS

Production Office: Ralph Roseman, General Manager, Suite 1002, 234 West 44th Street, New York, N.Y. 10036
(212) 564-4712

January 6, 1977

Mr. Norman Hill
The Randolph Institute
260 Park Ave. South
New York, NY

Dear Mr. Hill,

Please find enclosed rough stage manager's copies of some of the songs in IPI-TOMBI. Please excuse the pigeon African as that is merely illustrated for our stage manager's interpretation.

Sincerely yours,

John Wain

John Wain
Production Supervisor

JW/aj

OPEN

HI-YA, HI-YA, HI-YA HO N'TOMBI UM
HI-YA, HI-YA, HI-YA HO N'TOMBI UM
IPI N'TOMBI UM, N'TOMBI UM (UM)
IPI N'TOMBI UM, N'TOMBI UM (UM)

HI-YA, HI-YA, HI-YA HO N'TOMBI UM
HI-YA, HI-YA, HI-YA HO N'TOMBI UM
IPI N'TOMBI UM, N'TOMBI UM (UM)
IPI N'TOMBI UM, N'TOMBI UM (UM)

OFF
IT TREMBLES IN MY MIND AND ~~ON~~ MY LIPS
DOWN MY SPINE AND ACROSS MY HIPS
IPI N'TOMBI UM, N'TOMBI UM (UM)
IPI N'TOMBI UM, N'TOMBI UM

TURNS
IT RACES THROUGH MY HEAD AND INTO MY BRAIN
IT STOPS MY SOUL AND ~~SETS~~ IT TO FLAME
IPI N'TOMBI UM, N'TOMBI UM (IM)
IPI N'TOMBI UM, N'TOMBI UM (UM)

HI-YA, HI-YA, HI-YA HO N'TOMBI UM
HI-YA, HI-YA, HI-YA HO N'TOMBI UM
IPI N'TOMBI UM, N'TOMBI UM (UM)
IPI N'TOMBI UM, N'TOMBI UM (UM)

OFF
IT TREMBLES IN MY MIND AND ~~ON~~ MY LIPS
DOWN MY SPINE AND'CROSS MY HIPS
IPI N'TOMBI UM, N'TOMBI UM (UM)
IPI N'TOMBI UM, N'TOMBI UM

TURNS
IT RACES THROUGH MY HEAD AND INTO MY BRAIN
IT STOPS MY SOUL AND ~~SET~~ IT TO FLAME
IPI N'TOMBI UM, N'TOMBI UM (UM)
IPI N'TOMBI UM, N'TOMBI UM (UM)

X HI-YA, HI-YA, HI-YA HO N'TOMBI UM — HOUSE OUT
HI-YA, HI-YA, HI-YA HO N'TOMBI UM — WARMERS ↓
HI-YA, HI-YA, HI-YA HO N'TOMBI UM

END OF MUSIC / WARMERS ↓ — IPI 7 FLY A

IPI OUT — LQ3·A NARRATOR

NARRATOR

I was born in a little village called Suomo. Our huts clung to the sides of the mountain X which were so steep that when there was a wind, I expected them to be blown to the valley at least a hundred miles below. My mother was a Xhosa, my father a Zulu. The women had to do all the work because the men were so busy being big, strong, and brave. It was a happy time, because we always seemed to be singing and dancing X

LTS. 1

BUMP #4
LTS. 2
SPOTS. 2
PU CS GIRLS W/ POT
F: SL EXIT
yel body spot

1. SESIYAHAMBA

A SESIYAHAMBA, E PHAS HA LEMKE LE
B SE A MATOYAH, E PHAS HA LEMKE LE
C JABU LANI JABU LANI SIA CHATAHM PAH
C JABU LANI JABU LANI SIA CHATAHM PAH
D JABULANI, SIACHATAH
D JABULANI, SIACHATAH
A SESIYAHAMBA, E PHAS HA LEMKE LE
B SE A MATOYAH, E PHAS HA LEMKE LE X

WARN
LTS. 3
SPTS. 3

LTS. 3
SPOT. 3
PU ~~[illegible]~~ LINDA ER

2. HAMBA BHEKILE (42''')

AS GIRLS ↑ TO XSR

WARN
LTS. 4

3. UTHANDO LUPILELE

42''' X S: UTHANDO LUPILELE, TANI WOMOMEH! AS GIRLS ↑ IN ④ 2 LINES
CHO UTHANDO LUPILELE, TANI WOMOMEH!
UTHANDO LUPILELE, TANI WOMOMEH!
UTHANDO LUPILELE, TANI WOMOMEH!
UTHANDO LUPILELE, TANI WOMOMEH!
UTHANDO LUPILELE, TANI WOMOMEH!
UTHANDO LUPILELE, TANI WOMOMEH!
UTHANDO LUPILELE, TANI WOMOMEH!
YOSO

LTS. 4

(DRUM BREAK)

WARN
LTS. 5

S/B ON ROCKETTE

MEN X DS AS GIRLS X US - DRUM X CHANGE ④

LTS. 5

4. MADIWA

AS GIRLS CIRCLE FROM SL ENTRANCE

WARN
LTS. 6
SPOT. 4

9. MORIVA

DURING NUMBER (SOLOIST SL-DANCING) — WARN

LTS·13

10. SHAMANILE

BIG MIX - END OF 1-SHAMANILESHI — LTS·13
(AS GIRLS TAKE SHANGAAN POSITION
SOLOIST EXIT, CO. KNEELS (BREAK FROM SR))

11. SHANGAAN (DRUMS)

GIRLS TO KNEES + ↑ (2ND TIME) — WARN

LTS·14
16A
16B
FLIES·1
·2
SPOTS·8
9

GEN EXIT BACKWARDS (DRUM BUILD) — LTS·14
HIYA HO (2X)

BGAUZE ↓
IPI CLOTH ↓
F: HUT ↑
FLY·1

IPI CLOTH IN — WORK ↑

NARRATOR

(On DSL Rock) — SPOT·8

When I was sixteen, we all moved to Zululand. Here it was so differeent tnd the most important man in the world was the witch doctor. He seemed to have the power over life and death. Four miles away there was a mission station. I am certain the witch doctor was very worried about it. The day that stands out in my mind was when my sister was christened. — WORKS OUT

SPOT OUT

BGAUZE ↑
IPI ↑
FLY·2

IPI 1/2 OUT — LTS·16A
CYC/CLOUDS

OVER FAST

MOTHER MARY

MOTHER MARY
MOTHER MARY
MOTHER OF KINDNESS
MOTHER OF TRUTH
MOTHER OF BEAUTY
MOTHER OF YOUTH

____
____
____
____

AS DARKNESS DESCENDED, A WOMAN WAS LED
THE STRAW FROM THE STABLE MADE INTO A BED
AND AS SHE LAY SWOLEN, SWOLEN WITH TRUTH
FOREVER REMEMBER THE MOTHER OF TRUTH

MOTHER MARY
MOTHER MARY
MOTHER OF KINDNESS
MOTHER OF TRUTH
MOTHER OF BEAUTY
MOTHER OF YOUTH

LADY AH COR OO BALA
LADY AH COR OO BALA
LADY AH COR OO BALA
LADY AH COR OO BALA

MOTHER OF KINDNESS
MOTHER OF TRUTH
MOTHER OF BEAUTY
MOTHER OF YOUTH

SO TENDER, SO GENTLE, A VISION SUPREME
A WOMAN FORGIVING, IT WASN'T A DREAM
AND JOY TO THE WORLD, THIS: WHEN MOTHER DID GIVE
AND EVEN IN DEATH, THIS: WHEN MOTHER DID LIVE
AS COMPANY STANDS WARN
MOTHER MARY LTS. 23
MOTHER MARY
MOTHER OF KINDNESS 25B
MOTHER OF TRUTH 26
MOTHER OF BEAUTY
MOTHER OF YOUTH FLY. 3

LADY AH COR OO BALA 4
LADY AL COR OO BALA
LADY AH COR OO BALA 4A
LADY AH COR OO BALA

MOTHER OF KINDNESS SPOT. 11
MOTHER OF TRUTH
MOTHER OF BEAUTY
MOTHER OF YOUTH

MOTHER MARY (continued)

LADY AH COR OO BALA
LADY AH COR OO BALA
LADY AH COR OO BALA
LADY AH COR OO BALA

MOTHER OF KINDNESS
MOTHER OF TRUTH
MOTHER OF BEAUTY
MOTHER OF YOUTH

LADY AH COR OO BALA
LADY AH COR OO BALA
LADY AH COR OO BALA
LADY AH COR OO BALA

MOTHER OF BEAUTY. . . . ⑤ FADE ALL LB·23

B. GAUZE ↓
IPI CLOTH ↓
F/W GAUZE ↓
BACKING ↓
FLY·3

IPI CLOTH IN — WORKS ↑

NARRATOR ON DSL ROCK — SPOT·11

LB·25

1P1 ↓
B. GAUZE ↓
F.W. GAUZE ↓
BACKING ↓

FLY·3

1P1 IN

WORK ↑

NARRATOR ON SL ROCK (W. Hand + Shoulder)

SPOT·11

1P1 ↑ [illegible]
B GAUZE ↑

NARRATOR
The time of the dry earth is with us again, and the tears stream from the eyes of my young wife Nadia, for I must go to the city to provide for my family. There, a man can grow rich, I'm told. MUSIC

FLY. 4

LB·25B

NADIA, WILL YOU REMEMBER ME?
CHILDREN, SEVEN, EIGHT, NINE, AND THREE.
WILL YOU REMEMBER WHER WE ARE PARTED?
DON'T CRY, MY YOUNG WIFE, I MUST GET STARTED.
THERE LIES MY MOTHER - WORN OUT, SHE'S SLEEPING.
THERE LIES MY BROTHER, ACHING FROM WEEPING.

NADIA, YOU'LL SEE THE TREES TURN GREEN.
NADIA, YOU'LL SEE THE CHILDREN GROW.
MY HEART IS SHAKING, BUT I WILL BE STRONG.
I FEEL I'M BREAKING, BUT I MUST MOVE ON.
LOOK AT THE BRIGHT STAR - ALWAYS REMEMBER.
UNDER THE SAME STAR, WE'LL BE TOGETHER.

WORK OUT

CK WHITE GAUZE

FLY·4A

BACKING ↑

(GUITAR SOLO) BACKING OUT

LB·26
(BLEED THRU)

NADIA, I SEE THE CITY'S FACE.
NADIA, IS THIS TO BE MY PLACE?
SO MANY PEOPLE, ALL DIFFERENT RACES.
SO MANY VOICES, SO MANY PLACES.
NOW IT IS SUNSET, AND YOU ARE EATING.
SOON IT IS DARKNESS, AND YOU ARE SLEEPING.

WARN
LB·27
FLY·5

NADIA, I AM A MAN OF HOPE.
HOPING, DREAMING THE DREAMS ~~ARE~~ COME TRUE.
ONE DAY A RICH MAN, WE'LL BE TOGETHER.
NEVER MORE PARTED, UNITED ~~TOGETHER.~~ FOREVER
I AM IN SILENCE, AND THE DAY IS DAWNING.
NOW IT IS SUNRISE. WHAT BRINGS THE MORNING?

GAUZE ↑

NADIA....

FLY·5

GAUZE 3/4 OUT

⑥ LB·27

(SPOT SHOULD FADE
AS GAUZE FLIES OUT)

ACT II

CK ACT II PRESETS

PROPS: SET US ROCKS
STRIKE DS ROCK No 1 ✓ ✓

FLIES:
CITY OUT

ELEC:
STRIKE MIKE ✓ ✓

SIGNAL HOUSE 5" TO GO

PRESET (BLUE CYC + BOOM
WORKS OUT

WHEN READY

WARN
HOUSE LIGHTS
WARMERS
FLY 5B
SOUND
SPOTS 14·15

WHEN READY

HOUSE ½
SOUND

HI-YA, HI-YA, HI-YA HO N'TOMBI UM
HI-YA, HI-YA, HI-YA HO N'TOMBI UM
IPI N'TOMBI UM, N'TOMBI UM (UM)
IPI N'TOMBI UM, N'TOMBI UM (UM)

HOUSE ↓

X HI-YA, HI-YA, HI-YA HO N'TOMBI UM
HI-YA, HI-YA, HI-YA HO N'TOMBI UM
HI-YA, HI-YA, HI-YA HO . . . .

WARMERS ↓

SOUND + WARMERS OUT

FLY 5·B

CUT
RAIL
+
BOARD MON

NAR. DSR

NARRATOR

On Sundays, I would visit the mines to listen to the songs of my people. Sometimes they woudd sing with joy; sometimes with sadness. They would make a man think of home X

SPOT · 14

SPOT OUT

SPOT · 15

PINK BODY
ON CS SOLO
MARTHA

RESTORE MONITORS

PU WOMAN USC FOLLOW THRU SONG -
SNAP OUT WHEN SHE REACHES
DRUMMER SL.

THE CHILD

SOLOIST (MARTHA)

BYAKALA, BYAKALA
EMAKYA
BYAKALA, BYAKALA
EMAKYA
OLOSEEZEE, EPATASABU
OLOSEEZEE, EPATASABU
ZEPALMAL, KOHOAKROHSETUM
ZEPALMAL, KOHOAKROHSETUM
TOLOLLELO, TELEOUOUUU
TOLOLLELO, TELEOUOUUUUU

WE ARE CHILDREN, YES, YOUR CHILDREN,
DON'T FORSAKE US
WE ARE PRAYING, WE ARE WEEPING, WE ARE STARVING

TELL ME, LORD, WHAT DO I TELL THE CHILDREN?
TELL ME, LORD, WHAT TO I TELL THE CHILD?

CAN'T YOU HEAR THAT I AM FRIGHTENED, LORD?
CAN'T YOU HEAR THAT I AM FRIGHTENED, LORD?

GIVE US STRENGTH SO THAT WE CAN FEED THE
LITTLE CHILDREN
GIVE US STRENGTH SO THAT WE CAN FEED THE CHILD

GIVE US STRENGTH SO THAT WE CAN FEED THE
LITTLE CHILDREN
GIVE US STRENGTH SO THAT WE CAN FEED THE CHILD

(FALSE ENDING) WARN
SPOT. 16
16A
LB. 34

WE ARE CHILDREN, YES, YOUR CHILDREN, DON'T
FORSAKE US
WE ARE PRAYING, WE ARE WEEPING, WE ARE STARVING

TELL ME, LORD, WHAT DO I TELL THE CHILDREN?
TELL ME, LORD, WHAT DO I TELL THE CHILD?

NARRATOR X DR SPOT. 16

NARRATOR

Starving children? Hunger? Even here in the city of gold? My hear is sore. But I must shake off the coat of sadness. X SPOT OUT

SPOT 16A

WEDDING GUEST
(leaping in front of NARRATOR) DSR #1

Today is a celebration! The wedding of Mama Tembu! ② LB. 34

THEN WARN
SPOT 17

TEMBU

MAMA TMBU'S WEDDING

TONIGHT, TONIGHT'S THE WEDDING FEAST
THE MEN ARRIVE WITH THE SLAUGHTERED BEAST
A WAIL, A CHANT, SOON FILLS THE AIR
FOR MILES AROUND THE PEOPLE HEAR BRIDEGROOM ENTERS SR#2 SPOT.17

MAMA TEMBU'S GETTING MARRIED HERE TONIGHT
ALL THE SPIRITS SHOUTING, CHANTING THEIR DELIGHT
MAMA TEMBU'S GETTING MARRIED HERE TONIGHT
THE BONES ARE THROWN AND MAMA'S PATH IS
VERY BRIGHT

ELACRE, ELACRE, TELA LACAPAYA
ELACRE, ELACRE, TELA LACAPAYA
ELACRE, ELACRE, TELA LACAPAYA
ELACRE, ELACRE, TELA LACAPAYA

THE MAIDENS KNEEL AND KISS THE BRIDE
THE WARRIOR WAITS, HE'S FILLED WITH PRIDE
THE DRUMMER STARTS TO POUND THE GROUND
FOR MILES AROUND THEY HEAR THE SOUND

MAMA TEMBU'S GETTING MARRIED HERE TONIGHT
ALL THE SPIRITS SOUTING, CHANTING THEIR DELIGHT
MAMA TEMBU'S GETTING MARRIED HERE TONIGHT
THE BONES ARE THROWN AND MANA'S PATH IS
VERY BRIGHT

ELACRE, ELACRE, TELA LACAPAYA
ELACRE, ELACRE, TELA LACAPAYA

THERE'S A SILENT CALL IN THE DEEP OF THE NIGHT
BECAUSE NEVER BEFORE HAVE THEY SEEN SUCH A SIGHT
AS THE BRIDE, MAMA TEMBU WALKS OUT THROUGH
THE DOOR
AND THE VALLEY STILL ECHOES THE SOUND AS
THEY ROAR

MAMA TEMBU'S GETTING MARRIED HERE TONIGHT
AS SL PLANK LIFTED ALL THE SPIRITS SHOUTING, CHANTING THEIR DELIGHT WARN
MAMA TEMBU'S GETTING MARRIED HERE TONIGHT LB.35
THE BONES ARE THROWN AND MAMA'S PATH IS FLY.6
VERY BRIGHT

ELACRE, ELACRE, TELA LACAPAYA
ELACRE, ELACRE, TELA LACAPAYA
ELACRE, ELACRE, TELA LACAPAYA
ELACRE, ELACRE, TELA LACAPAYA

ELACRE ELACRE, TELA LACAPAYA WINDOW ↓
TURN STEP ELACRE, ELACRE, TELA LACAPAYA FLY.6
ELACRE, ELACRE, TELA LACAPAYA
ELACRE, ELACRE, TELA LACAPAYA LB.35

LB.35

ALL

WARN
LTS. 36

ZIKALALA
ZIKALALA
ZIKALALA
ZIKALALA

ZIKALALA
ZIKALALA
ZIKALALA
ZIKALALAAA ⑥ LTS. 36

BRIDEGROOM

BABY, BABY, I LOVE YOU FOREVER
BABY, BABY, DON'T EVER SAY NEVER
BABY, BABY, I WISH ON A WISHBONE
BABY, BABY, DON'T LEAVE ME ALONE

BABY, BABY, I LOVE YOU FOREVER
BABY, BABY, DON'T EVER SAY NEVER
BABY, BABY, I WISH ON A WISHBONE
BABY, BABY, DON'T LEAVE ME ALONE

BABY, BABY, I LOVE YOU FOREVER
BABY, BABY, DON'T EVER SAY NEVER
BABY, BABY, I WISH ON A WISHBONE
BABY, BABY, DON'T LEAVE ME ALONE

BABY, BABY, I LOVE YOU FOREVER
BABY, BABY, DON'T EVER SAY NEVER
BABY, BABY, I WISH ON A WISHBONE
BABY, BABY, DON'T LEAVE ME ALONE

(GUITAR SOLO)

WARN
LTS. 37
FLY. 7

BABY, BABY, I LOVE YOU FOREVER
BABY, BABY, DON'T EVER SAY NEVER
BABY, BABY, I WISH ON A WISHBONE
BABY, BABY: DON'T LEAVE ME ALONE

(SPOTS TO HEAD OF PROCESSION)

BABY, BABY, I LOVE YOU FOREVER
BABY, BABY, DON'T EVER SAY NEVER (X WINDOW ↑ HALL ↓) FLY. 7
BABY, BABY, I WISH ON A WISHBONE
BABY, BABY, DON'T LEAVE ME ALONE HALL IN ④ LTS. 37

IMMEDIATELY

WARN
LTS. 38

BRIDEGROOM

Hey, fellows!

MEN

Yes?

BRIDEGROOM

Mr.   is playing the flute.

MEN

Where?

BRIDEGROOM

At our wedding!

MEN

Ahhhhhhhhhh. . . .

BRIDEGROOM

Mr. Machele is playing the drum.

MAN

And we're going to join them in the dances.

ALL

Ha. Ha. Ha. Ha.

MAN

We will do the phata-phata touch-touch.

ANOTHER MAN

The phata-phata touch-touch?

LQ3·38

ALSO:
FADE SPOT

ALL

Yeah. . . .

PHATA - PHATA

4,

MR MABOUTI IS PLAYING THE FLUTE
AT NALEDI HALL ON SATURDAY NIGHT
MR NACHELE IS PLAYING THE DRUMS
AT NALEDI HALL ON SATURDAY NIGHT

WATCHING THE DRUMMER DRUM
WATCHING THE ~~DANCING~~ Dancers
DOING THE PHATA
AT THE NALEDI HALL
THOUGH IT'S
~~BEING~~ OUTRAGEOUS
THE FEELING'S CONTAGIOUS
COME JOIN IN THE DANCE
AT NALEDI HALL
the

PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA, PHATA-PHATA

COME AND JOIN US
COME AND JOIN US
COME AND JOIN US
PHATA-PHATA, PHATA-PHATA
DO IT BABY
DO A FAVOR ?
DO A FAVOR
~~DO~~ A FAVOR

DO — BABY

PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA, PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA, PHATA-PHATA
FLUTE
MR.MATOTI IS PLAYING THE BASS
AT NALEDI HALL ON SATURDAY NIGHT
MAC WILL BRING ANNA WHO'LL SING WITH THE BAND
AT NALEDI HALL ON SATURDAY NIGHT

WATCHING THE DRUMMER DRUM
WATCHING THE ~~DANCING~~ Dancers
DOING TRE PHATA
AT THE NALEDI HALL
THOUGH IT'S
~~BEING~~ OUTRAGEOUS
THE FEELING'S CONTAGIOUS
COME JOIN IN THE DANCE
AT NALEDI HALL
the

PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA, PHATA-PHATA

COME AND JOIN US
COME AND JOIN US
COME AND JOIN US
PHATA-PHATA, PHATA-PHATA
DO IT BABY
~~DO A FAVOR~~
~~DO A FAVOR~~ "
~~DO A FAVOR~~ "

PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA, PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA, PHATA-PHATA

(PIANO)

PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA, PHATA-PHATA

COME AND JOIN US
COME AND JOIN US
COME AND JOIN US
PHATA-PHATA, PHATA-PHATA 5 COUPLES DS WARN

SPOT 18
19

WATCHING THE DRUMMER DRUM
WATCHING THE ~~DANCING~~ DANCERS
DOING THE PHATA
AT THE NALEDI HALL
THOUGH IT'S
~~BEING~~ OUTRAGEOUS
THE FEELING'S CONTAGIOUS
COME JOIN IN THE DANCE
AT THE NALEDI HALL

PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA
PHATA-PHATA, PHATA-PHATA TWO MEN + GIRL DC SPOT-18

OPEN WIDE

COME AND JOIN US
COME AND JOIN US
COME AND JOIN US
PHATA-PHATA, PHATA-PHATA
DO IT BABY (3X)
~~DO A FAVOR~~
DO A FAVOR
~~DO A FAVOR~~

(FADES OUT)

DRUMS

KITCHEN MEN IN WHITE ENTER
FROM SR TO CENTER
X
SPOT-19

C+S

GUESTS

Siyababongela!
Siyababongela!
Siyababongela!
Siyababongela!

BRIDEGROOM

WISHING

WISHING, WISHING
THAT THE WORLD COULD SEE
THE CHARM THAT MARRIED ME
WISHING, WISHING,
THAT THE WORLD COULD BE
IN HARMONY WITH ME

CHORUS

(As the BRIDEGROOM scats first verse)

WISHING, WISHING
WISHING, WISHING
WISHING, WISHING
WISHING, WISHING

BRIDEGROOM

I SEE HER LOVELY FACE,
SMELL HER PERFUME
SHE'S SO FILLED WITH GRACE
MAN, I'M IN TUNE
TODAY IS MY DAY-AY-AY
I'LL BLOW MY MIND (AWAY)

WISHING, WISHING
THAT THE WORLD COULD SEE
THE CHARM THAT MARRIED ME
WISHING, WISHING
THAT THE WORLD COULD BE
IN HARMONY WITH ME

CHORUS

(As the BRIDEGROOM scats first verse)

WISHING, WISHING
WISHING, WISHING
WISHING, WISHING
WISHING, WISHING

WISHING, WISHING
WISHING, WISHING
WISHING, WISHING
WISHING. . . .

COKE CAN DANCE BY GIRLS

ZIMBABA

GUESTS

Zimbaba! Zimbaba!

GIRLS

YOU TAKE A WORD AND THEN YOU PUT IT TO RHYME
YOU TAKE THAT RHYME AND YOU PUT IT TO TIME

YOU TAKE A VOICE AND TRY TO SING WITH A SONG
YOU TAKE A NOTE AND TRY TO BEAT IT OUT STRONG

ALL
ZIMBABA, TINKALA
ZIMBABA, TINKALA
ZIMBABA, TINKALA
ZIMBABA, TINKALA

ZIMBERIA
ZIMBERIA
ZIMBERIA
BABA

ZIMBERIA
ZIMBERIA
ZIMBERIA
BABA

TSHABALALA 16 X
ZIMBARIA
ZIMBABA

GIRLS
THE MUSIC PLAYS, AND NOW WE'RE SINGING A SONG
THE SINGER SHAKES, AND WE'RE SINGING ALONG

MEN
THE WORLD IS HAPPY AS WE PUT IT TO TIME
AND THAT'S THE STORY OF A WORD PUT TO RHYME

ALL
ZIMBABA, TINKALA
ZINBABA, TINKALA
ZIMBABA, TINKALA
ZIMBABA, TINKALA

ZIMBERIA
ZIMBERIA
ZIMBERIA
BABA

2ND TIME MEN MOVE THROUGH FRONT ROW + RETREAT (COUNT US)

WARN SPOT. 21

ZIMBERIA
ZIMBERIA
ZIMBERIA
BABA

ZIMBERIA
ZIMBERIA
ZIMBERIA
BABA

ZIMBERIA
ZIMBERIA
ZIMBERIA
BABA

ZIMBERIA
ZIMBERIA
ZIMBERIA
BABA

BRIDEGROOM
PULA NALA!

SPOT. 21

W GAUZE ↓
BACKING ↓
F: MINE ↑

FLY·10

LTS·41

GOING HOME (THE DIGGER)

(Qubula N'Qanda)

OU BOO LA NAND JAH
OU BOO LA NAND JAH
OU BOO LAAAAAAAA

DROP IN

WORKS ↑

PRESET

A RAINBOW ~~[illegible]~~ YAWNS IN THE SKY,
A VISION BLINDING THE EYE,
THAT PEACEFUL PLACE OF MY BIRTH
WHERE RAINBOWS DANCED ON THE EARTH.
MEMORIES ~~SWEET~~ WEEP
THAT ONCE I LIVED.
I WAS ALIVE
AND NOW I ONLY SURVIVE.
HIYA HO
HI YAH OH, I LIVE, BUT WHERE IS MY PLACE?
HI YAH OH, I SMILE, BUT IS THIS MY FACE?
HI YAH OH, I CRY, BUT WHERE ARE THE TEARS?
HI YAH OH, I DIE THE DEATH OF NO FEARS.

OU BOO LA NAND JAH
OU BOO LA NAND JAH
OU BOO LA NAND JAH
OU BOO LAAAAAAAA

EACH DAY I DIG - IN TRE MINE,
SEARCHING FOR GOLD IN THE GRIME.
TOGETHER WE SWEAT IN TIME,
CHANTING AND DIGGING ~~THE~~ LIME.
MEMORIES ~~SWEET~~ WEEP IN
THAT ONCE I LIVED.
I WAS ALIVE
AND NOW I ONLY SURVIVE.

WARN
LTS/41A

HI YAH OH, I LIVE, BUT WHERE IS MY PLACE?
HI YAH OH, I SMILE, BUT IS THIS MY FACE?
HI YAH OH, I CRW, BUT WHERE ARE THE TEARS?
HI YAH OH, I DIE THE DEATH OF NO FEARS.

FLY·11
WORKS OUT ↓

BOO BOO LA NAND JAH
BOO BOO LA NAND JAH
BOO BOO LA NAND JAH
BOO BOO LAAAAAAAA

WHY DID I FOLLOW MY GREED?
RICHER, BUT POORER IN NEED.
WHAT CAN I SAY TO MY SON?
ADVISE, AND TELL HIM TO RUN.
I CHOKE ON SHAME,
A MAN CAN STAND STRONG
BUT LIFE STILL GOES WRONG
SO TELL ME, LORD, WHO'S TO BLAME?

(FRONTS OUT)
FLY·11
LTS·41A
W·GAUZE ↑
BACKING ↑

~~DR[illegible]~~

WARN

LQ·41B

42

42A

43

HI YAH OH, I LIVE, BUT WHERE IS MY PLACE?
HI YAH OH, I SMILE, BUT IS THIS MY FACE?
HI YAH OH, I CRY, BUT WHERE ARE THE TEARS?
HI YAH OH, I DIE THE DEATH OF NO FEARS.

BOO BOO LA NAND JAH
BOO BOO LA NAND JAH
BOO BOO LA NAND JAH
BOO BOO LAAAAAAAA

GOING HOME - FOLLOW THE TRACK.
GOING HOME - I'M GOING BACK.
GOING HOME - BACK TO MY WIFE.
GOING HOME - BACK TO MY LIFE.

Same as before

BOO BOO LA NAND JAH	GOOOOOOOOOOO
BOO BOO LA NAND JAH	
BOO BOO LA NAND JAH	OH-OH-OH
BOO BOO LA NAND JAH	HI YAH OHHHHHHH
BOO BOO LA NAND JAH	HI YAH OHHHHHHH
BOO BOO LA NAND JAH	HI YAH OHHHHHHH
BOO BOO LA NAND JAH	
BOO BOO LAAAAAAAA	HI YAH OH~~H~~HHHHH

(EXITING USL)
(PLATFORM)

LQ·41B
(3 cts)

(APPLAUSE)

⑤ LQ·42
USL RED SP

NARRATOR

I returned home to find my people preparing for battle. A war over cattle? What does it matter? A cow, a loaf of bread, a kingdom - the blood still flows. Dear God, where is peace? LB·42A

SHOUT NOW! WARN SPOT·23

RESPONSE

SOLO CHANT

GROUP RESPNOSE

SOLO CHANT

GROUP RESPONSE

SOLO CHANT MEN FORMING LINE DS LB·43

GROUP RESPONSE

SOLO VOICE

OH LASHONAI LANGA, A LA SHO LI LA SPOT·23

C+S LIGHT BLUE TO EXIT

GROUP

OH LASHONAI LANGA, A LA SHO LI LA (28 times)

AS MEN BEND OVER 2ND TIME WARN LB·44

LAST MAN EXITS SL#2

(DRUMS CHANGE)

(#28) LB·44

SOLO CHANT

GROUP RESPONSE FOLLOW WARN SPOT·24

SOLO CHANT

GROUP RESPONSE

THE WARRIOR

MEN
HO ZA, HO ZA, HO
HO ZA, HO ZA, HO GIRLS FORM 2 LINES SR

SPOT • 24
C+S PINK

WOMEN
AS NIGHT FADES OUT (HAMBA)
FADED BY THE SUN (~~PAH-PAH~~)
TEN THOUSAND MEN
STAND HIGH ON THE HILL (PAH-PAH)
A LULL OF SILENCE
AND THE EARTH IS STILL (PAH-PAH)
TEN THOUSAND MEN
TREMBLE FOR THE KILL

MEN
A VULTURE FLIES
THE WIND THAT CRIES
A WARIOR DIES
AT THE BATTLE OF BLOOD
THE SCAVENGERS WAIT
EACH MAN THEIR BAIT
DEATH HIS MATE
AT THE BATTLE OF BLOOD

HO ZA, HO ZA, HO
HO ZA, NO ZA, HO

WOMEN
HO ZA, HO ZA, HO
HO, ZA, HO ZA, HO
HO, ZA, HO ZA, HO
IPI ~~LA NOTTAH~~ LEYADODA

HO ZA, NO ZA, HO
HO ZA, HO ZA, HO
HO ZA, HO ZA, HO
IPI LA NOTTAH

MEN
HO ZA, HO ZA, HO
HO ZA, HO ZA, HO

WARN
diagonal squat LX3 • 45

WOMEN
MAIDENS SITTING
SITTING ON THEIR OWN (PAH-PAH)
EACH ONE THINKING
WHO IS COMING HOME? (PAH-PAH)
~~THE~~ A SPEAR~~S~~ CLASHING
SCREAMING ~~THROUGH~~ FILLS THE AIR (PAH-PAH)
EACH ONE SHIVERS
IN HER HEART A SCARE

MEN
A VULTURE FLIES
THE WIND THAT CRIES
A WARRIOR DIES
AT THE BATTLE OF BLOOD

THE SCAVENGERS WAIT
EACH MAN THEIR BAIT
DEATH HIS MATE
AT THE BATTLE OF BLOOD (SPLIT)

LB.45

By yeh te zu b'yete (21 x)

ALSO
FADESPOT

drums

shout 1
" 2
" 3

Hey
tom bele
oha
oha
oha
No noho
o yah
o

17 bodeleh to
Panzi.

oho
ooha
Panzi

FIRST CALL

MEN

HO ZA, HO ZA, HO
~~HO ZA, HO ZA, HO~~

IPI OUT
LB·54

WOMEN

THE FIGHT'S OVER
AND THE BATTLE'S WON
THE FIGHT'S OVER
AND THE DEED IS DONE
THE FIGHT'S OVER
BUT WHICH SIDE HAS WON
THE FIGHT'S OVER
OR HAS IT JUST BEGUN

MEN

A VULTURE FLIES
THE WIND THAT CRIES
A WARRIOR DIES
AT THE BATTLE OF BLOOD
THE SCAVENGERS WAIT
EACH MAN THEIR BAIT
DEATH HIS MATE
AT THE BATTLE OF BLOOD

HO ZA, HO ZA, HO
HO ZA, HO ZA, HO

WOMEN

HO ZA, HO ZA, HO
HO ZA, HO ZA, HO
HO ZA, HO ZA, HO
IPI LA NOTTAH

HO ZA, HO ZA, HO
HO ZA, HO ZA, HO
HO ZA, HO ZA, HO
IPI LA NOTTAH

HO ZA, HO ZA, HO
~~HO ZA, HO ZA, HO~~
HO ZA, HO ZA, HO
IPI LA NOTTAH

IPI IN
LB·55

HO ZA, HO ZA ETC. fade

SOUND

MUSIC 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 ~~11~~ 12

IPI OUT
LB·56

January 4, 1977

IPI-TOMBI IS GOOD

For African People, American People and All People

The musical IPI-TOMBI at the Harkness Theatre on Broadway is not a political show. It is strictly entertainment. It is not at all being sponsored or supported by the South African government. This is an American Company who has licensed rights from an English producer, who owns the world rights. All monies paid as royalties go to the English producer and we send no money to South Africa. In no way has the South African government been involved in producing or financing this show.

IPI-TOMBI has played in Canada, England, France, Israel, and Nigeria. In these countries, millions have seen it and enthusiastically understood that this presents a positive image of the South African black culture. The Nigerian government, a third world country, sponsored the show to open the National Theatre in Lagos for a two month engagement.

Bertha Egnos, who conceived and directed the project, has gathered together African black music and dance and put it into a show for the world to appreciate. This has preserved it for us as a living art form. Bertha Egnos is a white woman who has worked with various black groups and this in no way diminishes her contribution to the value of this show. Many shows with black casts currently on Broadway have been written by whites as well. IPI-TOMBI has also helped to further integration within the theatre in South Africa, not that there isn't more to be accomplished.

Demonstrating groups such as the Patrice Lumumba Coalition and the Socialist Workers Party, in harming IPI-TOMBI, can only serve to strengthen the present status quo in South Africa. The South African government would not be disturbed at all if IPI-TOMBI were closed and left Broadway and returned home.

All the charges that were made and printed in leaflets being distributed by the Socialist Workers Party, the Patrice Lumumba Coalition and others are deceptive and untrue. The facts are that the cast of IPI-TOMBI are receiving no less than $395.00 per week each plus welfare and vacation pay under American Actors' Equity Association contracts and in London received more than double the British Actors' Equity Association scale. They are not being exploited and this show does not serve any political purpose for the South African government.

The twenty-five members of the cast wrote a letter to the demonstrators pointing out clearly and unequivocally that their charges are untrue and do not serve to help the situation in South Africa. Many members of the cast have been with the show for 3½ years and firmly believe that it serves to help solve their problems at home.

Through their experience in this country, the cast members cannot help but learn American democratic ways as they have complete freedom of movement and communication while they are here. If the boycott succeeds in preventing people from seeing the show, this cast will return to South Africa and have learned that there is democracy in this country but not for them.

Artistic people, through use of their imaginations, create a world as they see it. The freedom to create is as important a freedom in our democratic society as any other freedom and to use censorship and coercion to stop it is criminal.

It would be grossly unjust that misrepresentation of the facts resulted in harming this African show.

The African Musical Company
The Producers of IPI-TOMBI
in the United States

January 1st, 1977

Bodade Nabafowethu,
BROTHERS & SISTERS.

Siyanicela bantu bakithi ukuthi niyeke lomsebenzi wenu ka- Iphi Intombi. Abantu sebephelile ekhaya e South Afrika, bezama indlela yenkululeko. Baqedwa ngamabhunu afana nalo leli elinilethe lapha, u Bertha Egnos, onincela igazi lenu njengembungulu yize abanye benu bengathandi ukukukholwa kahle lokhu.

Ngakho ke kufanele niziphephise engozini engase inivelele emuva uma niqhubeka nalomsebenzi wenu. Yonke lento eyenzekayo ngani lana eNew York iyaziwa eSouth Afrika, niyoyikhotha imbenge yomile kwabomzabalazo.

Yize nisebenzela izingane zenu njenganoba ubani, kufanele niqonde ukuthi umsebenzi wenkululeko owenziwa eSouth Afrika ungaphezulu kwesinkwa somuntu ngamunye ngamunye.Uthinta wonk'uwonke owakhele iAfrika, nani uqobo. Kukho konke ke bakwethu sithi khawulani ukuzenza izicashalala zamabhunu, sesedlula lesosikhathi. Tshengisani ubudlelwane nokubambisana nabomzabalazo ngokuyeka lomdlalo wenu. Okubalulekileyo kulesikhathi samanje ukuba sibemunye maAfrika, sibambane ngezandla ekulweni impi yokuzikhulula ebugquileni osebubhekene nesizwe esinsundu iminyaka ngeminyaka.

Yithina,
Obade Nabafowenu eMerika.

SITHI YEKANI UKUGIDA!

AWUCHITHEKE UMDLALO KA IPHI INTOMBI!

HOTEL
Empire
at Lincoln Center
BROADWAY & 63RD STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023

(212) 265-7400
600 ROOMS
TELEVISION
AIR CONDITIONING

This is a Request to you our People to quit your work, Ipi-Tombi. People are Finished at home in South Africa Trying a way of Freedom. Finished by the whites who are the same as the one who braught you here, Bertha Egnos. She is sucking your blood like a leech, though some of you refuse to believe this.

Thus you must evade the danger that might befall you afterwards if you continue with this work of yours. Everything happening here about you is known in South Africa. ?, ? you will regret ?.

You are working for your Children like everybody else. You must understand that the freedom work now done in S.A. is above individual breadline aspirations. It concerns all Africans in Africa including yourselves. To all this bretherans

MEMBER
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF TRAVEL AGENTS
ASTA
RESERVATIONS FOR ANY Carter Hotels MAY BE MADE AT OUR FRONT DESK
NEW YORK
HOTEL DIXIE
HOTEL EMPIRE
HOTEL GEORGE WASHINGTON
BUFFALO
HOTEL LAFAYETTE
BOSTON
HOTEL ESSEX
HOTEL AVERY

WE SAY STOP MAKING YOURSELVES PUPPETS TO THE WHITES. THAT ERA IS LONG PAST. SHOW BROTHERHOOD, TOGETHERNESS ASSISTANCE TO FREEDEM-FIGHTERS, BY QUITTING YOUR WORK. WHAT IS UPPERMOST AT THIS ERA TIME IS THAT WE MUST BE UNITED ONE AFRICANS. HOLD HANDS IN FIGHTING A WAR OF FREEING OURSELVES FROM SLAVERY IS WHAT IS FACING BLACK NATION FOR YEARS AND YEARS.

WE ARE
YOUR BROTHERS + SISTERS
IN AMERICA

WE SAY STOP DANCING!

LET IPI-TOMBI SHOW SPLIT!

western union Mailgram®

2-000326E005 01/05/77 ICS IPMMTZZ CSP NYAB
7036289926 MGM TDMT ABINGDON VA 776 01-05 0014A EST

MAX EISEN
234 WEST 44 ST
NEW YORK NY 10036

BERTHA EGNOS, ONE OF THE CREATORS OF THE BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN MUSICAL "IPI TOMBI" NOW PLAYING AT THE HARKNESS, HAS DENIED ACCUSATIONS MADE AGAINST HER BY SEVERAL ACTIVIST GROUPS BOYCOTTING THE PLAY. "WE ARE ACCUSED OF EXPLOITING THE CAST BY UNDERPAYING THEM," MS EGNOS STATED IN A TELEPHONE INTERVIEW. "THIS IS A TOTALLY FALSE ACCUSATION, AS ANYONE WHO HAS BOTHERED TO LOOK AT THE FACTS WOULD KNOW. FOR EXAMPLE, THE NEW YORK COMPANY IS BEING PAID ABOVE EQUITY SCALE. THE LONDON COMPANY IS BEING PAID FAR MORE THAN THE NORMAL RATE. THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANY WAS PAID ON THE SAME LEVEL AS WHITE PERFORMERS. IF WE'RE EXPLOITING THE CAST, THEN EVERY ENTERTAINER ON BROADWAY WHO IS BEING PAID EQUITY RATES IS BEING EXPLOITED."

WHEN ASKED ABOUT HER STATEMENT IN AN INTERVIEW IN LONDON IN WHICH SHE WAS REPORTED AS SAYING, "YOU CAN'T HOLD AN AFRICAN DOWN WHEN THERE IS MUSIC," MS EGNOS CLAIMS TO HAVE BEEN INTERPRETED OUT OF CONTEXT" I WAS SPEAKING IN CULTURAL TERMS," SHE SAID. "DIFFERENT CULTURES PRODUCE DIFFERENT TALENTS. FOR EXAMPLE, AMERICAN CULTURE PRODUCES GREAT BASEBALL PLAYERS. THE BRITISH LIFESTYLE CREATES SOME PRODIGIOUS BEER DRINKERS. AND MANY OF THE CULTURES IN AFRICA PRODUCE EXCELLENT MUSIC, MUCH MORE COMPLEX AND INTRICATE THAN MOST WESTERNERS REALIZE. IN FEW PLACES IN THE WORLD IS MUSIC SUCH A PART OF EVERYDAY LIFE AS IT IS IN SOME AREAS OF AFRICA. 'IPI TOMBI' TRIES TO COMMUNICATE THIS TO THE AUDIENCE."

A RECENT ARTICLE IN THE NEW YORK TIMES CARRIED A STATEMENT THAT SOME OF THE MUSIC IN THE SHOW HAD BEEN PLAIGARIZED FROM THE CAST. "TRADITIONAL MUSIC IS WOVEN INTO THE PLAY," STATED MS EGNOS, "BECAUSE TRADITIONAL MUSIC IS PART OF TODAYS SCENE IN AFRICA. LIKE THE WORKS OF SHAKESPEARE, THIS MUSIC BELONGS TO EVERYONE. ON OUR ALBUMS WE HAVE STATED THAT TRADITIONAL MUSIC IS USED, BUT I UNDERSTAND THE PROGRAM AT THE HARKNESS DOES NOT INCLUDE THIS INFORMATION, AND THIS SHOULD BE CORRECTED."

THE PICKETING OF THE HARKNESS THEATER DISTURBES MS EGNOS AND CAUSES HER SOME CONFUSION. "THE PEOPLE WHO ARE PROTESTING THE PLAY CLAIM TO KNOW HOW THE SYSTEM WORKS IN SOUTH AFRICA," SAID MS EGNOS, "YET AT THE SAME TIME THEY SEEM TO EXPECT OUR PLAY TO BE MAKING A SWEEPING POLITICAL STATEMENT. THEY EITHER DON'T KNOW WHAT THE POLITICAL REALITIES OF SOUTH AFRICAN LIFE ARE, OR THEY ARE CONFUSED THEMSELVES." WHEN ASKED IF SHE MEANT THAT ANY STATEMENTS MADE BY THE CAST OR MANAGEMENT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT MIGHT CAUSE THEM TROUBLE BACK IN SOUTH AFRICA, MS EGNOS

REFUSED TO CO

ONE OF THE MAIN OBJECTIONS RAISED BY THE PICKETING GROUPS IS THAT "IPI TOMBI" PRESENTS A "BOGUS AIR OF HAPPINESS" AND "REINFORCES NEGATIVE AND ONE SIDED IMAGES." MS EGNOS QUESTIONS WHETHER OR NOT THE PERSONS WHO MADE THESE ACCUSATIONS HAD SEEN THE PLAY. "THE SHOW PORTRAYS MANY FACTS OF BLACK LIFE IN SOUTH AFRICA IN ADDITION TO THE MUSIC," SHE CLAIMS. "IT DEALS WITH FAMILY SEPARATION, MENIAL WORK, LACK OF OPPORTUNITY, AND HAS SUCH LINES AS 'WE ARE PRAYING, WE ARE WEEPING, WE ARE STARVING, TELL ME LORD, HOW WILL I FEED THE CHILDREN'. A VERSE FROM THE SONG 'THE DIGGER,' SAYS 'WHAT DO I SAY TO MY SON, ADVISE AND TELL HIM TO RUN, I CHOKE ON SHAME'. THESE ARE NOT EXACTLY LYRICS FROM MARY POPPINS. PERHAPS THE PEOPLE WHO MADE THESE ACCUSATIONS CAN ONLY SEE ONE SIDE OF THINGS."

MS EGNOS EXPRESSED ANGER THAT, ALTHOUGH THE SHOW HAS AN ALL BLACK CAST, IT IS BEING ATTACKED AS SUPPORTING SOUTH AFRICAN RACIAL POLICIES. "IT IS ABSOLUTELY ABSURD TO THINK THAT DEPRIVING BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN ENTERTAINERS OF THE OPPORTUNITY TO PERFORM IN THE UNITED STATES, BY HARASSING THEM AND ATTEMPTING TO TAKE AWAY THEIR AUDIENCE, THAT YOU ARE MAKING AN ATTACK ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. HOW CAN WE BE SUPPORTING GOVERNMENT POLICY WHEN 2[illegible] OF THE SONGS IN THE SHOW ARE BANNED IN SOUTH AFRICA, WHE WE ARE CREATING NEW RECOGNITION AND IDENTITY FOR BLACK PERFORMERS? ALL THESE BOYCOTTERS ARE DOING IS DESTROYING AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THESE ENTERTAINERS TO PERFORM IN AMERICA."

WHEN ASKED ABOUT HER OWN RACIAL ATTITUDES, MS EGNOS REPLIED THAT RATHER THAN MAKE A STATEMENT, SHE WOULD RATHER BE JUDGED FROM WHAT HER SHOWS HAS DONE. "WE PIONEERED THE INTEGRATING OF AUDIENCES IN MAJOR CITIES," SHE SAID. "WE OPENED UP SEGREGATED HOTELS AND WE HAVE BLACK PERFORMERS ON STAGES WHERE NO BLACKS HAVE BEEN BEFORE. MY SHOWS LIKE DINGAKA, IPI TOMBI AND LULA-WENA HAVE HELPED TO CREATE A NEW AWARENESS OF BLACK THEATER. IN AMERICA THE ENTERTAINMENT WORLD WAS ONE OF THE MAIN AVENUES OF INTEGRATION, BUT PERHAPS THOSE PEOPLE ON THE PICKET LINE CAN'T REMEMBER BACK THAT FAR."

RICHARD SMITH

00:19 EST

MGMCOMP MGM

"IPI TOMBI" (SURVEY)

ROCKGOSPELTIME CHURCH, INC.
345 WEST 145TH STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y.C. 10031

Rev. Carlton (King) Coleman, Pastor (212) 281-1373
663-9264 (Bus.

There is much a do, about the broadway play "Ipi Tombi". We made our survey of various people in Harlem as well as downtown and all around. We were able to see "Ipi Tombi", December 28th,1976 and again December 30th, after having a long conversation with the producer in dressing room (1) one; then we sat in soft chairs back stage and watched the stage hands and performers working together and enjoying themselves like I have never witnessed before. As we sat there, I could not help but think about the look on the producers face as he talked about himself and his love for the artists and how they loved him etc; how he refused to make a statement even to the New York Times, over much a do, about "Ipi Tombi".

I played several taped conservations of many people we surveyed, when I turned off the tape recorder he said: "If the show was not from South Africa would anyone single out "Ipi Tombi"? He said, the truth about the relationship with the "Cast" and the South African Government, is no relationship at all. That the government allowed them to go to England etc., because they are not dealing with the so-called issues that much a do, is made about "Ipi Tombi".

Our survey revealed that many people in our community are very sincere in their belief to close down "Ipi Tombi", and teach the South African government, and American backers a lesson.

The aforementioned backers could possibly lose their money, but it wi not make a hill-a-bean to the South African government; because apartheid will not end immedjately, and the business establishment in this country will continue to wheel and deal their affairs with the South African government; but "Ipi Tombi" cast members will have to go back home never experiencing "Demoracy" working for them because we say they are not dealing with the issues.

Who are we to say that "Ipi Tombi" cannot enjoy "Freedom" to dance and Sing and do their own Thing? Who are we to judge them because they refused to get down with South Africa's Politics? The politics in South Africa also involves Black on Black violence etc. "More than 60 Blacks have been killed in South Africa, almost all the victims not of government gunfire but of inter-Blacks fighting in the countryside and of battles between militants and migrant workers outside Cape Town.

Constant clashes point again and again to the deep divisions among South Africa's 18 million Blacks. The divisons are Tribal, geographic, economic and generational:

Tribal: There are four main Black ethnic groups, subdivided into more than 100 tribes with distinct cultures. Animosity is most acute in rural areas, where rival tribes are often crowded together and a cattle theft, intertribal marriage or contest for land can explode into fighting. Tribal warfare last year claimed several hundred lives, at least as deaths as the South African government action.

Geographic: More than eight million Blacks live in the so-called homelands, rural areas set aside by the government for segregated development. Ten million live in "White" South Africa, more than half in "White" South Africa, more than half in ghettos ringing the major cities. There are also three million migrant workers, who officially reside in the homelands, but labor under contracts in white areas.

Economic: Urbanization has blurred ethnic differences among ghetto Blacks, but the migrant workers, who live without their families in dormitories, are outside the assimilation process and, reportedly with government encouragement, resist militant protests that might threaten their earnings. Workers from the Baca Tribe involved in the disturbances outside Cape Town fought earlier last month with militants trying to enforce a strike; more than 30 Blacks died last August in the township of Soweto when Zulu migrant resisted a strike call.

Generational: With older activists either jailed or banned from political organizing, most Black leaders are in their 20's or 30's. Many parents complain of a generation gap with their children who criticize their subordinate place or condition and their willingness to serve in a subordinat capacity, etc."

Before we can talk about the government and Police in South Africa apartheid against the people, let us make much a do, about intertribal-Killing-Black People!

The cast of "IpiTombi" are made the scape-goats, but we must not allow ourselves to forget: that once upon a time I "danced and sang" and did my "Mash Potatoes" thing, and did not involve myself with the evils and injustice against all people until December 20th,1967. Nine years ago I was chosen into salvation, through sancitification to praise and proclaim and not be ashamed. To respect everyone position, work together and make life better and share-it.

We shared our survey and Godly views about much a do, "Ipi Tombi". Democracy and the constitution of the United States, must work for the cast the same way our Afro-Americans are doing their "Singing and Dancing" thing on the great "Black-Way!

The Godly win their case by careful argument, but the evil-minded only destroy.

Self control means controlling our emotions, blind action ruin everything. Godly views, cause a city to prosper; but the moral decay of wicked doers, drive the city down hill. I thank God for our survey: Long Live "Ipi Tombi, Long Live Ipi Tombi".

When we focus on the negative criticism of "Ipi Tombi", it is a disservice to the cast and the theatre going public!

Rev. Carlton (King) Coleman
January 3rd,1977
(Happy New Year) Smile!

Statement by: Bayard Rustin
on "Ipi Tombi"

I have long opposed the repressive regime of South Africa. More than twenty-five years ago, I was one of the two founding members of the Committee for South African Resistance, which later became today's American Committee on Africa. I worked in Africa with Azikiwe in Nigeria, Nkrumah in Ghana, Nyerere in Zambia, and Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia.

I shall in every way possible do what I can for the freedom of all peoples in southern Africa. I am sure that some of those people who are picketing Ipi Tombi believe that their action is constructive, but I feel their behavior is destructive to the artists, to the theater and to the cause of freedom in Southern Africa.

The arguments which have been made against Ipi Tombi are untrue or unsound. But since the charges have created considerable confusion I shall examine them one by one.

1. They are saying that no person (particularly a white person) should use black themes or folk music and benefit financially from such use. They forget that such use is artistically, morally, and financially traditional.

Was Paul Robeson exploiting Russians in arranging and copywriting Russian folk songs? Was Harry Burleigh wrong in arranging and copywriting a series of Negro spirituals?

2. It is also alleged that the salaries the dancers and singers received in London and are getting in New York are exploitative. Frederick O'Neal president of the Associated Actors and Artistes of America, has investigated this charge and found that the salaries paid in London and New York are correct according to union regulations. The actors in the New York company are receiving Actors' Equity road scale, $395 a week.

3. It is alleged that the contents of the play are humiliating as they show Africans as happy-go-lucky children unconcerned for dignity and freedom. The people who have made this charge have, so far as I can tell, not seen the play. I was deeply touched by the play's sensitive portrayal of conditions in the mines, menial work, the separation of families, the lack of opportunities, the difficulties that accompany urbanization, the longing for home, and the concern for helping young people cope with the lot of blacks in South Africa. Several songs from the play were banned in South Africa precisely because they realistically portray the situation of blacks.

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6. Finally, it is said that even if all the other charges are untrue, that the musical supports South Africa's racial policies. I fail to understand how depriving men and women from South Africa the right to earn a living can do anything but reinforce the apartheid policy. That "Ipi Tombi" has won critical acclaim and financial success, before integrated audiences around the world, seems

to me be a blow against apartheid. The play's success in New York will contribute to the self-confidence and determination to resist apartheid of blacks in South Africa. The health and vitality of the culture of black South Africans should be as much our concern as the more directly political struggle. I believe the "Ipi Tombi", because it is a healthy, positive, and honest expression of that culture is also a statement for freedom and dignity.

The protest against "Ipi Tombi" is misguided, misinformed, and mistaken. It does not aid the cause of black South Africans. I can understand the sense of urgency and commitment that has involved some in the protest, but freedom nowhere, not here nor in South Africa, can be advanced by the undemocratic methods and attitudes employed against "Ipi Tombi."

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 12, 1977 44

Rustin Defends 'Tombi'

Bayard Rustin says the people picketing the South African musical "Ipi Tombi" at the Harkness Theater are "misguided, misinformed, and mistaken."

Protesters, mostly black, have picketed outside the Harkness since "Ipi Tombi" began previews on Dec. 26. They charge, among other things, that the show is an indirect propaganda vehicle for the South African apartheid government.

"Ipi Tombi" is scheduled to open tonight.

'Destructive to Artists'

"I am sure that some of those people who are picketing 'Ipi Tombi' believe that their action is constructive," says Rustin, "but I feel their behavior is destructive to the artists, to the theater and to the cause of freedom in Southern Africa."

Rustin president of the A. Philip Randolph Foundation and long-time civil rights leader made his remarks in a statement released this week.

He listed the charges against "Ipi Tombi" and labeled them "untrue and unsound."

"They are saying that no person [particularly a white person] should use black themes or folk music and benefit financially from such use. They forget that such use is artistically, morally, and financially traditional.

'Was Robeson Exploiting?'

"Was Paul Robeson exploiting Russians in arranging and copywriting Russian folk songs? Was Harry Burleigh wrong in arranging and copywriting a series of Negro spirituals?"

Rustin also pointed out that Frederick O'Neal, president of Actor's Equity, had investigated the charge that the actors were receiving less than union scale and found them groundless.

"I can understand the sense of urgency and commitment that has involved some in the protest, but freedom nowhere, not here nor in South Africa, can be advanced by the undemocratic methods and attitudes employed against 'Ipi Tombi' "

View On The News

By Bayard Rustin

"Ipi Tombi": A Question Of Freedom

The proper relationship between art and politics created a controversy recently in New York with the opening of "Ipi Tombi," a musical featuring Black singers and dancers from South Africa. Shortly before it opened, a protest committee called for a boycott of the play alleging that it supported apartheid and that the cast members were exploited. Some of the people who picketed "Ipi Tombi" no doubt sincerely believed that their actions were constructive, but their behavior was actually destructive to the artists, to the theater, and to the cause of freedom in South Africa.

I have long opposed the repressive regime of South Africa. More than twenty-five years ago, I was one of the founding members of the Committee for South African Resistance, which later became today's American Committee on Africa. I worked in Africa with Azikiwe in Nigeria, Nkrumah in Ghana, Nyerere in Tanzania, and Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia during the liberation struggles in those countries. It is my desire to do anything I can for the freedom of all peoples in southern Africa that caused me to be concerned about the implications of this protest.

The organizers of the protest made a number of charges that on examination proved to be untrue. They charged that the salaries the dancers and singers received in London and New York are exploitative. Frederick O'Neal, president of the Associated Actors and Artistes of America, investigated the charge and found that the salaries were correct according to union regulations. The actors in the New York company are receiving Actors' Equity road scale, $395 a week, far more than they could ever hope to make in South Africa.

It was also alleged that the South African government is sponsoring the show. In fact, "Ipi-Tombi" is an independent production and has no financial or other connection with the South African government. Surely, the Nigerian National Theater, which invited the show to perform in Lagos, would not have done so if the play was sponsored by the South African government.

Another charge was that the contents of the play are humiliating as they show Africans as happy-go-lucky children uninterested in dignity and freedom. The people who have made this charge, so far as I can tell, have not seen the play. I was deeply touched by the play's sensitive protrayal of conditions in the mines, menial work, the separation of families, the lack of opportunities, the difficulties that accompany urbanization, the longing for home, and the concern for helping young people cope with the lot of Blacks in South Africa. Several songs were banned from the play when it was performed in South Africa precisely because they realistically portray the situation of Blacks.

The nature of the protest was clearly shown when it continued even after these facts were known and after the New York cast rebuked the protest. The issues involved apparently had less to do with South Africa than with the fundamental issues of free speech and artistic freedom. The real objection of the protesters was that any play that does not explicitly and clearly condemn South Africa should not be performed. This thinking not only represents an attack on the theater, but also reveals a double standard on the part of a large number of people picketing — a number of whom I know. They prasied "Porgy and Bess," which certainly did not address itself to the tragic condition of Blacks living in the South at the time of its creation. Those who attacked the play for being non-political have set themselves up as censors. They would turn upside down the censorship of the South African government in order to replace it not with free expression, but with their own version of censorship. They would reduce theater from art to propaganda — a development all who support freedom should abhor.

Finally, it was said that even if all the other charges are untrue that the musical somehow supports South Africa's racial policies merely because it comes from South Africa. I fail to understand how depriving men and women from South Africa of the right to earn a living can do anything but reinforce the apartheid policy. That "Ipi Tombi" has won critical acclaim and financial success around the world seems to me to be a blow against apartheid. The play's performance before integrated audiences in New York will contribute to the self-confidence and determination to resist apartheid of Blacks in South Africa. The health and vitality of the culture of Black South Africans should be as much our concern as the more directly political struggle. I believe that "Ipi Tombi," because it is a healthy, positive, and honest expression of that culture, is also a statement for freedom and dignity.

The protest against "Ipi Tombi" was misguided, misinformed, and mistaken. It has done nothing to aid the cause of Black South Africans. I can understand the sense of urgency and commitment that involved some in the protest, but freedom nowhere — neither here nor in South Africa — can be advanced by the undemocratic methods and attitudes employed against "Ipi Tombi."

"Ipi-Tombi" Controversy Continues

The controversy surrounding "Ipi-Tombi," the Black South African musical which opened at the Harkness Theater on Broadway January 12, continues.

The play is losing money and it is feared by the show's backers that "Ipi-Tombi" will have to close if ticket sales do not improve soon.

The opening night was marred by a scuffle between Rev. Carlton (King) Coleman, a supporter of the play, and Kwame Brathwaite, a photographer for International Photo Features, who was covering the opening.

Mr. Brathwaite told the New York Voice that he was shooting pictures of people coming into the show. Rev Coleman, according to Mr. Brathwaite, was standing in front of the theater and told the photographer not to take his picture.

Mr. Brathwaite reported that he told Rev. Coleman not to stand in front of the theater if he didn't want to be in the picture. He claims that he turned to take pictures of the picketers when he felt a "sharp hard blow" on the back of his head and found Rev. Coleman on top of him.

A man named Cletus Smith pulled Rev. Coleman off, according to Mr. Brathwaite, when the police stepped in. They took Mr. Brathwaite and Mr. Smith to the station house in a paddy wagon. Rev. Coleman arrived shortly in an unmarked police car.

Rev. Coleman, reached by The New York Voice, at first declined to comment, then said, "If that's what he said happened, I'll let it stand like that. I have no ill feelings to Mr. Brathwaite. I regret that it happened because I'm against violence in any form."

Then he said, "I assure you it didn't happen like that," and "it leaves me no choice but to defend my situation."

Mr. Brathwaite is the brother of Elombe Brath, who works for ABC-TV program "Like It Is" as a consultant on African affairs and is a leader of the demonstration against the show. He has not decided if he will press charges, although he did fill out a complaint form.

Rev. Coleman, who spoke at a January 6 press conference held by cast members, had spoken against the demonstrators and reported threats against cast members by those he termed "communists." He appeared very angry when members of the press questioned him on his comments, but he told the New York Voice, "It's a most rare thing for me to lose my temper."

Mr. Brathwaite told The Voice that he has had headaches since the incident and has had to pass up several assignments as a result.

Meanwhile, "Ipi-Tombi" has had several bad weeks although they are picking up a bit. The show must take in $75,000 per week to break even. They grossed $57,000 in the week ending January 2, $44,000 the following week, $36,000 the next and just over $40,000 in the week ending January 23.

Revise Regulations For Migrants

To improve program administration, the U.S. Department of Labor has revised the regulations covering services to migrant and seasonal farmworkers under Section 303, Title III of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA).

One of the purposes of the new regulations is to see that migrant program regulations conform with those for Title I of CETA, where appropriate.

One significant change provides that people who work for farmworker crew leaders would not be excluded from the definition of seasonal farmworker and could be provided services under Title III.

Another change eliminated the requirement that sponsors receive written permission from the Secretary of Labor to use grant funds to join associations that serve the professional needs of sponsors working with migrants and seasonal farmworkers.

The regulations, scheduled for publication in the Federal Register Jan. 4, 1977, were proposed in the Register of Oct. 19, 1976.

The regulations are final and become effective 30 days after publication.

BROTHERHOOD AWARDS: Morris Gimpelson of Jamaica (2nd left) is getting smiles from three recipients of Brotherhood Awards (center, left to right) James T. Pyle, Director Emeritus of Aviation Development Corp.; I.J. Lasurdo, President of Green Point Savings Bank; and William H. Toles, President of Jamaica Chamber of Commerce and Equal Opportunity Officer of I.T.T. Continental Baking Co. Looking on with approval are (extreme left) Alexander Wasserman of Wasserman Realty and Mary L. Chrichlow of Elmont, Long Island Area Director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The awards were given at International Hotel, JFK Airport at the annual Brotherhood Award Dinner-Dance of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

THE NEW YORK VOICE
166-05 Hillside Avenue
Jamaica, N. Y. 11432

PM
26 JAN
1977

JAMAICA
JAN 27 '77
N.Y.

U.S. POSTAGE
PB METER
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A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, NY 10010

WHAT THEY'RE* SAYING ABOUT "IPI-TOMBI" IS A LIE

THEY SAY: That the South African Government is sponsoring "IPI-TOMBI."

THAT'S A LIE

The South African Government has nothing whatever to do with this show. It didn't sponsor it, produce it or finance it — and it doesn't receive a quarter from it. The show, privately produced has played in Canada, England, Israel, France and South Africa, and in fact has been sponsored by Nigeria in its own National Theatre.

THEY SAY: That the actors salaries in "IPI-TOMBI" are comparable to the wages which they would earn in South Africa — not Equity Scale.

THAT'S A LIE

They are in fact receiving $395.00 per week plus welfare benefits and vacation, more than New York Equity scale.

THEY SAY: That the play does not depict the plight of the Blacks under the oppression of a white minority South African Government.

THAT'S A LIE

Two of the songs in "IPI-TOMBI" are not allowed to be played in South Africa. The play, although it is an entertainment, deals with family separation, menial work and lack of opportunity for the Blacks in South Africa.
It is no Uncle Tom who says in "IPI-TOMBI":

> "WE ARE PRAYING, WE ARE WEEPING, WE ARE STARVING, TELL ME LORD, HOW WILL I FEED THE CHILDREN?" "WHAT DO I SAY TO MY SON, ADVISE AND TELL HIM TO RUN? I CHOKE ON SHAME."
> *These are not exactly lyrics from "MARY POPPINS."*

Everyone connected with this show believes in the freedom and dignity of man in South Africa and everywhere. How did we become the victims of this attack when we share the same hopes for liberation. The entire cast of 25 consists of Black South Africans. This play is an entertainment of artistic worth and we are willing to stand before the community and be judged as to our moral position.

THE AFRICAN MUSICAL COMPANY
"IPI-TOMBI"

* Socialist Workers Party, Patrice Lumumba Coalition and the other demonstrators

PAUL ROBESON ARCHIVES, INC.

G. Schirmer

January 14, 1977

Editor
New York Post
210 South Street
New York City

G. SCHIRMER, INC (4 E. 49 st.)
Near Rockefeller Center
off 5th Ave. . . 752-3800

Dear Editor,

The "Post" of January 12, 1977 carried an article describing Bayard Rustin's defense of the South African musical "Ipi Tombi". In it Mr. Rustin is quoted as saying that Paul Robeson arranged and copyrighted Russian folksongs. This is entirely false. Although my father was a pioneer in making the folksongs of many peoples an accepted art form, he never copyrighted or took credit for arranging any song.

Moreover, he willingly sacrificed opportunities for financial benefit from his artistic performances in order to be true to his principles which he stated clearly and simply in 1937 :

> "The artist must elect to fight for Freedom or for Slavery. I have made my choice. I had no alternative."

Paul Robeson Jr.

Paul Robeson, Jr.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS / .. HARRY BELAFONTE ... LLOYD L. BROWN ... ROBERTA YANCY DENT ... MARTIN POPPER ... PAUL ROBESON, JR.

157 WEST 57th STREET • SUITE 403 • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019 • (212) 265 - 6260

January 9, 1977

Statement by: Bayard Rustin
President, A. Philip Randolph Foundation
on "Ipi-Tombi"

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I shall in every way possible do what I can for the freedom of all peoples in Southern Africa. I am sure that some of those people who are picketing "Ipi-Tombi" believe that their action is constructive, but I feel their behavior is destructive to the artists, to the theater and to the cause of freedom in Southern Arica.

The arguments which have been made against "Ipi-Tombi" are untrue or unsound. But since the charges have created considerable confusion I shall examine them one by one.

1. They are saying that no person (particularly a white person) should use black themes or folk music and benefit financially from such use. They forget that such use is artistically, morally, and financially traditional. Was Paul Robeson exploiting Russians in arranging and copywriting Russian folk songs. Was Harry Burleigh wrong in arranging and copywriting a series of Negro spirituals?

2. It is also alleged that the salaries the dancers and singers received in London and are getting in New York are exploitative. Frederick O'Neal, president of the Associated Actors and Artistes of America, has investigated this charge and found that the salaries paid in London and New York are correct according to union regulations. The actors in the New York company are receiving Actors' Equity road scale, $395 a week.

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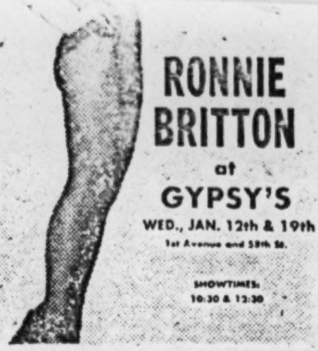
Post, Jan. 12, 1977



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---

han.

"It's anyone's guess when the industry will saturation, but the bu has got another three years growth, I shoul in terms of addit stores," said Leonard analyst with D Burnham & Co.

Some areas of the are more saturated others, to the point roadways appear to quickie-meal place af other.

Concentration Mislead

But this concentra certain areas is mis for the industry's pote

"There are a lot o out there, but when y at store sales number is room for more," sa tor Raskin, specialist food companies for Witter & Co.

However, it is app those who follow th try that, while there i of room for more sto all of the companies business will be able their five to 10 y pansion plans.

Good Growth

"The big chains a ing good growth, t won't succeed in their plans, because too optiistic," Rask

Overall, however, food companies hav five years to go be ting their limit, the agreed.

For one thing, still a number of coffee shops aro country that are to competition fror chains.

"A lot of the market is still bein by independents, and-pop restaurar market is probably be taken over j years by the fa chains," said Carol vice president w Webber, Jackson &

Then, the chains ning to branch out limited menus.

"Potential satu any area has o pushed off by the they expanded th by offering more food," said Wilson

For example, th hamburger-soda-a -fries menu has b mented at one ch eggs-muffin-

"The most impo a fast-food store

PAUL ROBESON ARCHIVES, INC.

Ms. Harriet Siani
85 Walker St.
N.Y.C. 10013

Jan 21, 1977

Dear Ms. Siani:

I am enclosing some materials which I trust will be of some use to you in your research. The album "Scandalize My Name" is a recent release of the Book-of-the-Month Club.

I have also included a copy of the commemorative book "PAUL ROBESON: Tributes and Selected Writings," recently published by the Archives. The section devoted to Paul Robeson's writings includes some of his articles on music and culture which may be of some help to you.

For your information I have also included a press release from Paul Robeson, Jr. concerning the matter that we were discussing.

Sincerely,
Marilyn Robeson
Marilyn Robeson

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PAUL ROBES

Scandalize My Nam

Name

CONTENTS OF THE ALBUM

SIDE 1

Scandalize My Name* • Harriet Wingreen, piano
Water Boy* • Chorus and Orchestra conducted by Milt Okun
My Lindy Lou**† • Columbia Concert Orchestra conducted by Emanuel Balaban
Ol' Man River**† • Columbia Concert Orchestra conducted by Emanuel Balaban
Get on Board, Little Children**† • Lawrence Brown, piano
Monologue FROM *Boris Godunov** • Alan Booth, piano
The Orphan* • Alan Booth, piano
Go Down, Moses**† • Lawrence Brown, piano

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Ballad for Americans† • American Peoples Chorus and Victor Symphony Orchestra conducted by Nathaniel Shilkret • Courtesy RCA VICTOR
Shenandoah • Chorus and Orchestra conducted by Milt Okun
Eriskay Love Lilt • Harriet Wingreen, piano
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My Curly-Headed Baby**† • Columbia Concert Orchestra conducted by Emanuel Balaban
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No More Auction Block**† • Lawrence Brown, piano
Statement—We Are Climbing Jacob's Ladder**† Lawrence Brown, piano

*Courtesy VANGUARD RECORDING SOCIETY, INC. **Courtesy CBS INC.

PAUL ROBESON RECORD ALBUMS

"Paul Robeson, Favorite Songs"
Monitor MPS-580
Titles: Hammer Song
Water Me from the Lime Rock
Scandalize My Name
Jacob's Ladder
Witness
Stand Still Jordan
Takin' Names
Swing Low Sweet Chariot

(Side Two)
Hassidic Chant: Kaddish
Wanderer
Songs My Mother Taught Me
Vi Azoi Lebt Der Keyser
The Minstrel Boy
The Orphan
Zog Nit Keynmol
Joe Hill

"Songs of Free Men and Spirituals"
Columbia, Odyssey 32160268
Titles: From Border to Border
Oh, How Proud of Our Quiet Don
The Purest Kind of a Guy
Joe Hill
The Peat-Bog Soldiers
The Four Insurgent Generals
Native Land
Song of the Plains

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Go Down Moses
Balm in Gilead
By an' By
Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child
John Henry
Water Boy
Nobody Knows De Trouble I've Seen
Joshua Fit De Battle of Jericho

"Paul Robeson in Live Performance"
Columbia, Masterworks M30424
Titles: Every Time I Feel the Spirit
Ezekiel Saw the Wheel
I'll Hear the Trumpet Sound
Get on Board, Little Children
L'Amour De Moi
Volga Boatman
Joe Hill
Ol' Man River

(Side Two)
Swing Low, Sweet Chariot
No More Auction Block
Water Boy
Chinese Children's Song
The House I Live In
Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child
We Are Climbing Jacob's Ladder

"Encore, Robeson"
Monitor MPS-581
Titles: No More Auction
Some Day He'll Make it Plain to Me
Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel
Bear the Burden in the Heat of Day
Mount Zion: "On My Journey"
I'm Gonna Let it Shine
Let Us Break Bread Together
Amazing Grace

(Side Two)
Skye Boat Song
Shlof Mein Kind
Now Sleeps the Crimson Petal
Dans le Printemps
Passing By
Little Gal
O Mistress Mine
Kevin Barry
Zvornost - Freedom

"Paul Robeson-Songs of My People"
RCA, Red Seal LM-3292
Titles: Git on Board Li'l Chillun
Were You There?
Dere's No Hidin Place
Deep River
Witness
Water Boy
On Ma Journey
Swing Low, Sweet Chariot
Ezekiel Saw de Wheel
Nobody Knows de Trouble I've Seen

(Side Two)
I Want to Be Ready
Sometimes I Feel Like A Motherless Child
Joshua Fit de Battle ob Jericho
Hear de Lam's a-Cryin'
Bye and Bye
Weepin' Mary
Steal Away
I'm Goin' to Tell God All o' My Troubles
Li'l Gal
I Got a Home in-a Dat Rock

"Paul Robeson at Carnegie Hall"
Vanguard VSD-2035
Titles: Every Time I Feel the Spirit
Balm in Gilead
Volga Boat Song
Monologue from Othello
O Thou Silent Night
Chinese Children's Song
My Curly Headed Baby
Old Man River
Going Home

(Side Two)
Monologue from Boris Godunov
The Orphan
Christ lag in Todesbanden
Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel
Lullaby
O No John
Joe Hill
Jacob's Ladder

"Paul Robeson, 'Ballad for Americans' "
Vanguard VSD-79193
Titles: Ballad for Americans
Go Down Moses
On My Journey
Patterns of Folk Song &
Hassidic Chant of Levi Isaac
Freedom

(Side Two)
The Minstrel Boy
O Grieve You Now My Mother
Eriskay Love Lilt
This is the Hammer
Scandalize My Name
Now Sleeps the Crimson Petal
The Four Rivers
Mexican Lullaby
All Men Are Brothers

"Robeson"
Vanguard VSD-2015
Titles: Water Boy
Shenandoah
Deep River
John Brown's Body
Jerusalem
Londonderry Air

(Side Two)
Sometimes I Feel Like A
Motherless Child
Get on Board, Little Children
The House I Live In
Loch Lomond
Drink to Me Only with Thine Eyes
Joshua Fought the Battle of Jericho
All Through the Night

"The Essential Robeson"
Vanguard VSD 57/58
Titles (VSD 57):
Every Time I Feel the Spiri
Balm in Gilead
Volga Boat Song
Monologue from Shakespeare'
Othello
O Thou Silent Night
Chinese Children's Song
My Curly-Headed Baby
Old Man River
Going Home

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Monologue from Boris Godunov
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Christ Lag in Todesbanden
Didn't My Lord Deliver Danie
Lullaby
O No John
Joe Hill
Jacob's Ladder

(VSD 58 - Side Three)
Ballad for Americans
Deep River
John Brown's Body
Jerusalem
Londonderry Air

(Side Four)
Water Boy
Shenandoah
Sometimes I Feel Like a
Motherless Child
Get on Board, Little Children
The House I Live In
Loch Lomond
Drink to Me Only with Thine
Eyes
Joshua Fought the Battle of
Jericho
All Through the Night

January 19, 1977

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Statement By Paul Robeson, Jr.
Concerning Statement By Bayard Rustin About Paul Robeson

New York City--

In several statements defending the South African musical "Ipi Tombi", Bayard Rustin says that Paul Robeson arranged and copyrighted Russian folk songs. This is entirely false. Although my father was a pioneer in making the folk songs of many peoples an accepted art form, he never copyrighted or took credit for arranging any song.

Moreover, he willingly sacrificed opportunities for financial benefit from his artistic performances in order to be true to his principles which he stated clearly and simply in 1937:

> "The artist must elect to fight for Freedom or for Slavery. I have made my choice. I had no alternative."

I have joined those who are picketing "Ipi Tombi"because I am convinced that the effect of this musical is to make the racist and repressive Apartheid policy of South Africa more acceptable to American audiences.It undermines both the struggle of black South Africans for their liberation and the struggle of black Americans for full equality and dignity.

Paul Robeson, Jr.

Paul Robeson, Jr.

157 West 57 St.
Suite 403
NYC 10019

PAUL ROBESON ARCHIVES, INC.

January 14, 1977

Editor
New York Post
210 South Street
New York City

Dear Editor,

The "Post" of January 12, 1977 carried an article describing Bayard Rustin's defense of the South African musical "Ipi Tombi". In it Mr. Rustin is quoted as saying that Paul Robeson arranged and copyrighted Russian folksongs. This is entirely false. Although my father was a pioneer in making the folksongs of many peoples an accepted art form, he never copyrighted or took credit for arranging any song.

Moreover, he willingly sacrificed opportunities for financial benefit from his artistic performances in order to be true to his principles which he stated clearly and simply in 1937 :

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Paul Robeson Jr.

Paul Robeson, Jr.

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FROM THE DESK OF
Jeannette DiLorenzo

1/26/77

To: Bayard Rustin

Dear Bayard:

Enclosed find the PLAYBILL for Ipi-Tombi in which was placed your statement regarding the performance plus a statement in regard to the lies that are being spread about the performance.

Again I want to thank you for taking the stand that you did in regards to Ipi-Tombi and thus making it possible for many blacks and whites to understand the situation and to come out and enjoy a very fine production.

Jeannette

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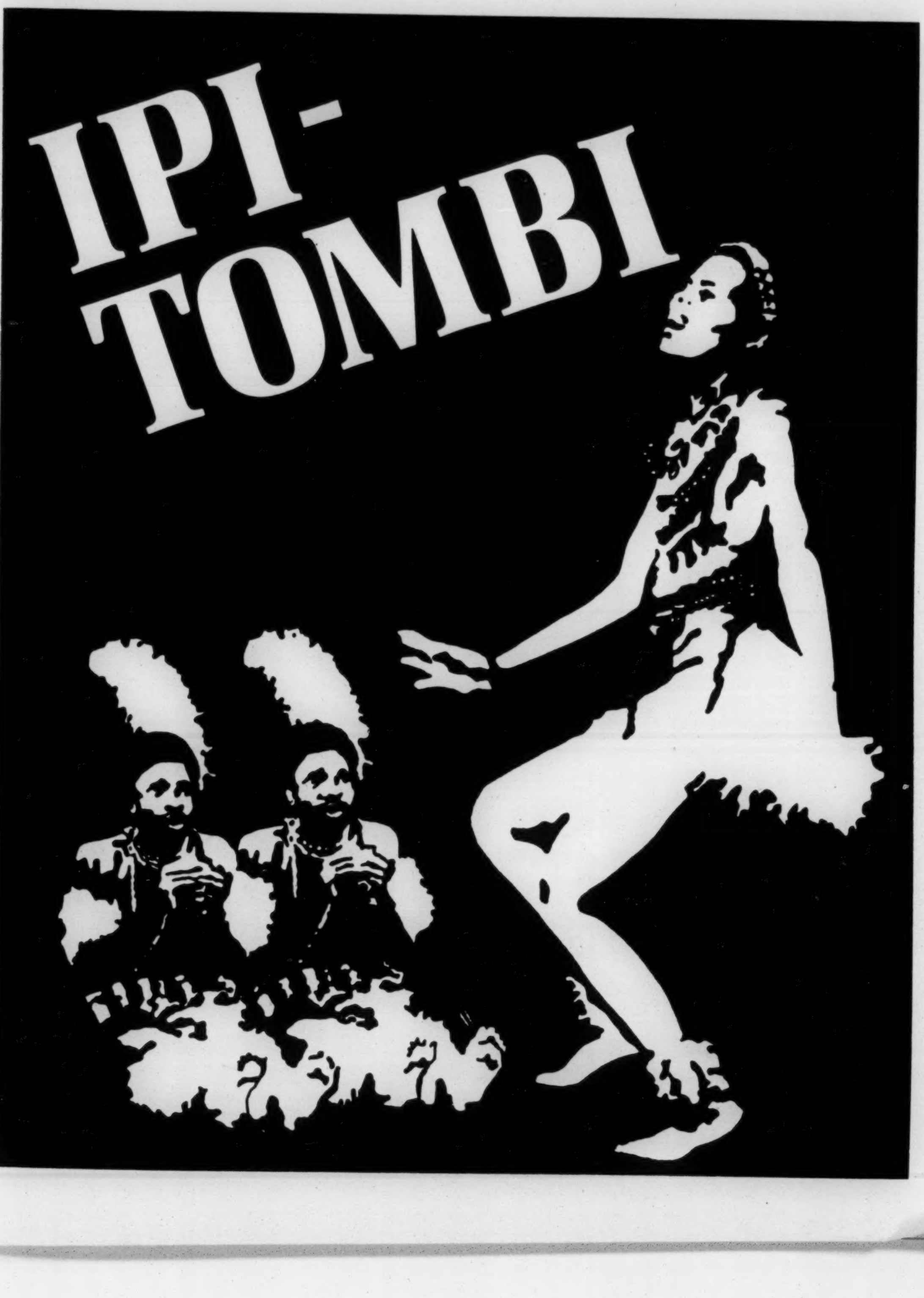
JD:sa

21L

PLAYBILL

HARKNESS THEATRE



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BERTHA EGNOS

Original Music by
BERTHA EGNOS

Lyrics by
GAIL LAKIER

Choreography by
SHEILA WARTSKI

With Additional Choreography by
NEIL McKAY And Members Of The CAST

Scenery by
ELIZABETH Mac LEISH

Lighting by
TIMOTHY HEALE & JOHN WAIN

Costumes Supervised by
SUSAN WAIN

Sound Design by
SANDER HACKER

American Scenic Supervision by
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American Costume Supervision by
DAVID TOSER

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COUNT WELLINGTON JUDGE
DANIEL PULE
JABU MBALO
MATTHEW BODIBE
GIDEON BENDILE
ELLIOT NGUBANE
ANDREW KAU
SAM HLATSHWAYO
PHILIP GAMA
DAVID MTHETHWA
SHADRACK MOYO
JUNIOR TSHABALALA (Chief Drummer)
SIMON NKOSI (Drummer)
ALI LEREFOLO (Drummer)

MARTHA MOLEFE
DORCAS FAKU
LYDIA MONAMODI
BUSI DLAMINI
ZELDA FUNANI
THEMBI MTSHALI
LINDA TSHABALALA
BETTY—BOO HLELA
DUDU NZIMANDE
COREEN PIKE
NELLIE KHUMALO

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SCENES AND MUSICAL NUMBERS

ACT ONE

OVERTURE—"Ipi-Tombi" (*Where Are the Girls?*)

SCENE 1—Village of Tsomo

Daybreak sees the start of a day in the village. The women busy about their duties, grinding corn, preparing food and drink for the return of their menfolk from the hunt.

"Sesiyahamba" (*We Are Going About Our Labors*) .... Company
"Hamba Bhekile" (*Let the Drinks Be Served*) .... Linda Tshabalala
"Uthando Luphelile" (*Love Is Lost, Love Is Gone*) .... Company
"Madiwa-Madiwa" (*Calling For Rain*) .... Company
"Qhobosha" (*The Unfaithful One Will Die*) .... Martha Molefe
"Mokhibo" (*The Sotho Girls Dance*).......... Linda Tshabalala, Betty-Boo Hlela, Dorcas Faku, Dudu Nzimande, Nellie Khumalo
"Ntaba Zenyuka" (*The Mountains Are High*) .... Company
"Orgy" .... Nellie Khumalo
"The Temptress" .... Lydia Monamodi
"Moriva" .... Linda Tshabalala
"Shamanile" .... Lydia Monamodi
"Shangaan" (*A Dance of Happiness*) .... Company

SCENE 2—The Baptism .... Count Wellington Judge, Matthew Bodibe, Linda Tshabalala, Jabu Mbalo, Busi Dlamini

The witch-doctor is the most feared and the most powerful person in the village. Mission stations have labored to bring their faith to the people and break the influence of the witch-doctors. The scene interprets the conflict.

SCENE 3
"Nadia" (*Song of Hope*) .... Daniel Pule

SCENE 4—E'Goli (*The City of Gold*)
"Emdudeni" (*Street Sweepers*) .... Company
"Oo-Le-Le" (*Men always sing about girls. His love is a High as the Snow-capped Mountain.*) .... Company
"A Xhosa Proposition" .... Dorcas Faku, Gideon Bendile alternating with Busi Dlamini, Sam Hlatshwayo

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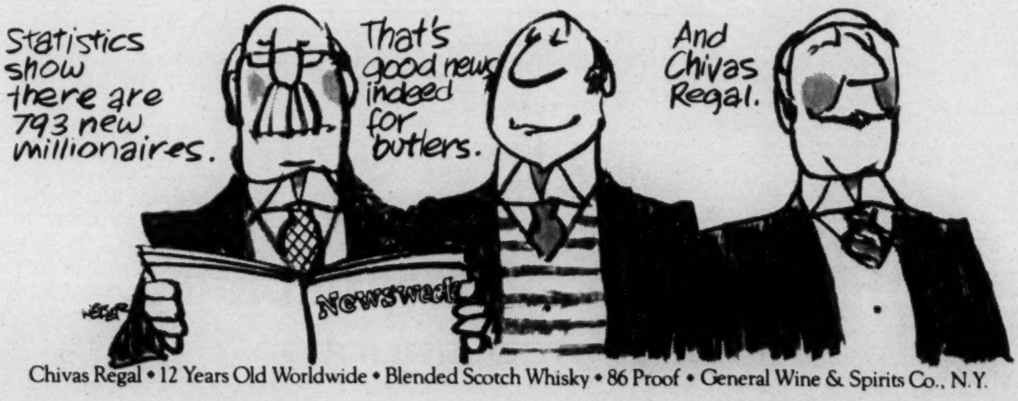
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A Xhosa girl laments visiting the town and being robbed. She is accosted by a man. The ensuing conversation is carried out in the "click" language which is the feature of the Xhosa tongue.

"The Refuse Collectors." .... Company
"Arieni" (*Let's Dance*) .... Company
"Gum Boot Dance" .... Led by Junior Tshabalala
"Ipi-Tombi" (*Where Are the Girls?*) .... Company

ACT TWO

SCENE 1—Sunday on the Mines
"Bayakhala" (Zulu) (*The Child*) .... Martha Molefe
Help us, Lord, help us feed the child.

SCENE 2—The Township Wedding
"Mama Tembu's Wedding" .... Count Wellington Judge, Zelda Funani alternating with Thembi Mtshali
"Baby Baby" .... Company
"Phata Phata" (*Touch Touch*) .... Company
Zulu Domestics bring wedding gifts. .... Elliot Ngubane, David Mthethwa, Philip Gama, Gideon Bendile
"Wishing" .... Company
"Zimbaba" .... Company
"Baby Baby" *Reprise* .... Company

SCENE 3—Workday on the Mine
"Shosholoza" (*A work song*) .... Company
"Going Home" A song of disillusion. .... Daniel Pule

SCENE 4—The Warriors .... Company
Prelude to battle. The throb of the drums, the ululating of the women spur on the warriors. The dance movements depict their mode of attack—the boasting of their prowess, the dodging and feinting with their imaginary enemies. . . .

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WHO'S WHO in the CAST

COUNT WELLINGTON JUDGE is from the Xhosa tribe and comes from Johannesburg. He studied drama and music at college and began his singing career in cabarets. He has performed in the theatrical productions of *African Follies* and *Shebeen*. He has appeared with his own group as well as performing a solo cabaret act throughout South Africa. His many film assignments have included *Pens and Poitjies, Tshaka* and *Zulu*.

DANIEL PULE is from the Sotho tribe and comes from Johannesburg. He has performed with the Mofolo Club in Johannesburg in numerous productions as well as with the Cosmos Band there. The father of two daughters, Mr. Pule toured with *Ipi-Tombi* in South Africa, Rhodesia, London and Canada.

JABU MBALO is from Xhosa tribe in Soweto, South Africa. He has performed there in numerous productions including *Sikalo, Question* (where he also doubled as lighting designer), *Amaqawe* and later toured with *Ipi-Tombi*.

MATTHEW BODIBE comes from Germiston, South Africa, and he is from the Sotho tribe. He was a member of the original *Ipi-Tombi* company.

GIDEON BENDILE comes from Johannesburg and is from the Xhosa tribe. After attending Bethel College in Johannesburg, he first performed professionally in *Township Housewife* in that city followed by *Ipi-Tombi*.

ELLIOT NGUBANE was born in Zululand. He began entertaining by dancing and teaching Zulu dances in Johannesburg. He auditioned and was accepted for *Ipi-Tombi* in Johannesburg and helped in the production in the interpretation of the ethnic dances.

ANDREW KAU comes from Johannesburg where he is from the Sotho tribe. He has performed with the Boston Stars in South Africa as well as with the African Jazz and Variety as a lead dancer. Educated at the Wilberforce Institute in South Africa, Mr. Kau was seen in the stage and film productions of *Dingaka* and is a member of the original *Ipi-Tombi* company which originated in Australia.

SAM HLATSHWAYO comes from Durban, South Africa, and is from the Swazi tribe. A student of music and drama, he was first seen in Johannesburg in *Mzumba* and later joined the Zingile Dancers and the Amaqawe Company there. He joined the original *Ipi-Tombi* company in Australia and went on to tour with it around the world.

PHILIP GAMA is from the Zulu tribe and comes from Durban, South Africa. He studied music at the Durban Art Center and then went on to be an insurance representative and storekeeper before making his professional debut in *Ipi-Tombi*.

DAVID MTHETHWA was born in Graytown in Natal and comes from the Zulu tribe. *Ipi-Tombi* marks his first professional engagement.

SHADRACK MOYO was born in Johannesburg and comes from the Ndebele tribe. He has performed in the South African production of *Black Mikado* and later *Kwa-Zulu* which went on to play a royal command performance in London.

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D.O.M.
BENEDICTINE

JUNIOR TSHABALALA is from the Swazi tribe and was born in Johannesburg. A student of acting at the Amada School, he was discovered by a talent scout while playing in a children's street group. He later went on to appear with the group "Zingili," and performed in productions of *Soweto Review* (doubling as assistant choreographer), *Sikalo, Lifa* and *Drums of Africa.*

SIMON NKOSI is from Alberton, South Africa where he was raised by the Sothos although he is from the Swazi tribe. After working as an electrician, he made his professional debut in *Ipi-Tombi.*

ALI LEREFOLO comes from Johannesburg and is from the Tswana tribe. An accomplished performer and poet, he has appeared in productions of *Isinthu, Lifa,* and *Sikalo,* toured Australia with the Zingili Dancers, directed an original production of *Drums of Africa* and performed in the South African company of *Godspell.*

MARTHA MOLEFE is from Randfontein in South Africa and is from the Tswana tribe. An accomplished performer, she has performed in numerous productions in Johannesburg such as *Zwi, Question, Black and Blue* and *The Three of Us.* She appeared in *Ipi-Tombi* in South Africa, London, Paris and Canada.

DORCAS FAKU comes from the Xhosa tribe in South Africa. She has performed throughout that country and in London in *Kwa-Zulu,* appeared in the film *Inkedama* and appeared with the Royal Variety Show in London.

LYDIA MONAMODI comes from Johannesburg and is from the Tswana tribe. She appeared in the film *Dingaka* and performed throughout South Africa, Australia and New Zealand in the African Jazz and Variety. The mother of four children, she has also worked as a fashion model and TV performer.

BUSI DLAMINI comes from Johannesburg and is from the Zulu tribe. A model, singer and dancer, she performed professionally with the singing group Modern Girls in Johannesburg before joining the original company of *Ipi-Tombi.*

ZELDA FUNANI is from Johannesburg and comes from the Xhosa tribe. She has performed there as a singer and dancer and appeared in productions of *Swinging the Blues, Sikalo* and *Piri.* She married Count Wellington Judge while both were in the London production of *Ipi-Tombi.*

THEMBI MTSHALI comes from Durban, South Africa, where she studied nursing and dramatics. She first appeared professionally in a production of *Mabatha* in South Africa and repeated her role in London's Aldwych Theatre for the World Theatre season. After appearing in a production of *Kwa-Zulu,* she joined *Ipi-Tombi* and toured in South Africa, Israel, Nigeria and London.

LINDA TSHABALALA is from the Xhosa tribe in Johannesburg. She has performed in South Africa in such shows as *Question, Sikhalo, Lifa, Zwi* and the film *Zulu.* A student of music and drama as well as nursing, she is married to Junior Tshabalala of this company.

BETTY-BOO HLELA comes from Durban, South Africa and is from the Zulu tribe. She studied speech and drama there and later performed with the singing group, Modern Girls. She is married to

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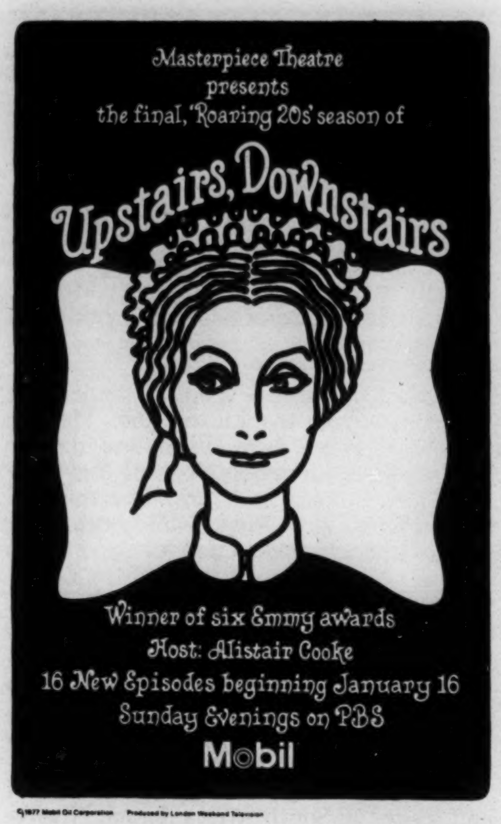
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Gideon Bendile whom she met when she joined *Ipi- Tombi.*

DUDU NZIMANDE is from the Zulu tribe and comes from Durban, South Africa where she received her education. Prior to *Ipi-Tombi,* she was seen in the musical, *Chief Mamba* and sang with the group *Modern Girls.*

COREEN PIKE is a member of the Xhosa tribe in South Africa. She began her career in cabarets touring in Swaziland, Lesotho and Johannesburg and went on to appear in productions of *Kwa-Zulu* and *Black Mikado.* Miss Pike has also worked in films.

NELLIE KHUMALO is from the Zulu tribe in South Africa. She is making her professional debut in *Ipi-Tombi.*

A. DESHE (*Pashanel*), CHAIM TOPOL, RAY COONEY (*Producers*). Mr. Deshe has three other shows that he plans to present on Broadway in the future. In Israel he produced more than 100 shows. In addition to starring in *Fiddler on the Roof* in London, and in the film version, Mr. Topol has been partnered with Mr. Deshe the past 15 years. Mr. Cooney is one of London's most active and talented theatrical personages. He is an actor, director, playwright, producer, theatre owner and impresario. In London he is currently the producer of *Banana Ridge* with Robert Morley, *Fringe Benefits* with Brian Rix, and the London production of *Ipi-Tombi.*

BERTHA EGNOS, although 63 now and a grandmother, was an early achiever. A brilliant pianist, she left school at 13 after passing her London Trinity College music exams and by the age of 15 had her own full-time music studio. Early on she began producing musicals at the old Empire Theatre in London. A native of Johannesburg who for a time was a jazz pianist, Mrs. Egnos became involved in tribal ethnic work and, prior to *Ipi-Tombi,* wrote two musicals, *Dingaka,* and *Eureka.* Her first musical, *Dingaka,* produced a hit song called "Tula Baba" and the show was later turned into a film and distributed world wide. She wrote *Eureka* in collaboration with Percy Baneshik and she has also written music for various documentaries for both Emil Nofal and Hansie Rautenbach. With Gail Lakier, she wrote the enormously successful LP called *The Warrior* which won four Golden Disc awards in South Africa.

GAIL LAKIER was an early achiever like her mother Bertha Egnos before her. At a very young age she developed a flair for writing poetry and by the age of 15 had already collaborated with her mother on a musical. She is the lyricist for the highly acclaimed LP, *The Warrior* as well as a produced playwright.

SHEILA WARTSKI is a prolific choreographer whose stage credits include *Show Boat, The Student Prince, The Merry Widow, South Pacific, Man of La Mancha, Dingaka* (both the stage and film productions) and pantomimes *Babes In The Woods* and *Aladdin*. Miss Wartski is also the director of her own Modern Ballet Company.

NEIL McKAY has been staging the dancing in the various *Ipi-Tombi* productions in Toronto, London, Southern Africa and now here. A native of Cape Town, he began his career as a dancer there and also danced with the Bluebell Ballet in Paris and Barcelona.

"IPI-TOMBI" OPENED JAN. 12, 1977

STAFF FOR A. DESHE & TOPOL

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WARNING

The photographing or sound recording of any performance or the possession of any device for such photographing or sound recording inside this theatre, without the written permission of the management, is prohibited by law. Violations may be punished by ejection and may render the offender liable for money damages.

FIRE NOTICE: The exit indicated by a red light and sign nearest to the seat you occupy is the shortest route to the street. In the event of fire or other emergency please do not run—WALK TO THAT EXIT.

Thoughtless persons annoy patrons and endanger the safety of others by lighting matches or moking in prohibited areas during the performances and intermissions. This violates a City ordance and is punishable by law.

John T. O'Hagen—FIRE COMMISSIONER

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J&B
What's in
a name?
Rare taste.
J&B
RARE
SCOTCH

March 3, 1977

Ms. Christine Berghofer
83 Passaic Avenue
Ogdensburg, New Jersey 07439

Dear Ms. Berghofer:

Thank you so very much for your kind words regarding my support of IPI Tombi. I have received quite a few letters which roundly condemned my attitude, and my public stance in support of the right for this play to be seen and judged on its merits. Your letter goes a long way to offset these criticisms.

Thank you, again, for taking the time and trouble to write.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
President

BR/hh

Thank her for letter!

83 Passaic Avenue
Ogdensburg, NJ 07439
January 28, 1977

Mr. Bayard Rustin
President, A. Randolph Foundation
c/o Harkness Theater
Broadway, New York, NY 10019

Dear Mr. Rustin:

On January 19, 1977, I had the extreme pleasure of seeing "Ipi-Tombi" for my third time. The first two times I saw it in South Africa, as I lived in Germinston, South Africa for one year as a Rotary International Exchange Student. I read your statement you had made on "Ipi-Tombi", and I was quite pleased that someone else was sticking up for the show and it's actors.

Through living in South Africa, I can give a truly honest view of the play and through experiences, I know that the play portrays black life in South Africa perfectly. I, myself, have seen mine dances, heard the language, and have had a black South African actually sing a song to me somewhat like "Wishing on a Wishbone".

So for all those who do not believe that it portrays black life in South Africa, they're wrong. And those who feel that it portrays a wrong picture of black Africans being happy, they're again wrong because I found them to be a very happy people. Not that they're happy with apartheid or their present situation, but they are always singing, dancing and happy. In fact, at the mine dances, they dance more for their enjoyment than for the audience.

And as you say, I think the show does portray their position in apartheid because when I was in South Africa two of the songs were banned, as you said, because of how true they were, so the show is not hiding anything of the oppression of the blacks from us. It is clearly seen in the play.

I found the play very entertaining, all three times. The cast is fantastic and they make you happy just watching them. The people who were in the audience beside me enjoyed it too by the expression on their faces. Many of the other people, enjoyed it, too.

I wish that all those who are condemning the show would go and see it. I think they'd change their minds about it.

I'd like to wish the cast much luck with the show and thank them for bringing a bit of South Africa back to me in America. And to you Mr. Rustin, I'd just like to thank you for your support of this show.

Sincerely,

Christine Berghofer

Christine Berghofer

IPI TOMBI
SUITE 1002
234 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036

NEW YORK, N.Y.
PM
4 FEB
1977

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USA 13c

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Randolph Instutute
260 Park Ave. South
New York, NY

DONALD GRODY,
Executive Secretary

Professional Theatre
Actors' Equity Association
Founded in 1913
AFL-CIO CLC

December 31, 1979

Mr. Jack Golodner
Department for Professional Employees
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Jack:

I have recently seen some correspondence concerning a company of IPI-TOMBI which has been playing in Las Vegas under the sponsorship of one Don Hughes, unknown to me.

Several years ago we brought the play -- and the actors -- under our contracts when they played New York, threatening to stop the production at the Harkness Theatre unless Equity contracts were executed. We were able to do it because the management and stage management were known to us and we were in a position to exert some pressure. Subsequently, we extended our hospitality to the entire company and they came to a reception for them at the Union. When we brought them under our contract, I personally met with the company in order to assure them that we were interested only in their welfare and not their dues. They found that hard to believe. No wonder if you had seen the contracts that they had signed in South Africa -- they were violative of the 13th Amendment, seriously!

In any event, as you will see from the attached letter of George Ives to Theo, the current company is not exactly riding high, wide and handsome. Since we have no power base in Vegas there is little chance for us to be effective. And we are spread so thin as it is, we simply could not mount a campaign to get the play under our contract.

Which brings me to the real point of this letter. The IPI-TOMBI troupe came into the country without so much as a by-your-leave from the INS. We were entirely unaware of their presence here until after the fact. It is really essential that we begin to mount a campaign to require INS consultation with Equity (and the other performing arts unions) upon the occasion of the application of any individual or group of performing artists.

.../2

Whatever objections may be made against our imposing artistic judgements, no one could argue that we play a beneficial role in assuring that individual or group performances are compensated at least at the rates established in the industry by the performing arts unions. Were there in existence such a statutory scheme, the IPI-TOMBI cast would at least have been receiving the Equity minimums and we would not have our own rates depressed, as they are now, by the appearance of the company.

It is my view that this should be our top priority legislative activity and I would urge maximum effort be leveraged within and without the labor movement. What we would seek is also consistent with the resolution passed at the last DPE Convention.

Please let me hear from you soon on this so we can plan a strategy. There is much I can relate to you about the efforts I have made on an international level to work out arrangements for reasonable exchanges with our sister English speaking unions.

Sincerely,

Donald Grody
Executive Secretary

DG/cb

cc: -Theo Bikel
     -Bayard Rustin ✓

Don Grody

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Professional Theatre
Actors' Equity Association
Founded in 1913

EDWARD WESTON
Western Regional Director
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Counsel

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AFFILIATED WITH THE AFL-CIO AND INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF ACTORS

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November 26, 1979

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Reuben Schafer
Lauren Scott
Ted Thurston
Mary Lou Westerfield
Ellsworth Wright

Mr. Theodore Bikel, President
Actors Equity Association
1500 Broadway
New York, NY 10036

Dear Theo:

In answer to your memo of November 20, concerning IPI TOMBI, I have been able to discover a few facts.

My original contact with that company was through a Miss Jackie Fell, who was English and who was replaced as stage manager about two weeks after my conversation with her. So this time I spoke with one of the cast members, Lydia Monomodi, who like most of the cast speaks English very poorly. She tells me that they are now receiving $310.00 net per week. This figure started some time in September when the producer increased their schedule to fourteen (14) shows a week, two a day, seven nights a week. She did not know how much of this represents expense money and how much salary, since they know little of such things. If they have medical and dental insurance as stated by the producer, they are not aware of it and have received no insurance cards or information on any such policy. The producer also states that they will receive three weeks paid annual vacation. The cast is only aware of a one-week vacation currently planned for the week before Christmas.

The producer now states that they are receiving above minimum rates for the Las Vegas area. The fact is that they are receiving a great deal less than Equity rates in Vegas, and IPI TOMBI has been under Equity's jurisdiction in New York. A road show playing Vegas

continued . . .

would require a minimum of $400.00 salary and $245.00 expense money for an eight performance, six-day week. We would not allow a fourteen performance, seven-day week under any contract and even the twelve performance, six-day Vegas week we have not allowed except for tab versions with a premium charged above the $400.

Unfortunately shows not under our jurisdiction in Vegas are presently done under no union contracts, with the Hotel Resort Association setting its own minimums and conditions. I am not sure what those conditions are.

The producer states that their wages are held in escrow as well as their return transportation. I don't know what this means since he states that they are paid their salaries each week. So what is being held in escrow? He may be holding their air tickets, but because of the cast's unfamiliarity with English and their having no organization behind them to discuss this with, they probably do not know if they would get their return transportation or not. Under these circumstances the producer can tell them anything he wishes to and they would have to believe him. When I originally spoke to Jackie Bell she and the cast felt that if they didn't do what they were told, they would be stranded. It was that situation that caused her to call me.

I hope this gives you some further information.

Best wishes,

GI

GEORGE IVES
Business Representative

GI:ma

Mr. George Ives

November 20, 1979

Theodore Bikel

IPI TOMBI Company - Las Vegas

Dear George:

I had originally written to Bayard Rustin and the enclosed are reactions to it. I would like your reaction to Mr. Hughes' letter.

Sincerely,

Theodore Bikel
President

TB:adb
Encls.

260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

apri
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[illegible]
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[illegible] H. McKinney
Assistant to the President
[illegible]
Administrative Director
[illegible] Toth
Assistant to the Executive Director

November 16, 1979

Mr. Theodore Bikel, President
Actors' Equity Association
1500 Broadway
New York, New York 10036

Dear Theo:

I received the attached letter from Ben Hughes, producer of IPI-TOMBI. Are his facts accurate?

With best wishes,

Fraternally,

Bayard

Bayard Rustin
President

BR/hh
encl:

don hughes
productions inc.

Mr Bayard Rustin,
President,
A.P.R.I.,
260 Park Avenue South,
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010.

November 14, 1979.

Dear Mr Rustin,

Thank you for your letter dated November 9 regarding the musical IPI-TOMBI. It always amuses me to hear accusations from "reputable sources" which are entirely incorrect and really have no substance. In this day and age it would appear that the first person to complain about "naked exploitation" would be the artist, who has the press and television media available for this purpose.

In the case of the present cast of IPI-TOMBI they are in fact, receiving above minimum rates as paid in the Las Vegas area. Besides a nett salary after state and federal taxes of $310.00 a week they also receive free hotel room, three weeks paid annual vacation plus free medical and dental insurance as well as the other fringe benefits that pertain to this type of policy, including full salary in the event of illness and inability to work.

These arrangements were reached by mutual negotiation between us and we have had no problems in this regard other than outside interference from persons unknown to us.

Besides anything else their wages are held in escrow as well as their return portion of the airticket so that in no way can the cast be stranded in this country.

We trust that the above clears up any concern you may have in this matter and we would be pleased to arrange tickets for you to see the production when next you are in Las Vegas.

Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
DON HUGHES PRODUCTIONS INC.,

Don Hughes

DON HUGHES.

DH/ys

Copy to Don Grody

apri
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260 Park Avenue South
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ssistant to the
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dministrative
irector
elen Toth
ssistant to the
xecutive Director

November 9, 1979

Mr. Theodore Bikel, President
Actors' Equity Association
1500 Broadway
New York, New York 10036

Dear Theo:

I have sent the attached letter to Don Hughes, the producer of "IPI-TOMBI." The situation you outline is terrible, and I am more than willing to take some positive action. If things have not been resolved by now, perhaps I can raise this issue with some of the people in the Black Leadership Forum.

With best wishes,

Fraternally,

Bayard

Bayard Rustin
President

BR/hh
encl:

Copy to Don Sla

apri
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Assistant to the Executive Director

November 9, 1979

Mr. Don Hughes
8843 Caminito Sueno
La Jolla, California 92037

Dear Mr. Hughes:

I recently learned that you are the producer of a show known as "IPI-TOMBI." From what I hear from some people who work in the entertainment field, the performers in this show are being paid at dismally low rates. One reputable source told me that they are receiving as little as $165.00 per week, plus $60.00 in expenses. To pay any performer such meager wages amounts to naked exploitation.

If indeed my information on this situation is incorrect, I would appreciate hearing from you quickly. As you can well understand, I am deeply concerned about these allegations, and if they prove to be true, you can expect further action on my part.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
President

BR/hh

ACTORS' EQUITY ASSOCIATION
1500 BROADWAY
New York, N.Y. 10036
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Emma Thomas
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August 28, 1970

Dear Friend:

I received the enclosed letter from Charles Hightower, the Washington Director of the American Committee on Africa. To my knowledge, the same letter was sent to Roy Wilkins and to Congressman Louis Stokes. I assume that other signatories of the advertisement on Israel may also have received this letter, but I cannot assume that it was received by all. I am enclosing, therefore, a copy of the letter and a memo I have written in answer to Mr. Hightower's charges.

He states that both Israel and South Africa "keep about 5,000 political prisoners in detention." In point of fact, there are several hundred people in Israeli prisons who have been found guilty of terrorist activities. It is incorrect to charge that they are political prisoners since they have been incarcerated for their violent activities, not their political views. It should be added that there is no death penalty even for terrorists who have committed multiple murders, since the death penalty has been eliminated in Israel for all crimes except genocide.

As to the charge that there is not "even the pretense of democracy" in the administered Arab territories, it can be pointed out that while minor security precautions have been taken, Israeli administration is minimal and has not interfered with local self-government.

Mr. Hightower implies that there is a close formal relation between Israel and South Africa by referring to an item in a South Africa newspaper of 1968 dealing with the formation of "a South Africa-Israel Committee." I have checked into the matter of this committee by questioning people who are knowledgeable about the Middle East and Africa, and no one has heard of this committee. This leads me to believe that either it does not exist or that, if it does, it is an unimportant private organization consisting of a handful of people. It was unwise, as well as unethical, for Mr. Hightower to draw such extensive conclusions on the basis of such inadequate evidence.

What Mr. Hightower should have pointed out is that in the United Nations Israel has consistently voted for all resolutions condemning Apartheid and any form of racial discrimination. It has voted to condemn any action taken against the opponents of Apartheid, and has supported resolutions calling for an economic boycott of South Africa and condemning the continued occupation of Namibia (formerly Southwest Africa). It has also opposed the sale of arms to any country fighting to preserve colonial rule.

Finally, on the basis of a 1963 quote from a member of the Mapam Party, Mr. Hightower charges that Oriental Jews and Arabs in Israel are exploited and discriminated against. It is true that both of these groups are on the whole not as well off as Jews of European origin. Israel is not an equalitarian paradise, and our advertisement was not meant to imply that it is. But the inequalities which exist are more a reflection of the social origins of the people involved rather than overt discrimination. The central issue is not whether inequalities exist but whether programs are being devised that will eliminate them by fully integrating into the Israeli economy Arabs and impoverished Jewish immigrants from Asia and Africa. In this regard, 4 U.S. Congressmen, John Brademas (D-Ind.), Orval Hansen (R-Idaho), Lloyd Meeds (D-Wash.), and James H. Scheuer (D-N.Y.), who are members of the Select Subcommittee on Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor, recently returned from a 12-day visit to Israel and reported favorably on Israeli educational programs for the disadvantaged. The Congressmen were particularly impressed with Israel's pre-school and vocational training programs as well as the youth villages it has established to give added education to disadvantaged teenagers. They praised "the unwillingness of Israeli political leaders to write off any age group or segment" of the population, and they also noted that the Arabs living in Israel have a higher literacy rate than Arabs living in any other Middle East nation.

I hope this memo has helped correct some of Mr. Hightower's charges. It should be noted that he has subsequently made it clear that although his letter was written on the stationery of the American Committee on Africa, it did not represent the Committee's views. I requested that the Committee apologize to those who received Mr. Hightower's letter, but it has refused to do so. I think the entire episode is unfortunate and does not reflect well either upon Mr. Hightower or the American Committee on Africa.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

BR/ej

Encl:

Israel Ad '73

November 1, 1973

Rabbi A. James Rudin
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York

Dear Rabbi Rudin:

Thank you very much for sending me your letter of October 23rd. Your commentary was superb.

I have enclosed a copy of the ad we published in *The New York Times* for you to see.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Executive Director

BR/bjp
encl.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

October 23, 1973

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

The enclosed commentary will be heard on over 40 radio stations around the country. All of us at the American Jewish Committee are deeply grateful to you for your public support of the people and the State of Israel in her hour of peril. It is good to know that Americans of all races and creeds stand together in this fight for human survival.

Once again, thank you for your magnificent support. With best wishes for continued success in the important work that you are doing, I am,

Most sincerely yours,

A James Rudin

Rabbi A. James Rudin
Assistant Director
Interreligious Affairs

AJR:FM
Encl.

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November 11, 1973

AMERICAN BLACKS EXPRESS SOLIDARITY WITH ISRAEL

By Rabbi A. James Rudin

The full scale armed aggression committed by Syria and Egypt against Israel has drawn sharp criticism from many American black leaders including Mayor Thomas Bradley of Los Angeles; Roy Wilkins, the Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Civil Rights leader, Bayard Rustin; the actress, Leslie Uggams; Dr. E. V. Hill, President of the California State Baptist Convention; Al Ragland, the Executive Director of the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race, and a host of black trade union officials.

Typical of this support is the public statement of Marvin Harrell, President of the Boston Chapter of the NAACP: "...the present crisis in the Middle East exemplifies the continued practice of racism and tyranny being imposed on the Jewish people. We urge the United States to make sure that aggression from any quarter be halted...The Blacks in this country know very well what it means to be isolated and attacked by superior numbers, either morally, socially or physically...The only solution lies at the conference table and not on the battlefield."

The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice also issued a statement in support of Israel.

Rabbi Rudin is Assistant Director of the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee.

Israel Ad '73

November 9, 1973

Mr. Charles Kramer
233 Broadway
New York, New York 10007

Dear Mr. Kramer:

This is just to let you know how much we appreciated your generous contribution to the appeal of black trade unionists for support of Israel which appeared in The New York Times. Your support has been instrumental in enabling the Institute to strengthen the historic ties between the State of Israel and the black communityl

The reaction of black community to the renewal of fighting demonstrates, I believe, that those who oppose Israel or would exploit anti-Semitism are only a small minority. The overwhelming majority of black political and civil rights leadership has expressed its unequivocal support for Israel in its time of danger. Congressman Andy Young, in a forthright statementoof support, described the Yom Kippur raid as "another infamous act by those who seek to mask their own failures to provide for their citizenry by blaming Israel."

You might be interested to know that the Randolph Institute conducts an on-going program to deal with the misconceptions and distortions about black-Jewish relationships in the United States, and about the ralationship of Israel and the black nations of Africa. During the present crisis, members of the Institute staff have appeared at rallies in support of Israel and I have written a column which has appeared in black newspapers across the nation. I have enclosed a copy of the column, "The Importance of Israel's Survival," with this letter.

We intend to continue our campaign to mobilize black support for Israel in the months ahead. For we believe that it is the moral obligation of those minority groups who have known discrimination and oppression to identify with and support all other oppressed people, wherever they may be.

Sincerely,

BR/bjp
encl.

BAYARD RUSTIN
Executive Director

November 8, 1973

Irving and Kay Schwartz
535 Bethan Road
Elkins Park, Pa. 19117

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Schwartz:

This is just to let you know how much we appreciated your generous contribution to the appeal of black trade unionists for support of Israel which appeared in The New York Times. Your support has been instrumental in enabling the Institute to strengthen the historic ties between the State of Israel and the black community.

The reaction of the black community to the renewal of fighting demonstrates, I believe, that those who oppose Israel or would exploit anti-Semitism are only a small minority. The overwhelming majority of black political and civil rights leadership has expressed its unequivocal support for Israel in its time of danger. Congressman Andrew Young, in a forthright statement of support, described the Yom Kippur raid as"another infamous act by those who seek to mask their own failures to provide for their citizenry by blaming Israel."

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Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Executive Director

BR/bjp
encl.

November 9, 1973

Mr. Charles Remar
10 West 44th Street
New York, New York 10462

Dear Mr. Remar:

This is just to let you know how much we appreciated your generous contribution to the appeal of black trade unionists for support of Israel which appeared in *The New York Times*. Your support has been instrumental in enabling the Institute to strengthen the historic ties between the State of Israel and the black community.

The reaction of the black community to the renewal of fighting demonstrates, I believe, that those who oppose Israel or would exploit anti-Semitism are only a small minority. The overwhelming majority of black political and civil rights leadership has expressed its unequivocal support for Israel in its time of danger. Congressman Andrew Young, in a forthright statement of support, described the Yom Kippur raid as "another infamous act by those who seek to mask their own failures to provide for their citizenry by blaming Israel."

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Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Executive Director

BR/bjp
encl.

November 9, 1973

Mr. Max J. Rosenberg
Vanguard Productions Inc.
527 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Rosenberg:

This is just to let you know how much we appreciated your generous contribution to the appeal of black trade unionists for support of Israel which appeared in The New York Times. Your support has been instrumental in enabling the Institute to strengthen the historic ties between the State of Israel and the black community.

The reaction of the black community to the renewal of fighting demonstrates, I believe, that those who oppose Israel of would exploit anti-Semitism are only a small minority. The overwhelming majority of black political and civil rights leadership has expressed its unequivocal support for Israel in its time of danger. Congressman Andrew Young, in a forthright statement of support, described the Yom Kippur raid as "another infamous act by those who seek to maks their own failures to provide for their citizenry by blaming Israel."

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Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Executive Director

BR/bjp
encl.

1973

Israel Ad

December 17, 1973

Rabbi A. James Rudin
Assistant Director
Interreligious Affairs
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Rudin:

Thank you very much for sending me your three radio commentaries.

I am very glad that you are spreading the word.

I look forward to seeing you very soon.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

BR/hh

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

December 7, 1973

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I am enclosing three commentaries that will be heard on over 40 radio stations around the country. Please know that all of us at the American Jewish Committee are grateful to you for your magnificent support.

I pray that you will be blessed with many more years of strength and creative achievement. With warmest regards, I am,

Cordially yours,

A James Rudin

Rabbi A. James Rudin
Assistant Director
Interreligious Affairs

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Encls.

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December 30, 1973

BLACK TRADE UNIONISTS SUPPORT ISRAEL - I

By Rabbi A. James Rudin

During the recent Middle East conflict over 70 black trade unionists publicly spoke out in support of Israel. They said: "For the fourth time in 25 years, the State of Israel has been forced to fight to defend its existence.

"For the Fourth time in 25 years, young Israeli soldiers are being killed -- and are being forced to kill -- because the Arab states continue to deny Israel's right to live.

"For the fourth time in 25 years, Israel has cried out to the world for support and compassion.

"As individuals committed to the cause of democracy, we pledge our support. As black Americans who have struggled against racism and discrimination, we pledge our compassion. As trade unionists, dedicated to the world-wide fight for social justice, we pledge our solidarity with Israel in this time of great crisis.

"...The Israeli people has looked into the abyss of annihilation and has vowed never to permit itself to be destroyed. Mankind must never forget -- never -- the crime committed three decades ago when six million Jews were gassed and burned in Hitler's crematoria.

"As black Americans we have a special responsibility to recall this crime, for we have a special intimacy with the scourge of

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Rabbi Rudin is the Assistant Director of the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee, New York City.

racism. We have no doubt whatsoever that the defeat of Israel in battle would mean the destruction of Israel as a state and the annihilation of its population. This must not happen.

January 6, 1973

BLACK TRADE UNIONISTS SUPPORT ISRAEL - II

By Rabbi A. James Rudin

During the recent Middle East conflict over 70 black trade unionists publicly spoke out in support of Israel. They said: "For the fourth time in 25 years, the State of Israel has been forced to fight to defend its existence.

"...We appeal to our government to provide Israel with whatever support it requires to defend itself in this hour of need. The irresponsible actions of the Soviet Union -- which has armed, trained and is now inciting the Arab states -- make such American support mandatory.

"We further appeal to the Arab states to cease their war against Israel. The Arab people will gain nothing from the continuation of this conflict but more death, suffering and deprivation. This tragedy will only end when the Arab states agree to sit down with Israel and negotiate a peace. When this happens, it will be a joyous day, not only for Jew and Arab, but for all mankind.

"It will also be a joyous day for blacks, whose fate is inseparably linked with the fate of Jews, as it is with the fate of all oppressed minorities. We have learned in our struggle for dignity and equality that no minority is safe if any minority is threatened, that democracy is not the special privilege of some people, but the inalienable right of all people.

"It is in this spirit that we call upon black Americans and all people of good will throughout the world to stand with Israel in its struggle to live and be free."

Rabbi Rudin is the Assistant Director of the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee, New York City.

January 13, 1973

BAYARD RUSTIN ON THE IMPORTANCE OF ISRAEL'S SURVIVAL

By Rabbi A. James Rudin

Bayard Rustin, a long time civil rights leader and Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, recently declared, "Many blacks, confronted with profound injustice here at home, may wonder about the significance of a war which rages thousands of miles away. They ask how does the outcome of this distant conflict affect their weary, centuries-old struggle for freedom and equality.

"But it is precisely because blacks have survived despite hundreds of years of oppression, and persist today in the face of the continuing destructiveness of prejudice, that they cannot now turn away from other equally oppressed peoples.

"...There is a common history of triumph in the face of oppression that binds black people to the Jews. We are joined by a legacy of suffering, and by the commonly shared belief in the Judeo-Christian doctrine of 'one humanity, one God.'

"Both Jews and blacks respect and have a personal stake in the spread of democracy. Surrounded by the autocratic, despotic countries of the Middle East, Israel alone adheres to the democratic principles that are a precondition to freedom."

Rabbi Rudin is the Assistant Director of the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee, New York City.

Reprinted from the New York Times, Sunday, October 23

An Appeal from Black Trade Unionists:

SUPPORT ISRAEL

For the fourth time in 25 years, the State of Israel has been forced to fight to defend its existence.

For the fourth time in 25 years, young Israeli soldiers are being killed – and are being forced to kill – because the Arab states continue to deny Israel's right to live.

For the fourth time in 25 years, Israel has cried out to the world for support and compassion.

As individuals committed to the cause of democracy, we pledge our support. As black Americans who have struggled against racism and discrimination, we pledge our compassion. As trade unionists dedicated to the world-wide fight for social justice, we pledge our solidarity with Israel in this time of great crisis.

The American trade union movement, of which we are a part, has long been a loyal friend of Israel. The reasons are not hard to understand. Israel is a labor society that has been ruled during its entire existence by a labor government. It is a society that breathes the spirit of democracy without which free trade unions could not exist.

The labor movement of Israel, the Histadrut, was established almost three decades before the birth of Israel as a sovereign state. During these crucial years, preceding 1948, the Histadrut laid the foundations of Israeli society. It organized workers, in factories and on *kibbutzim*, defended their interest and provided health care and a cultural life for them and their families. It put the stamp of justice and democracy on a nation then struggling to be born.

Today the Histadrut is the foremost institution in Israeli life, representing over 90 per cent of the work force. Because of its influence and leadership, Israel has been able to integrate people from vastly different backgrounds, providing them all – Arab and Jew alike – the benefit of an advanced social system. As American trade unionists, we salute the Histadrut and the country it has played such a central role in building.

If the Histadrut is the source of Israel's egalitarian spirit, the courage and determination of the Israeli people derive from the experience of oppression. The Israeli people has looked into the abyss of annihilation and has vowed never to permit itself to be destroyed. Mankind must never forget – never – the crime committed three decades ago when six million Jews were gassed and burned in Hitler's crematoria.

As black Americans we have a special responsibility to recall this crime, for we have a special intimacy with the scourge of racism. We have no doubt whatsoever that the defeat of Israel in battle would mean the destruction of Israel as a state and the annihilation of its population. This must not happen.

We appeal to our government to provide Israel with whatever support it requires to defend itself in this hour of need. The irresponsible actions of the Soviet Union – which has armed, trained and is now inciting the Arab states—make such American support mandatory.

We further appeal to the Arab states to cease their war against Israel. The Arab people will gain nothing from the continuation of this conflict but more death, suffering and deprivation. This tragedy will only end when the Arab states agree to sit down with Israel and negotiate a peace. When this happens, it will be a joyous day, not only for Jew and Arab, but for all mankind.

It will also be a joyous day for blacks, whose fate is inseparably linked with the fate of Jews, as it is with the fate of all oppressed minorities. We have learned in our struggle for dignity and equality that no minority is safe if any minority is threatened, that democracy is not the special privilege of some people, but the inalienable right of all people.

It is in this spirit that we call upon black Americans and all people of good will throughout the world to stand with Israel in its struggle to live and be free.

Sponsored by the

A. Philip Randolph Institute

260 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10010
Bayard Rustin, *Executive Director* Norman Hill, *Associate Director*

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☐ I support your statement and have sent wires to President Nixon and Secretary of State Kissinger.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution so that this advertisement may be reproduced in papers across the country.

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Address____
City____
State___________________________Zip Code______________

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International Union
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of Teachers
Gary, Ind.

Alretha P. Berrien
Allied Industrial Workers
Augusta, Ga.

William H. Bowe
Central Labor Council,
New York, N.Y.

John T. Burnell
Black Trade Unionist
Committee
New York, N.Y.

Douglas A. Butler
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State, County & Municipal
Employees
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Laborers Union
Baton Rouge, La.

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of Teamsters
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Henry Cambridge
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St. Paul, Minn.

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Washington, D.C.

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Akron, Ohio

Thomas Turner
Metropolitan District Council
Detroit, Mich.

Walter Waddy
AFL-CIO
Baltimore, Md.

Cecil Ward
Service Employees
International Union
New York, N.Y.

Roosevelt Watts
Transport Workers Union
New York, N.Y.

Jewell Willis, Jr.
United Steel Workers
of America
Malvern, Ark.

Connie Woodruff
ILGWU, Newark, N.J.

Robert Woodson
United Brotherhood of
Carpenters & Joiners
of America
Jackson, Miss.

Charlotte Wright
International Brotherhood
of Electrical Workers
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Virgil M. Yancey
United Rubber Workers
Dayton, Ohio

Thomas Young
Service Employees
International Union
New York, N.Y.

W. C. Young
AFL-CIO, Paducah, Ky.

Oct 16, 1942
C.P.S. Camp. Chilao.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
2929 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Report to : John Swomley
From : Bayard Rustin
Re. : Manzanar Relocation Center
Date : October 15, 1942

When I arrived at Manzanar the F.O.R group had already arranged a car and driver and I set out immediately and toured for six hours.

I visited all F.O.R members including Sam Hori who is in the hospital.

This was a great experience and I shall turn in a complete report of several pages on conditions in the camp as soon as I can get to a place where I have the time.

A meeting was held from 7 P.M. until 10 P.M. in which I presented the Fellowship position and stressed our work with minority groups.

Please find inclosed membership blanks for two Japanese former college students

1. Jackson Takayanagi - J.
2. John Nagayama - J.

* although Jackson was unable to contribute, he ought to be kept on the active file, receive fellowship, and any other material we publish from time to time. These two boys are the leadership of a very progressive

Sent to J.O.

group in the camp. Any material they would receive would be put to good advantage.

I have not received word from New York in a week. I assume you have my schedule since you sent copies to me. I am leaving here tomorrow to work with Nevin at a conference at Allen Hunter's church.

Hope to hear from you soon

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

October 1, 1942

Mr. Dixon Miyauchi,
40-8-E, Hunt Branch,
Twin Falls, Idaho

Dear Dixon Miyauchi:

I am very glad to have your letter and assure you that we shall be eager to keep in touch with you about F.O.R. work in the camp. I am going to send you several small packets of literature which will give you an idea of what the F.O.R. is doing and thinking. If you find any of these items particularly adapted to your use in the camp, let me know and I will see that you get them free of charge. In the meantime, may I urge you to look over the enclosed mimeographed sheet which we have sent out to our members in colleges and communities urging the organization of an F.O.R. group. It will not be practical for you to follow the suggestions in here because your situation in camp is so different, but I thought you would be interested in seeing this now.

I am glad to hear about Mr. Nakashima and hope that you will encourage him to meet with our F.O.R. folks in the camp.

I am enclosing a copy of our statement of purpose which tells about membership in the F.O.R. You will note that any person who agrees with the statement of purpose, regardless of what his religion may be, can join. We have a great many Christian members, a number of Jewish members, and several others of such faiths as Buddhists, etc. Our literature is predominantly Christian because most of our members speak in those terms and understand it better. The F.O.R., as you probably know, is world wide and has members in almost every nation of the world including a little band in Germany, Japan, etc. Our largest membership is in England and the United States. I hope you will write to me again soon telling me how many are interested in the F.O.R. and just what we can do to be of service to you.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.,
Associate Secretary

JMS:HP

9/28
Ans

40-8-E, Hunt Branch
Twin Falls, Idaho
September 24, 1942

Dear John Swomley:

Larry Henderson, now attending the Yale Divinity School, suggested that I write to you for literature and information in regard to the formation of an FOR affiliate or some such similar organization at this Japanese War Relocation Center.

In this community of 9,000 to 10,000 people there are at least a dozen of us who had very close friends among the Caucasians who were members of the FOR, or the Friends' Society, or who were conscientious objectors. The idea of an FOR discussion group here appeals to all of us, and we would like to form the nucleus of a very informal organization of perhaps twenty or thirty or more people.

We have a few very cosmopolitan Japanese here, and they would be invaluable to the group in an advisory capacity. I would like to mention George Nakashima in particular. He is a brilliant young architect who received his Master's from M.I.T., then went to Paris on an art scholarship, later worked with an American architectural firm in Tokyo, and, most important, spent severalmonths studying under a Hindu saint at Pondicherry for whom he did an architectural assignment. I believe that the national FOR body could gain a great deal from soneone whose spiritual outlook, like Mr. Nakashima's, approaches cosmic proportions regardless of whether this outlook is in reference to personal problems, to problems of one's immediate community, or to the world society as a whole,or to the infinite universe beyond.

Our group would welcome sample literature of all kinds. We would not like to lay a special emphasis on "Christian" pacifism because we feel that true pacifism is based on a universal concept of religion. And perhaps after a while some of us, if not all of us, would like to become full-fledged members of the FOR. Right now we can't help feeling that our situation in this world crisis is a rather unique one, and we would like to contribute our little share to the efforts of the FOR and other such organizations throughout the world in trying to rebuild a better society based on the brotherhood of man.

Sincerely yours,

Dixon Miyauchi

2

John

OCT 13 1942

Paufid?

2906 - C
Tule Lake Project
W. R. A.
Newell, California
October 5, 1942

Friendship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Could you possibly send me some information as to the possibility of securing employment outside of Western Defense Area No. 1? I am primarily interested in a position as a bookkeeper, but any information of available employment will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

George Tsuchiya

George Tsuchiya

October 29, 1942

Mr. George Tsuchiya
2906 - C
Tule Lake Project, W.R.A.
Newell, Cal.

Dear Mr. Tsuchiya:

Recently you wrote us to ask if we could find some employment for you outside the Western Defense Area. We are interested in knowing a bit more about you.

What is your background and experience as a bookkeeper? Do you belong to any particular religious group? Are you a pacifist, etc.? These questions are primarily to find out whether we ought to approach a particular religious group or certain others about you.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley

JMS:ET

Please return to Ernest Hume

COPY

October 15, 1942

Mr. Paul Comly French
1751 N Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Paul French:

In notes taken at the C.P.S. session of the New York F.O.R. conference, you are quoted as saying that the detached service project in Japanese Relocation Centers has "fallen through" because of the opposition of the Japanese themselves. You ascribe this opposition to the unwillingness of "the Japanese" to identify themselves with pacifists and refer to a super-patriotism exemplified by second-front petitions and offers of suicide squads. Thus you conclude that until this opposition dies, nothing can be done.

We have letters from C.P.S. camps in the middle-west indicating that this opinion is widely held there, and as it seems to me to be inaccurate, I should like to lay certain facts before you.

There is a very belligerent pro-war group in most of the centers I have visited, and it was this group at Manzanar which sponsored the second-front petitions there; but the group is very small and its influence is waning. Furthermore, it would not be fair to say that even this small group opposes the detached service project. Some of the extreme left-wing people, like Communists, are blatantly anti-pacifist, but in a conversation with Tojo Tanaka at Manzanar, leader of the pro-war group there, it was apparent that his attitude was: If they come in here as propagandists for pacifism we don't want them, but if they come in to help we do.

There is a bigger group which might be opposed to working with C.P.S. men — not because they are pacifists, but because they are Caucasians. This increasing racial emphasis is one of the most serious trends in the camps, and there is a noticeable coolness on the part of many of the Japanese towards any white skin. I think this is inherent and unavoidable as long as the present policy is followed, but the way to deal with it is not to duck the issue, but to meet it squarely. The fact that there is this opposition to Caucasians is an added reason for getting as many of the best possible Caucasians into the Centers as possible.

Among the mass of the Japanese in the camps there is an indifference towards the whole issue. We now have pacifist school teachers working in practically every Center, and several of the high administrators are also F.O.R. members. Many of these people have made no secret of their pacifism, but to my knowledge there has been no serious objection by Japanese to their presence in the Centers on this ground.

The fact is that since December 7 the Japanese have been identified with pacifists, because the American Friends Service Committee and the F.O.R. and other pacifists have done more to help them than all other groups put together. The reaction of the people towards this "identification" has not been one of opposition, but of gratitude.

It is our opinion out here that the reason the detached service has not gone through is political. The recent resolution on the Japanese concentration camps passed by the American Legion gives good reason for the War Relocation Authority to be scared of its neck, and at Manzanar the project fell through at least in part because of fear of the super-patriotic publisher of the newspaper in nearby Lone Pine. However, if a few men went into the Centers quietly I am sure they would be able to render great service without causing political scandal.

The job for the National Service Board would seem to be not waiting for a mythical opposition to die, but, rather, pushing through the political red tape which now holds up the project. If our message has any vitality we pacifists must strain every effort to work with people who are in trouble, regardless of the difficulties we may encounter.

I should appreciate your reaction to the above, and I am sending copies of this letter to Arthur Swift, A. J. Muste and Paul Furnas for their opinions.

Cordially yours,

Caleb Foote
California Field Secretary

CF:ab

This cock + bull story about "Japanese opposition" to C.P.S. seems to be all through the Mid West CPS camps. Can you help spike it?

Best,
Caleb

OCT 26 1942

OFFICE OF CHRISTIAN WORK
C Annex #2, Fresno Assembly Center
Fresno, California

October 21, 1942

2

Mr. John Swomley, Jr.
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York City

Dear John:

J. Miss Helen Kazato, instructor of music at Fresno State College, was evacuated to Poston and later received a scholarship through the Student Relocation Council and is now studying at Smith College.

Helen's address:
℅ Mrs. Fritz Heider
64 Kensington
Northampton, Mass.

Please contact someone in Northampton, Massachusetts, to get in touch with her.

Sincerely yours,

Hideo
Hideo Hashimoto

HH:yd

P. S. I am leaving in three days, October 24, to Jerome W. R. A. Center, Jerome, Arkansas. If your itinerary brings you down South, be sure to visit me there. Nevin Sayre was here and was gracious enough to take the time to visit me the other day. Under what region of F. O. R., does Jerome belong? Please get in touch with someone in South to get in touch with me. I can be addressed in care of Takashi Morita, 14 - 09 - D, W. R. A. Center, Jerome, Arkansas, temporarily.

J. HHashimoto

P.S. Thank you for your literature
I shall write you after I arrive in Jerome
Will leave Sat. noon Oct. 24.
Names of ~~F.O.R.~~ contact persons in other Centers.

J. Rev. Shigeo Tanabe - ~~[illegible]~~ 28 16-C, Tule Lake W.R.A. Project, Newell, Calif. (Sacramento, Calif.)

J. Rev. Lester E. Suzuki, Granada Relocation Center, Granada, Colorado. (L.A. methodist)

Copy: letter from Caleb Foote, F.o.R. 2151 Vine St. Berkeley

in ans. to inquiry re: Manzanar riot.

The story about one interne being killed and other injured in a riot at Manzanar is unfortunately true although the DAILY NEWS story you enclosed is badly garbled. Martial law has been clamped down over the Center and all incoming and outgoing mail is either stopped or subject to rigid inspection, so I understand. None of us has heard directly from the Center, the only information we have being what was gained from a WRA official who was at Manzanar, and this of course cannot be quoted.

He reports that the riot was essentially as reported in the press being caused primarily by the attack of some isseis upon one nisei, Fred Toyama, president of the Japanese-American Citizens League It appears that it was a nisei-issei clash having nothing directly to do with Caucasians administering the camps. Furthermore, it was quite personal in nature as apparently there was a great deal of feeling against Toyama who is reported to have turned in supposedly disloyal isseis to the FBI and who at the recent JACL national convention in Salt Lake City made statements which he said represented the opinions of the people at Manzanar,- and the people did not agree.

As you probably know, there was a riot earlier at Poston, Ariz., and there are unconfirmed rumors of one in Eden, Idaho. In the case at Poston, Nisei-issei antagonism seems to have been the major cause. The papers interpret this rivalry as being that of the Pro-Americans vs the Pro-Japanese. Actually it is far more complicated than that involving the friction that often arises between the first and second generation immigrant groups. The best background reading on this antagonism that I know of is in Adamic's FROM MANY LANDS the long autobiographical section on a young Japanese-American

Likewise the friction and boredom of living within the camps has greatly accentuated this difficulty. It is making the isseis more distrustful of the niseis than they were outside and vice-versa. It is making those who were pro-Japanese more so and those who were on-the-fence lean toward Japan. Some idea of these frictions can be gained from my article in the December FELLOWSHIP. Since I wrote that article barbed wire fences have been ~~received~~ erected in most of the Centers,- I have heard specifically from Poston and Gila, Ariz., Manzanar and Tulelake, Calif., Topaz Utah, Heart Mt. Wyo and Granada, Colo. In these Centers not only have the fence been well built around the camps, but there is a fence between where the Japanese live and the Caucasion staff live and eat. T These fences in the words of one of the finest ministers in the Centers, Andrew Kuroda at Tule lake have "worsened Caucasian-Japanese relationships."

At Poston, the largest Center (20,000) shortly before their riot a plan was proposed to have a hog-raising project at the Center. It was felt this would be sensible because of the tremendous daily garbage output, then going to waste; that it would help the nation's food shortage.

The project was abandoned because priorities could not be got for fencing. Shortly thereafter fencing arrived,- ten miles of it,- but to fence human beings and not hogs. In Poston Camp #1 the fence was erected close around the camp and several little nooks where children had been playing and a recreation park on which the Japanese had been working to develop it were put outside the fence. Although it is not listed officially as a direct cause of the riot, I think the fact that there was a riot at Poston shortly after the fencing episode is significant.

Likewise Manzanar, which I have visited three times, though not since October, was teeming with dissatisfaction and tension when I was there. The food was only fair, the housing the most crowded in any of the centers, the population included some of the worst elements of Los Angeles' Little Tokyo, most of the people were urban and fretted under the restrictions; the isseis were lead by pro-Japanese elements and leadership of the niseis was particularly weak. For example, there are no nisei ministems and the only ministers there are incompetent. The other young leaders like Toyama have become roundly hated because of the policies of the Japanese-American Citizens League at the time of the evacuation.

All this, Isuspect, enters into both the riots at Manzanar and Poston. True, the actual cause of trouble was the beating up of a nisei in both cases, but the reason a big riot resulted was not that, any more than the murder of the Archduke caused the first World War.

I might add that the results may be disastrous. One congressman from California has already announced this "proved" the advisability of the evacuation and detention. (Though John Hughes in his MBS broadcast on it asked for hearings to release the loyal Japanese) I fear even more the results in Manzanar where I fear that continuance of martial law will have bad psychological results.

FELLOWSHIP
OF
RECONCILIATION

2151 Vine Street,
Berkeley, Calif.
Dec. 16, 1942

Re: Manzanar Riot.

IMPORTANT NOTE: The following information has been obtained from a thoroughly reliable F.O.R. contact at Manzanar who has had access to the official military report, been receiving wires, etc. It is for your information only, and is not for publication at present in any form. You should use the information wisely, for the sotry of the riot, without careful interpretation, will worsen public opinion regarding the Japanese. I have rewritten the material and added some background material.

-Caleb Foote

From the first days of the evacuation the camp at Manzanar, Calif., has been one of the chief potential "trouble-makers." The first of the camps to be opened, it was at first administered by the Wartime Civilian Control Administration, and Japanese from Los Angeles' "Little Tokyo" were evacuated to it direct. It is considered there is more open and blatant pro-Japan feeling among some of the residents of this camp than any other.

After a meeting of Kibei last July, it was felt that trouble in the camp was inevitable unless segregation of the pro-axis faction took place. Someof the most openly pro-American and pro-Japanese people were living confined in the same small place and during the summer some beatings took place and there were a number of threats. One of the leaders of the pro-axis faction was Harry Uyeno, head of the chefs; leaders of the pro-American group were mostly JACL people like Togo Tanaka, Fred Tayama, Fred Masuaka, and Chiye Mori, the latter editor of the Free Press. The Wra Relocation Authority considered segregation during the summer, but decided on speedy relocation of the pro-American group instead. This was good in theory, but actually relocation proceeded very slowly and tension within the camp built up.

At Manzanar, more than anywhere else, Kibeis and Isseis who were for the large part pro-Japanese seized most of the leadership. They sought to control the camp, to keep their children from going out on relocation, and there was open- pro-Axis agitation.

Thus no one was too surprised when, on Saturday evening, Dec. 5, Fred Tayama of the JACL was severely beaten up. The police promptly arrested in an apparently high-handed manner Harry Uyeno, one of the leaders of the pro-axis group. He was removed to the jail in the nearby town of Independence. ~~Sunday~~

A large crowd, not very hostile at first, assembled Sunday afternoon at the Administration building. The leaders were highly excited and urged the people on, repeatedly insulting the soldiers with obscene words and making such statements as that they were eager to lose their lives for the Emperor. A comprimise between Merritt, the director, and spokesman for the group was reached, to the effect that Uyeno would be returned to the Manzanar jail to await the judgment of the Judicial Commission as to whether he should be tried by Manzanar or an outside court. The crowd in turn was to agree to no more meetings, mob action, and to help in finding the persons who had beaten Tayama. All shook hands, but when this was translated to the crowd, they were told in Japanese to return at 6 P.M. and storm the jail for Uyeno!

The crowd that evening numbered around 4000. The military police had entered the campmand set up machine guns, about fifty soldiers around the police station. All prisoners were released from the jail except Uyeno, and for more than an hour the sergeant ordered the crowd to disperse, and told all loyal to America to leave. As the crowd became more menacing, tear and vomit gas was thrown about 9 P.M., but was ineffective due to the high wind. The crowd withdrew a ways, many of them having rocks in their hands.

How the exact shooting occurred no one knows, but there were several new soldiers on the line and all, it is reported, had itchy hands. It is believed it was started ~~by~~ in the same manner as the Memorial Day Massacre: a soldier thinking that the explosion of a tear gas bomb was a shot from the crowd. No command to shoot was given, but a number of soldiers fired, most of them apparently over the heads of the people. The guns were loaded with heavy buckshot, nine dum-dum bullets in each discharge, and one 17 year old boy was killed outright and nine were injured, one dying later of his wounds.

At the same time, smaller groups, one numbering 200, were storming the hospital, some of the dorms, etc., searching leading JACL people. They assertedly had a "death list" of the leading pro-American people, and all the people on this list were promptly arrested by the military and removed to the M.P. encampment outside the camp proper ahd held under heavy guard.

After the shooting, the mob dispersed to certain mess halls and a council of three men from each block was formed, who since that time have been conducting a "reign of terror." This council has prohibited any Japanese from working save cooks and boiler crews; the people are not to report to school, etc., and anyone going out on relocation is warned that his family will thereupon be placed in danger. This council is preventing the people from getting correct information: notices posted on the bulletin boards are torn down, and any person who translates for the Administration is threatened with beating.

The Caucasians are doing essential services - heat water, light, food - but schools and canteens are closed, mail deliveries suspended, and this stalemate with the Council will apparently remain until the people request the re-opening of these services and guarantee responsible leadership. Martial law has ended, but troops brought from Reno and Boulder City are in control. The "death list" group of loyal Americans has been moved to an old CCC camp near Death Valley pending relocation.

"This lesson," my correspondent concludes, " is certainly an expensive one. It is costing many thousands of dollars, to say nothing of headaches, and I think outbreaks like ours will occur sooner or later in all the camps unless segregation and relocation are made really effective. They are looking for an old CCC camp now for the troublemakers."

Al Hoshi

THE JAPANESE NISEI

THREE THOUSAND JAPS IN A LIVESTOCK BARN
Young and purposeless, full of zest for life,
Eating and playing and just loafing around,
Just plain lazy, down to the ground,
With women on their mind, and men on their mind,
For sake of amusement, anyone they can find.

Gambling
and dancing,
Just nothing to do,

THEN I LOOKED FAR INTO THE FUTURE
AND A SAW A JAP RESERVATION,
Wrought from the deserts and the highland plains
Tormented with suffering of a million pains,
Condemned to loneliness, and cesspools of frustration,
Isolated and removed from the rest of the nation
Crammed into barracks by so many heads
Government-clothed and government fed,
With rules and regulations to destroy self respect,
And ten o'clock curfew, our quarters to inspect,
With children growing up, amidst the flies and the dust,
To forget that we once held America as mighty and just.

UNKNOWN

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH

Jerome Relocation Center
Denson, Arkansas
-

November 5, 1942

Block 44 Barrack 04 Apt B
Jerome Relocation Center
Denson, Arkansas

Mr. John Swomley, Jr.
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York City

Dear John:

Thank you for all the books that you have sent me and for telling Constance Rumbough of my coming here. I received a very nice letter from her and I am enclosing my reply to her.

I have already received a call from the district superintendent of the Monticello district of the Little Rock Conference of the Methodist Church, the Rev. Arthur Terry. I have even been invited to attend the Conference. I hope that it is possible.

This is just a short note of greetings. I suppose Margaret Rohrer has arrived in New York by this time and have seen you and told you something about the developments of California since you left.

Sincerely yours,

Hideo

Hideo Hashimoto

HH:yd

Enclosure: 1

T H E   C O M M U N I T Y   C H U R C H

Jerome Relocation Center
Denson, Arkansas

File: Hideo Hashimoto

November 5, 1942

Block 44 Barrack 04 Apt B
Jerome Relocation Center
Denson, Arkansas

Miss Constance Rumbough, Secretary
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
2210 Highland Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Miss Rumbough:

Thank you for your very nice letter of October 31. I have heard of your name many times and very happy that I am in your region.

I was a member of the F.O.R., at Fresno, where Margaret Rohrer, whom perhaps you know, was the chairman as well as at the Union Theological Seminary. John Swomley has sent me some of the materials and I hope to get started in the F.O.R., work soon. So far, I do not know anyone else who is an active member of the F.O.R. If you find anyone else, please let me know. I am anxious to see John Nevin Sayre again. He was very kind to visit me at Fresno.

We would like very much to have scrap books from other children and also be glad to reciprocate by sending you the scrap book from our Sunday-school classes. The Senior class made an excellent scrap book this past summer at Fresno and it is in circulation now. Miss Lorraine Nelson, First Presbyterian Church, Stamford, Connecticut, is in charge. Yes, we would like some games, too.

From my experience of one week, we are looking forward to a free-er and better regulations all around in this Center compared with the W.C.C.A., assembly center. The personnel are composed of good people--not so closely supervised by the Army although perhaps more closely supervised by the Congress (which means a lot of politics).

I am quite sure that the Administration is in position to grant my temporary leaves of a day or a week to attend conferences and make some visitations and speaking engagements. My co-worker at Rohwer has already made a visitation to a young people's church meeting in a nearby town. It would be a great relief to be able to leave the Center to attend a conference or fill a speaking engagement. The request should come from, I think, the group inviting. All communications should be addressed to Mr. Paul A. Taylor, Project director. I also talked with Mr. W. O. Melton, assistant director, yesterday, who said that civilians as well as soldiers and Caucasians as well as Japanese will be allowed to visit overnight or as long as is reasonable--provided that they abide by the same regulations as the residents.

Please keep in touch with me about the happenings in the South because I am a new-comer to this section of the country and am very anxious to become a real Southerner, not just a visitor from California.

I notice that there are members on the Southern Council from Arkansas. I wonder if James W. Workman is a returned missionary from China who took some graduate wrk at the Union while I was there--1937 to 1940.

Very sincerely yours,

Hideo Hashimoto

HH:yd

November 9, 1942

Mr. Gerdon Hirabayashi
c/o Mrs. Mary Farquharson
2126 East 47th Street
Seattle, Wash.

Dear Gordon:

I got back to New York last week and have remembered often the meeting which Bayard Rustin and I had with you in that upstairs room in your jail. It was an upstairs room in which the Christian Church was founded. I believe that Christ was also present with us three.

A few days later I had the great pleasure of meeting your mother at Tule Lake. She had received the letter in which you told her about the visit of Bayard and myself. She has a beautiful face that moved me as I talked with her. She gave me a white and a pink carnation which she had made out of tissue paper in her hut. She took them out of a vase of paper flowers in a corner of the room which brightened the whole room. I have my two flowers now on my desk in the Fellowship office here. They will remind me of you and your mother and other friends of Japanese ancestry whom I met in the three Relocation Centers which I visited on my recent trip. They will remind me, also, of the very beautiful and happy visit which I once made to Japan shortly before the First World War. War should never have come between the two countries or any countries. Some day, it will seem like an evil dream. I believe that the men of your generation, if not of mine, will live to see war wiped out of our world as completely as slavery has been.

I was encouraged by much that I saw in the three Relocation Centers I visited. Of course, there is a great deal that is desolate and desolating about them but I was encouraged by talks I had with remarkably fine individuals -- both Japanese and Caucasian -- in all of them. For instance, it seemed to me that the Director of the Center at Tule Lake is a very fine person and determined to do all that he possibly can to improve life within the Center and to help re-relocate in American communities all of his evacuees that he possibly can.

A letter from Seattle tells me that at your recent trial you were sentenced to three months imprisonment. Will they subtract from that the time which you have already spent awaiting trial in the county jail? I hope so and also that your new situation, whatever it is, will not be as confining and wearing as the ordeal you have been through. I am

(over)

in touch with Mary Farquharson about the appeal of your case. We shall try to do our bit in cooperating for the cause for which you have made valiant witness. I am asking her to convey this letter to you, or at least the substance of it, by whatever means are most feasible.

If Bayard Rustin were here I know that he would want to join me in heartfelt greetings to you.

Again thanking you in behalf of the Fellowship for all that you have done, and with the prayer that God may sustain and bless you day by day, I am believe me

Ever your friend,

John Nevin Sayre

JNS:ET

November 9, 1942

The Rev. Shigeo Tanabe
2816 C
Tule Lake Relocation Center
Tule Lake, Medoc County, Cal.

Dear Mr. Tanabe:

I got back to New York last week, completing the rather crowded trip which I made out to the Pacific Coast. It was full of interest and work, but, as I went along, I often remembered my day at Tule Lake, how kind you were to me there, and the meeting of Pastors which you arranged. I left some Fellowship literature with Mrs. Lambie which she promised to have delivered to you. I hope that you received it and found some of it of use either for yourself or the library.

I now enclose a folder giving a more complete list of pamphlets and books on our shelves here in New York. If you would like to have some of this material which you do not now posses for the Center's library and believe that it would be used there will you or the librarian check on the list what you would like to have. The Fellowship will be glad to make a present to the Center of these books and pamphlets -- or to the F.O.R. group in the Center if you think that is better. Naturally, we don't want to spend money to send them out if they are just going to be buried in an out-of-the-way corner in a library where nobody looks at them. On the other hand, we do wish to be of such assistance as we can in supplying things which may have spiritual and cultural value to our friends and their friends in the Relocation Center. I remember that I had a brief talk with a young woman in the library to whom you introduced me. You will probably recall who she was or know the proper person in the library with whom to talk over this matter.

On the way home I was able to visit the Centers at Topaz, Utah and Granada, Colo. I also saw Pastor Hideo Hashimoto at Fresno. I admire, ever so much, the fortitude and resourcefulness which so many of the residents in these Centers are manifesting. I was encouraged to find a number of F.O.R. members there and to find persons on the Caucasian staffs in these Centers who seemed to be very fine people. Those of us who are on the outside who feel that a wrong was done in the evacuation will go on working to try to open up opportunities for re-relocation in cities and communities between the Alleghenies and the Rockies. I hope that all of the groups working together may be able to bring good out of the catastrophe which the war and the President's evacuation order produced.

The Fellowship had a successful Conference at Berkeley. Caleb Foote will have told

(over)

you about this and our plan to cover the Pacific Coast area better by appointing three Regional Secretaries. It will be a part of their jobs, as well as privilege of state F.O.R. organizations and of F.O.R. groups in cities which are near the Relocation Centers, to keep in touch with groups in the Centers and to cooperate to the best of their ability in the joint effort which all of us must make to improve conditions. I hope that Mrs. Mary Farquharson, who has been made F.O.R. Secretary for the Northwest, may be able to visit your Center some time soon. Of course, Tule Lake, being in California, belongs to the district supervised by Caleb Foote, but Mrs. Farquharson should go there too, not only to see friends who formerly lived in Seattle and Portland, but to reinforce, with her message and personality, our fellowship which transcends all boundary lines. In case you should wish to write to her about anything, her address is 2126 East 47th Street, Seattle, Wash. The territory which she will travel includes Washington, Oregon, most of Idaho and western Montana.

Hoping that things will improve with you and with kind regards to Mrs. Tenabe, I am

Very cordially yours,

John Nevin Sayre

JNS:BT
Enc.

Telephone GRamercy 5-3475

COMMITTEE ON RESETTLEMENT OF JAPANESE AMERICANS

Sponsored Jointly
by
The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
The Home Missions Council of North America
in cooperation with
The Foreign Missions Conference of North America

297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

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1 - Jap. Folder

November 14, 1942

Mr. John M. Swomley
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway, New York

Dear Mr. Swomley:

Thank you for your letter of October 5 concerning Steve Yoshimura, who is at the Minidoka Relocation Center.

We shall write him and render him any service we possibly can.

Sincerely yours,

George E. Rundquist.

Geroge E. Rundquist

GER/ft

November 16, 1942

Mrs. Fletcher Wesley Judson
271 Woodbury Rd.
Watertown, Conn.

Dear Mrs. Judson:

We appreciate so much the contribution from the Primary Department of the Watertown Congregational Church. We shall use this in our Emergency Fund for Japanese Evacuee Children as you suggest. The children may be interested in seeing a few pictures of the camps which appear in our pamphlet "American Refugees", particularly the picture of the little girl.

The camps are all in need of children's games, children's books, children's magazines, either old ones or a current subscription, and any other items which would be of help to children in their educational, religious or recreational life. Children in the camps, particularly the Northern ones such as Wyoming and Idaho, would welcome warm clothing. Most of these folks came from Southern California, where the winters are warm and will endure their first cold winter this year.

One children's group has exchanged scrap-books with the children of an Evacuation Camp.

If you want to send clothing for use of children in the camps, you might write direct to Mr. Caleb Foote, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley, California, asking him whether to send the clothing to him or to someone in the camps. If you would like to send children's games, books, etc, you might send them to Reverend Hideo Hashimoto, Block 44, Barrack 04 Apt. B., Jerome Relocation Center, Denson, Arkansas.

Please tell the children how very happy we are to have their contributions, and tell them that we shall use it wherever the need seems greatest.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.,
Associate Secretary

JMS:LL
Encl. 1

NOV 12 1942

Mrs. Fletcher Wesley Judson
271 Woodbury Rd
Watertown, Conn.

John

Waterstown, Ct.
Nov. 10, 1942.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway, New York.

Gentlemen:-

I am enclosing check $10. from the Primary Dept. of the Congregational Church, Waterstown, Ct. to be used in your emergency fund for the Japanese Evacuee Camp children.

Would you please send me any information you may have in regard these camps which you think would be interesting to children as we discuss it in Sunday School.

Yours truly,

(Mrs. F. W.) Winnifred H. Judson

November 23, 1942.

Dixon Miyauchi,
40-8-E, Hunt Branch,
Twin Falls, Idaho.

Dear Dixon:

It is so good to hear from you and I surely appreciate having your membership application. I am sending you some more literature in the hope that you will continue to be able to put it in the hands of interested individuals. I am also hoping that you will be in a position soon to get pacifists together in some kind of a group. The only names I know of pacifists at the camp are Carl Sandoz and George Nakashima. Perhaps you know of others.

Even if the group can do no more than carry on a discussion now that would be important. As you meet and discuss you will find it more possible to live and to engage in the kind of action which John Haynes Holmes was driving at in the article you quoted for me in the November FELLOWSHIP.

I shall be eager to hear from you about the possibility of securing volunteer workers for your Relocation Center. I am sure our people here in the east would be very eager to hear about this.

I shall always look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS:AC

40-8-E, Hunt Branch
Twin Falls, Idaho
November 15, 1942

Mr. John Swomley, Assoc. Sec't.
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York City

Dear John Swomley:

It was very kind of you to invite me to apply for membership in the FOR, and following your suggestion I am enclosing my application without any contribution at the present but with the hope of being able to contribute something within a few months.

Since the time I wrote to you last I have done almost nothing about forming a pacifist discussion group here in our camp, except to distribute some of the leaflets you sent and to talk about a pacifist group with two or three close friends. The postponement in organizing a group has been due primarily to the unsettled conditions here in camp; for example our education department has been laboring for some seven weeks now getting ready for the opening of the community junior-senior high school, which, finally, will open tomorrow. Lack of textbooks (which won't be here for another month), lack of equipment, and shortage of buildings (army barracks) for classrooms are only the more apparent difficulties we have been facing. However, once the school gets going I believe we shall be able to get one of the classrooms for a weekly or a fortnightly meeting in the evening. Incidentally I shall be a cadet teacher in the 12th grade core (basic liberal arts, including English and social science) classes.

How soon we can organize a pacifist group here, what the response will be like, and what our activities will be are things that I can't foretell. Our group can certainly carry on an academic discussion about war and peace, but true pacifism is something that cannot be acquired through discussion; it must be lived, for it is something essentially spiritual, as John Haynes Holmes was driving at in his article in the November *Fellowship*, which you sent me.

AHP

Of the pacifist leaflets I have read, *War in our Midst* seemed to give the best short exposition of the pacifists' stand, and so I would appreciate your sending a dozen or two more copies of that particular leaflet. I believe that our group-to-be could also make use of some back issues of *Fellowship*, say two copies of each issue.

In a future letter I should like to bring up the possibility of securing volunteer workers to work and live right here in the relocation center, as many of my old friends connected with the *Pacific Cable* so earnestly wanted to do. I hope that you will write another personal letter to me soon, and I hope also that I'll get a chance to meet you personally before very long either in New York, in the Minidoka Project, or anywhere else. I feel it a privilege to be invited into the membership of a body that has people of courage and tolerance as the F.O.R. has.

Sincerely yours,

Dixon Miyauchi

December 2, 1942

Mr. Shigeo Tanabe,
Tulelake WRA Project,
Newell, Calif.

Dear Mr. Tanabe:

I appreciate your letter and assure you that I am most eager to hear from you whenever you can find time to write to me. I am sending you under separate cover the following books and booklets for your church library in the hope that you can encourage your people to read them.

Non-Violence in an Aggressive World
New Testament Basis of Pacifism
Character Bad
Selections from War Without Violence
How Jesus faced Totalitarianism
Out of Darkness
War is the Enemy
Wage Peace Now

In addition I am sending you a number of copies of pamphlets which may be given away free to people.

All members of the Fellowship are those who have read our statement of purpose, a copy of which is enclosed, and who have filled out the application blank indicating their agreement with our purpose. You will see in our statement of purpose that members refuse to participate in any war. There are many other parts to our statement but this one part makes it necessary for a person to be a pacifist. We believe that we ought to encourage people in churches and other people to take the position which the early Christian church took and which was one of pacifism.

However, if anyone is sympathetic with the position though not actually sure about it, he ought to be able to meet with your Fellowship group in the camp. I understand that there are a number of pacifists in the camp with whom you can work. I am listing their names though I do not have their addresses:

Kenji Oyanagi, 5603 C, Tulelake Relocation Center
Tats Yada, #16010
Julia & Andrew Kuroda,
Raymond Cheek, c/o School system, Tulelake
Mrs. Harold Jacoby,
Hirabayashi family
Helen Topping

I hope you will encourage any pacifist to fill out our membership application blank and send it in to us so that we can provide them each month with a copy of FELLOWSHIP Magazine and other material. Please point out to them that if they are financially unable to contribute at this time, it will be all right though we hope they will be able to contribute when they get out of camp and begin to work and earn money again.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.,
Associate Secretary

JMS:HP

Julia and Andrew Kuroda - M. Rohrer

Raymond Cheek - H.S. tch Caucasian

c/o School system
Tule Relocation Center
Newell Calif

Mrs. Harold Jacoby

Hirabayashi family

Helen Topping

Tulelake WRA Project
Newell, Calif.
Nov. 12, 1942

see Blevins apt.

Mr. John M. Swomley, Jr.
Fellowship of Reconciliation
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Swomley

It was indeed very kind of you to write and inquire about our needs. They are many and our resources are very much limited. So any help that you might give us will be greatly appreciated.

Ruth

The other day I received a copy of the Fellowship. I am grateful. I would like to receive a copy each month for our church library. We are eager to get good books and magazines of all sorts. Mr. Sayre left with us some Fellowship literature but most of it is now gone. They dealt with all sorts of subjects. We would like to have more.

We are now thinking of organizing a Fellowship group here. There are a few here who are interested in the Fellowship program. As for pacifists among there are only two or three. There is one point not entirely clear to me. Are all Fellowship members pacifists? Sometime ago I heard of a Fellowship member being drafted. Does one need to be a pacifist to join the Fellowship? Pardon my ignorance but I would appreciate a clarification of this issue for my own personal use.

Thank you for offering to help us.

Gratefully yours,

Shigeo Tanabe
Shigeo Tanabe

send 15
What is FOR;
Am. Refugees
each H.S. leaflet
sample Fellowships
Antidote to Aggression
Our Way in midst of War
Why we oppose Conscription
St of Purpose.
5 Corporal Nichols

send A.J. Non Violence
s N.T.B.P.
Ch. Bd.
Sel from War without Vio
How Jesus Faced Totar
Out of Darkness
War is Enemy
Wage Peace Now

This letter went to Takayanagi, Manzanar
Susu-Mago, Gila River
Miyauchi, Minidoka
Kawakami, Topaz
Okuda, Granada
Hashimoto, Jerome
Addresses on the attached sheet.

December 3, 1942

Mr. Jackson Takayanagi,
Blk, 16, Bldg. 9, Apt. 4,
Manzanar, California

Dear Jackson Takayanagi;

I have just been checking over a list of all of the resettlement centers and discover that we have F.O.R. members in every one of them. If you want to know of an F.O.R. group in any of the other camps, I hope you will feel free to write me about it. I am sending you, under separate cover, a small quantity of free literature which you can give to interested persons in the camp. I hope you will not hesitate to ask for more if you can use more.

We are very eager to help you in every way to get active F.O.R. work going in your camp. We would appreciate having from you the names and addresses of others who are considered in your group. We would also like to have the names of pacifists whom we might invite to join the F.O.R. I hope you will keep in mind that all persons in the camps who want to join the F.O.R. but feel they cannot contribute at this time, should join anyhow and send us the membership application.

I am wondering whether you can use a copy of the following books in the camp:

Out of Darkness
New Testament Basis of Pacifism
Non Violence in an Aggressive World
Selections from War Without Violence
Into the Way of Peace
War is the Enemy
Wage Peace Now
Relevance of an Impossible Ideal
How Jesus faced Totalitarianism
White Corpuscles in Europe

It is probably better for these to be passed around to interested individuals who would be helped by them instead of just placing them on some library shelf though perhaps all the books in your library are used. In any event, I hope you will use your own judgment about how the books should be used.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.,
Associate Secretary

JMS:HP

~~MARY FARQUHARSON has asked that all mail to her be sent to the Fellowship office, 4033 University Way, Seattle, Washington.~~

~~MARGARET ROHRER's address (Rocky Mountain regional secretary) is c/o Dean Paul Roberts, 1313 Clarkson St., Denver, Co.o~~

F.O.R. CONTACTS IN RELOCATION CENTERS

Tule Lake
Rev. Shigeo Tanabe, 28-16-C
W.R.A. Center
Newell, California

Manzanar
Jackson Takayanagi
Blk. 16,Bldg. 9, Apt. 4
Manzanar, California

Gila River
Rev. Royden Susu-Mago, Camp #2
52-9-C
Rivers, Arizona

Minidoka
Dixon Miyauchi, 40-8-E, Hunt Br.
Twin Falls
Idaho

Poston
Mary D. Finch
Block 324, Poston, Arizona

Topaz
Iwao Kawakami, Blk. 16, Bldg. 9,
Apt. 4, Central Utah Project
Topaz, Utah

Granada
Kenji Okuda, 7-G-7-D
Granada Relocation Project
Amache, Colorado

Heart Mt.
Miss Emi Kimura, B-29-16-C
Heart Mt. Relocation Center
Wyoming

Jerome
Rev. Hideo Hashimoto, Blk.44,
Barrack 04, Apt. B, Jerome Relocation Center, Denson, Ark.

Rohwer
Nat Griswold
Rohwer Camp for Japanese, Ark.

DEC 1 4 1942

44-04-B
Jerome Relocation Center
Denson, Arkansas

December 9, 1942

Dear John,

I have been wquite slow in getting the FOR work started. I have located some members, potential members, etc. and will keep at it.

do you have Ruth

You have sent me a number of these books to me already. Do you have a list of what you sent me. I should ckeck on that.

I am becoming more and more interested in working on the relocation outside the Centers, especially with the new policy of the WRA to encourage all able bodied men and women to go out. We have had a number of correspondence on this ever since the time I was in Fresno. Any new developments?

Al see attached

I am enclosing some random thoughts I jotted down. These are not for publication but may be incorporated some how.

Fraternally,

Hideo

Hideo Hashimoto

12/30

25 K.
25 our Way
25 what is F.O.R.

Walker

PS. Please send me some membership cards, statement of policy and other simple leaflets.

Gave to F.O. 12/16/42

PS. #2. Some of the members(or should be members and those ~~those~~ who should be receiving the Fellowship etc:)are:

J. × Miss Jane Horino, 31-4-B , Jerome Relocation Center, Denson, Ark.
J. × Miss Amy Murayama, 31-4-C "

Potential members:

J. × Mr. Seichi Mikami, 44-03-E "
J. × Miss Martha Mizue, 16-(?) no address "
J. "ill let you know next time with additional list.

[illegible] members

Via air

DEC 12 1942

B29-16-C
Heart Mountain
Wyoming
8 December 1942

Mr. John Swomley
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York City, N. Y.

Dear John:

Thank you for your last letter. I have been the librarian about the literature you offered to send. I am enclosing the order blank you sent; it has been checked by Miss Jensen, the librarian.

You will see that none of the pacifist literature has been checked. Caleb's article on "COLONISTS" IN WYOMING has already gotten wide circulation in camp and among the administration. At first, Miss Jensen appeared quite enthusiastic about getting books and other literature. But when I went in the other day, she said that "things had altered considerably since Mr. Foote's publication." C. E. Rachford, the project director, called me in today and wanted to know who Caleb was, etc. He thought that Caleb was trying to agitate and cause violence! Recently, there were uprisings in Manzanar, Poston, and Idaho.

So far the only pacifists in camp that I know of are Mary Sakimura, B21-2-F; and Harold Kimura, B8-4-F. Harold is expecting to leave within two weeks for Pendle Hill. I believe Mary is a member of the F.O.R., but I am not absolutely sure. Paul Oyamada is interested, I think; and he was quite impressed by FELLOWSHIP magazine. His address is B24-6-19.

al

Sincerely,

Emi

Emi Kimura

Here are some verses written by someone in camp - I don't know who. "The Japanese Nisei" was obviously written about the assembly center - not WRA - E.

THE JAPANESE NISEI

THREE THOUSAND JAPS IN A LIVESTOCK BARN
Young and purposeless, full of zest for life,
Eating and playing and just loafing around,
Just plain lazy, down to the ground,
With women on their mind, and men on their mind,
For sake of amusement, anyone they can find.

Gambling
and dancing,
Just nothing to do,

THEN I LOOKED FAR INTO THE FUTURE
AND I SAW A JAP RESERVATION,
Wrought from the deserts and the highland plains
Tormented with suffering of a million pains,
Condemned to loneliness, and cesspools offrustration,
Isolated and removed from the rest of the nation
Crammed into barracks by so many heads
Government-clothed and government fed,
With rules and regulations to destroy self respect,
And ten o'clock curfew, our quarters to inspect,
With children growing up, amidst the flies and the dust,
To forget that we once held America as mighty and just.

UNKNOWN

"THAT DAMNED FENCE"

They've sunk in posts, deep into the ground,
They've strung out wires, all the way around,
With machine gun nests, just over there,
And sentries and soldiers everywhere!

We're trapped like rats in a wired cage,
To fret and fume with impotent rage;
Yonder whispers the lure of the night,
But that DAMNED FENCE in the floodlight glare,
Awakens unresy in our nocturnal quest,
AND MOCKINGLY LAUGHS WITH VICIOUS JEST.

With nowhere to go and nothing to do,
We feel terrible, lonesome and blue;
That DAMNED FENCE is driving us crazy,
Destroying our youth and making us lazy.

Imprisoned in gere for a long, long tiie,
We know we're punished tho we've committee no crime,
Our thoughts are gloomy and enthusiasm damp,
To be locked up in a concentration camp.

Loyalty we know and Patriotism we feel,
To sacrifice our utmosy was our idealm
To fight for our country, and die, mayhap;
Yet we're here because we happen to be a Jap.

We all love life, and our country best,
Our misfortune to be here in the Wesy;
To keep us pennee behind that DAMNED FENCE
Is someone's notion of NATIONAL DEFENSE!!!!

THR MAD MONGOLIAN

"WHY ARE WE HERE?"

"Why are we here?" was aked of me
And as I looked around to see,
I saw a child, age about three.

Smiling she was, cute with a dimple,
My placid thoughts, my mood did rimple
When she asked that question so simple.

"Why can't we go home? It's so near."
She asked with a hint of a tear;
Even to a child, liberty is dear.

To make the foe to suffer anew
Is an aim of war, as men should do;
But the women and children, too?

"Why must we stay in this awful place?"
I dared not look on her innocent face,
To say that we because of our race.

When men wage war, kindness departs
Out of their souls; and in their hearts
They awaken hatreds with brutal arts.

"Why are we here?" the little girl asked;
Officials say "army," and in smugness basked.
But we want real motives now unmasked.

Are we the people (tho not admitted)
Punished for crimes by others committed?
To live as free men are we permitted?

WHY ARE WE HERE? Why are we alone
Imprisoned thru no fault of our own,
Someone else's sins to atone?

It must not be so that we might
Be deprived of our citizen's right
To aid in Triumph of Freedom's fight!

THE MAD MONGOLIAN

December 18, 1942

Mr. Kenji Oyanagi,
5903-A
Tulelake WRA
Newell, California.

Dear Mr. Oyanagi:

It was good to get your letter. I am sorry that absence on a field trip has delayed my reply.

You were quite right in feeling that it would not be wise for you to declare yourself a pacifist until you can really say that you are one.

I share your feeling that the camps may lead to considerable discouragement. Those of us who are pacifists have been opposed to the camps and the evacuations from the outset and are still doing what we can to change the opinion of the American people.

I hope you will let me know where you go to school so that we can put you in touch with our F.O.R. members in that vicinity.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS:AC

Kenji Oyanagi
5903-A
Tulelake WRA
Newell, California

DEC 4 1942

Tulelake WRA
November 26, 1942

Mr. John M. Swomley
Associate Secretary
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Swomley,

You can't realize how happy and surprised I was to receive your letter. I am grateful for your interest and eagerness to help us Japanese-Americans here in camp. It means a great deal to us to know that we still have a few American friends who are interested in our welfare.

You probably know that there are a great many of us here in camp who are discouraged, and have given up all hope for the future. However, there are many of us who still have the faith and hope that someday something will break for us; that we may still hold on to our ambitions and realize that our goals may be reached. It is a burden off our minds to know that, in spite of the fact that there are a great many people working against us who do not understand the peculiar situation we are in, a few of you realize that we are Americans and that we do believe in the ideals and the standards that were taught to us in the schools and in our associations with others like you.

As to my attitude towards pacifism, I am afraid, Mr. Swomley, that I can not declare myself a pacifist yet. I can honestly say, however, that I am sympathetic towards pacifism and that I would like to become one. However, I know that you would not want me to declare myself a pacifist unless I am willing, in spite of everything, to stand up for the ideal of pacifism--that love and goodwill is the strongest force that can establish peace and brotherhood among all men in this universe. Perhaps, someday I will awake with the realization that I have the spirit of pacifism within me. Then and only then will I declare myself a pacifist. I will say, though, that ever since I became associated with Dr. Williston, Larry Henderson, and several others, I have felt the spirit of pacifism strongly within me now and then.

I have looked over your Fellowship magazine and I would like very much to receive it. However, as I am planning to go out to school within a short time, I must cut down on my personal expenses to meet school expenses. If I find that I can spare the money I will not hesitate to write to you.

There is a great need for good books and literature in this camp. Most of the books in the library are very old and there seems to be a scarcity of good current books. As I do not know when I'll have to leave, I hate to ask you to send me any books or magazines just yet.

I would like very much to keep in contact with you and I am hoping that this fellowship with you may someday serve as a step towards our reconstruction.

Sincerely yours,

Kenji Oyanagi

December 22, 1942

Mr. K. Conrad Hamanaka
2-4-F
Denson, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Hamanaka:

Thank you for sending us your sonnet. I am afraid that with so much poetry received for consideration for our magazine that it will be impossible for us to use it, and consequently I am returning it to you herewith.

We have already made arrangements to supply all of the relocation centers with a considerable quantity of books and pamphlets. Mr. Hideo Hashimoto is the contact person in your camp and we have sent him a number of books within the last couple of months. No doubt if you see him you can secure the books from him for your perusal.

Sincerely yours,

R. Alfred Hassler
Managing Editor

rah/rs
encl.

John

Return to John

Is he a member? No.

Hideo Hashimoto

DEC 11 1942

Fellowship Magazine
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York City

December 5, 1942

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing a sonnet which I wrote today; you may publish it if you find it suitable for your magazine. In exchange for it, I would like some books since there is no library as yet in this center; and being a lover of good books, I desire to further my education by so perusing literature of value. I leave the choice to you since even if I have read the books you send me, I could either give or lend — as is my inclination — such books to others.

Sincerely yours,

K. Conrad Hamanaka

December 24, 1942

Rev. Royden Susu-Mago
52-1-A
Rivers, Arizona

Dear Friend:

I appreciate your letter and am happy that you will be able to use some books in the camp. We are not sending these to you because we want you to send us some money in return for them. Because you will be able to use them effectively in the camp we want you to look upon them as a gift for your work. We want to be of as much service as we possibly can and hope you will feel free to call upon us at any time.

Kirby Page's address is Box 247, La Habra, California. I am sure it would be well if you told him of the criticism of your pacifism and asked him to raise the issue somehow himself. If you discover any young people who are interested in pacifism you might encourage them to write to our office for further information. I shall be very glad personally to answer their letters.

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMSJr:JJ

Dicated by John Swomley but typed and signed in his absence.

Lit. sent under separate cover:

2 - "Selections from War Without Violence"
3 - "How Jesus Faced Totalitarianism"
1 - "Out of Darkness"
1 - "Into the Way of Peace"
1 - "White Corpuscles in Europe"
2 - "War Is The Enemy"
2 - "Wage Peace Now"

Suggestions for Organizing a Religious Peace Group which is not strictly Pacifist!

A. One can be organized

   1. Where it is impossible to organize a pacifist group because of few pacifists or lack of availability of pacifists for regular meetings

   2. Among people who are genuinely interested in peace but cannot take a pacifist position. You can find them in almost every church or college and certainly in every city. Ministers, teachers, friends can give you leads on them.

B. Each such group should have at least one pacifist in it who will help stimulate the group's thinking and who will keep in touch with our office.

C. These groups will be able to study such items as the following: DO YOU KNOW LABOR, THE AMERICAN CASTE SYSTEM, COOPERATION AS A WAY TO PEACE, THE NEW TESTAMENT BASIS OF PACIFIST, THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE.

D. Each group can participate in worship or meditation.

E. Action can include

   1. Projects of community service such as building recreation center, etc. (See action suggestions attached)

   2. Political action such as letters to Congressmen, newspapers, etc., stressing the need to keep the U. S. out of war, to feed Europe, to grant exemption to absolutist C. O.s, etc.

   3. Presenting drama, holding public meetings, protesting to the proper people about propaganda in the movies, from the pulpit and over the radio.

F. Each group should be asked to tithe weekly and contribute either to the general work of the youth section or to some particular project such as Feed Europe Fund, Inter-Racial work, C. O. fund.

Send Information on Such Groups to
YOUTH SECTION - FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

12-22-42

52-1-A,
Rivers, Ariz.,
Dec. 16, 1942.

John Swomley,
2929 Broadway,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Friend:

I should have answered your letter long before this. Pardon my delay, but here in this concentration camp physical handicaps and lacks are so great that we ministers spend most of our time getting the machinery ready to function.

You ask for a list of pacifists here. There are only a few who dare to commit themselves,being afraid of public opinion outside. One of our ministers, formerly pastor of the Pasadena Japanese Church, even went so far as to demand that I resign from the ministry because my pacifistic stand was " jeopardizing the position of the Nisei in the eyes of the government." He raises a howl every time I mention pacificism or the FOR in the ministerial council composed of nine ministers, and objects to my holding any kind of peace meeting or study group. I can forgive him for his attitude. He may be sincerely afraid. He is all out for Allied victory and is loud in condemnation of Japan, but I remember the time when he was all out for Japanese victory in China, and how he was among the first to teach Japanese war songs to his congregation. So, even if I cannot hold group meetings I can pass books around for interested ones to read. There is only one other minister who is peace-minded and I am sure he will be glad to read books on peace. He has some of Kirby Page's books on his shelf.

Pacifists here are:

✓ Mr. Susumu Kojima, 64-9-B
✓ Mrs. Fred Shimizu, 48-4-C (Pacifist husband interned at Lordsburg,NM)
✓ Rev. Yasaburo Tsuda, 28-9-D
Mr. Earle Yusa, 72-10-D (FOR member)
Rev. & Mrs. Royden Susu-Mago, 52-1-A (FOR members)

There may be a few others, but they have not come out openly as yet.

I am glad to know that the FOR is working for relocation. Young people come to me frequently and inquire about jobs outside. They want to get out badly. If you can help these young people please let me know of any jobs. They will do anything, gardening, machinist, cooks, teachers, barbers, hairdressers, maids, landscape artists, designers, dressmakers, interior decorators, carpenters, and many others.

Of the books you listed I have three of them, but the others may be helpful to us, namely, Selections From War Without Violence, How Jesus Faced Totalitarianism, Out of Darkness, War is the Enemy, Wage Peace Now, Into the Way of Peace, and White Corpuscles in Europe. I have read this last by Allan Hunter, but the others may not have. I shall pass these books around, but have them returned here so that I can be sure where they are each time.

Now that Earle Yusa has been elected chairman of the Young People's Fellowship he will try to get a group to study postwar social and economic conditions and the Nisei's place in America. Peace will come up for discussion, I am sure. Since I am director of Young People's work I shall makeit possible for Earle to get all the material he would need for his study groups. If pacifism comes in for discussion through the initiative of the young people themselves, that minister I mentioned will not be able to condemn me and demand my resignation.

I understand that Kirby Page is scheduled to visit this center in February. That will be wonderful. We will have to arrange a good program for him during his visit here. Will you give me the details? Where can I contact Kirby Page and plan for him?

Any pamphlets you can spare will be welcome. As you can well understand, none of us here is in a position to pay for books, so that whatever you send will have to be done on a loan basis, if that is agreeable with you.

Thank you for your interest. I shall try to be more prompt in my replies.

Yours in Fellowship,

Royden Susu-Mago

Royden Susu-Mago

January 19, 1943

Miss Ruth Mitchell,
War Relocation Authority,
Central Utah Project,
Topaz, Utah.

Dear Ruth;

I am glad to get your letter. I was wondering when we would hear from you because I know of your very real interest in our pacifist work. I hope you will find it possible to encourage pacifists in the Camp who are not members of the F.O.R. to become members. We are, therefore, sending you a small quantity of membership applications. In this letter we are sending you our list of contacts in each relocation center. You will note that in two of them the only contacts we have are Caucasians. Perhaps you can discover Japanese-Americans in those two camps from your correspondence. I am writing Margaret Rohrer suggesting that she plan to visit with you soon.

Under separate cover we are sending you a consignment of books and literature which you may be able to use in the camp among the Japanese-American people. Do write to me again telling me how things are going in the camp.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.,
Associate Secretary

JMS:HP

P.S. - The only active members in our file, on the list you sent are Tom Hoshiyama, Mary McMillan, and the Goertzels. We have Joe Goodman at San Francisco, and Emil Sekerak at Delta, Utah.

JAN 6 1943

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

112 East 19th Street · New York · ALgonquin 4-4954

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January 4, 1942

Mr. John Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York City

Dear John:

Thanks for your card on J.R. Butler's tour. I know that we can count on a response from F.O.R. groups for it.

Best ever,

Morris

Morris Milgram
National Secretary

MM/as

JAN 4 1943

War Relocation Authority
Central Utah Project
Topaz, Utah
Dec. 29, 1942

John M. Swomley
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

Dear John:

Thank you very much for your kind offer of help to our Topaz group. The package of literature arrived just in time for our meeting last night and was distributed to an eager group. About twenty of us shared in a devotional, a well-directed discussion of current events and made definite plans for the future. We lined up names of 35 or 40 who are truly interested. Among our plans were: reconciliation of Nisei and Issei through personal contacts, making friends with a Kibei to help him with language difficulties and general get-togethers to help them make social adjustments, a drama club to study and present one-act plays of social significance, letters to F.O.R members in other camps. We plan to meet every Monday evening after roll-call for meditation, study of pacifist literature and an analysis of current events. After our meetings we plan to listen to symphony recordings etc.

also — [backing plans for a Japanese library]

We feel that definite gains have been made in breaking down the double-standard. We staff members can now invite guests to our dining hall, to our recreation hall, and movies. A sign on our lavatory was removed, which seemed to carry an impression of exclusiveness. We have guests in our homes freely. Mr. Ernst director of the project announced to our block meeting that he wanted to break down any apparent barrier of discrimination.

Two of us girls asked to move in with the residents but were refused because the blocks are overcrowded, and we ceased trying at the request of some of our resident friends, who felt that (1) we could do more good as intermediaries to staff (2) other compromises would necessarily be made as long as we accept our salaries (3) under crowded conditions we could not do our jobs as thoroughly as the residents need us to do. We have not swallowed these reasons whole, but we are biding our time working quietly wherever we can. We sense the danger of becoming ingrown, insensitive and acquiescent to a bad situation.

I wish you could have seenthe pageant "The Other Wise Man" given on three nights before Christmas. I shall never forget the Nativity scene. There was an unscheduled allegory within it as a fat little cherub with wings bigger than she was cried during the scene. As she stood before the beautiful Japanese madonna, she seemed to wail out the anguish of children all over the world. At last she saw her mother and smiled, "There she is!"

I am enclosing a list of members and interested ones

January 19, 1943

Miss Myrtle J. Barley,
Block 324,
Poston, Ariz.

Dear Miss Barley:

We appreciate your contribution to the Fellowship and your recent letter. I am glad to know that you are in Poston, Arizona, working with Japanese-Americans. We have been wanting to work as closely with Japanese-Americans as possible so that we could encourage them to take a pacifist position and so that we can be of real service to them wherever possible. I am wondering if there is an F.O.R. group in the Poston camp or if there is the possibility of one. I believe we have an active group in every other camp except one. In almost all of the other camps, Japanese-Americans have taken the lead in forming such groups and keeping in touch with our office. Iffyou know some interested Japanese-Americans or if you want to take the initiative in calling some interested people together, we shall be most eager to send you some books and other literature for their study and use. I suppose you know that wherever they are being re-settled, our people are active in fellowship with them.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.,
Associate Secretary

JMS:HP

Place of Service Open to C.P.S. Men

C.P.S. men on furlough or planning to leave camp may be interested in the following item from the F.O.R. notes edited at Camp Antelope:

"Caleb Foote writes that he and his wife are living in a house that they have rented from one of his Japanese friends in the middle of what was once Japanese Town in San Francisco. This has become the center of an almost solid Negro belt. 'We have two extra rooms and also a large basement-garage in which we are planning to put a ping pong table and a work bench and hold open house a few nights a week and Saturdays. The problem of the area is so vast---delinquency, prostitution, drunkenness---that it is difficult to know where to begin. I guess starting with the kids is best. Any chance you or any of the others would consider using some furlough this way if we get the thing rolling?' If any man leaves C.P.S. for any reason, they wish to put in a bid for him now if he is looking for a worthwhile project and is interested in this type of work. In Caleb's words, 'With a person full time, I think we could really make a dent'."

Openings for Wives of C.P.S. Men

1. We understand that the Cooperative Eating House at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, is looking for a dietitian and would like to secure someone sympathetic with cooperative ideals and the liberal spirit of Antioch.

2. The following memo from a regional secretary gives an excellent opening for some F.O.R. person and will be of interest to C.P.S. men whose wives are seeking a place:

"Miss Charlena Elliott, Ridge Farm, Lake Forest, Illinois, is interested in securing a young woman to serve as a teacher, counselor, and recreation leader for part of a group of 48 undernourished children. The teaching will be on the level of grades 5 to 8, and it would be preferable if the person has some teaching experience or special ability in that field. A college education is required.

"The Salary is $75.00 per month in addition to room and board, with one day off each week, and one week-end off each month. Persons interested may apply to Miss Elliott or through Herman Will, Jr., 740 Rush St., Chicago, Illinois."

Japanese

DEC 28 1942

Block 324
Poston, Arizona
Dec. 19, 1942

Fellowship
2929 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sirs -

Enclosed please find a check for #25 for Fellowship. Please use this where you believe it is most needed.

Relief work means more to me this year than before because of living with the Japanese-Americans. So many of my evacuee friends want to get out of camp so badly - and I want to do all I can to help them.

Poston is a grand place - not physically; but the spirit of Poston is one which many other American communities could well afford to pattern after.

In Poston III last week-end a big Christmas bazaar was held to get money to buy each child in Poston III a gift and candy. It does the heart much good to see how desperately hard the citizens are working to make this Christmas a happy time for the children. One loves people like these people.

Most sincerely,
Myrtle J. Barley

Pacific Cable

Vol. I February 1, 1943 No. 15

INGENUITY-PLUS!

On a recent visit to my friends at Hunt, Idaho, I was strongly impressed by their creative spirit and their development of a suitable pattern of living in the new environment.

The rows of uniform buildings, set in carefully measured blocks with little variation, were seen by the eyes of more than one young person as a fit subject for appealing Christmas cards.

The interiors of the rooms where families lived were a welcome contrast to the sameness of the actual buildings. Memory allows me to recall a typical mess-hall, but it does not allow me to recall a typical family room; each room I visited seemed quite different from the last one. Some contained little roomettes set apart by curtains or partitions; some were gay with colorful hangings or growing plants; some used novel arrangements of the placing of beds and boxes; many contained hand-made furniture of original design; and in some, a few exquisitely polished pieces of manzanita wood artistically arranged, lent beauty to the entire room.

In contrast to the bare character of much of the landscape was the warmth and the "lived-in" atmosphere of these little homes, warmth due to the vitality of the personalities frequenting the rooms and the carrying out of many of life's interests here. Particularly memorable were those occasions when kind hostesses graciously served tea or an evening snack, and even a hot dinner at a small table in their "own" home.

When people say that modern civilization with its mass production of everything from food to houses is robbing us of our individuality let us reply, "Not necessarily!" Then let us observe our friends in W.R.A. Centers and learn from them how to give expression to the creative spirit within us in the little experiences of daily life.

Beatrice Shipley

****

ESTEEMED BY ALL

"...last week the nation paid its last respect to...Dr. George Washington Carver, eminent Negro scientist...

"Dr. Carver, born of slaves and once ransomed for a race horse valued at $300, became one of the great men of his time. His great work on the utilization of waste products of the South "gives the lie" to all...theories of race superiority." Pacific Citizen 1/43

"CABLE LINKS"

A Massachusetts youth writes:"I like the idea of you and your friends putting out the bi-monthly for the Niseis. I think that they do need that contact with the outside world ad the knowledge that they still do have friends and sympathisers among us."

Robert O'Brien, National Japanese Student Relocation Council chairman has tended his resignation prior to resuming his duties once more at thb University of Washington.

Recently, thb Campus Christian Council [received] a letter of appreciation from Yoshiko Uchiyama, secretary for the Nisei students at the Idaho Relocation Center, in recognition for the gift of books sent at Christmas time. In closing, the letter read: "Not only will the gift be of use to us, but more than that, it will be a constant reminder for us to keep our faith in America—— our country which belongs to broad-minded individuals such as those of you who contributed toward the gift. We are ever hoping that hte time will come soon when we all can enter the America beyond the relocation camps in order that we can make our contributions and be considered as an integral part of the American way of living."U.W.Daily

****

WHICH WAY IS THE WIND BLOWING?

Recen attacks against the Nisei by certain groups on the Pacific Coast has a distinct Fascist-like flavor. Bill Hosokawa, in his column From_the_Frying Pan (Pac. Cit. 1/28/43) says:"It is time that America woke up to the realization that it is not just the welfare of a tiny minority in this nation that is at stake in the unjust attacks singled on AMERicans of Japanese descent. Our entire war effort stands in danger of being sabotaged by fascist-minded citizens in our midst."

****

TWO SIDES

In our endeavor to see the bright side of relocation center life, let us not forget that it is far removed from the ideal situation.

An editorial in the Heart Mountain Sentinel (1/30/43) stresses this point: "We were provided only with the barest physical necessities ...What has been built up since is the result of evacuee labor...All of us...are subject to the same rationing and priorities system prevalent throughout the country...From this income ($12-16-19 a month) we purchase all necessary toilet goods newspapers & reading material, laundry soap, clothing, snacks, life insurance etc. ..Our rations are served in communal mess halls where there can be no catering to individual tastes...meals cost no more than 45 cents per person per day...considerably less than the cost of fare provided prisoners of war who are quaranteed food comparable to that provided men in the armed forces... "home"-crowded one-room apartment in a tarpaper-covered barrack, etc.

THE PACIFIC CABLE

To Serve As A Communication of
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HIGHLY ENCOURAGING

During my recent visit to Minidoka, Heart mountain and Denver I traveled on twelve different trains. On everyone of the ten from Portland and return I found Japanese Americans. It being just before and just after Christmas a good many of these were Nisei soldiers on furlough visits to their families in camps but the remainder were young people going out to school or jobs. I made it a point to get acquainted where necessary but it was a pleasure to discover that this was not always necessary. Several of the people I met were old friends. In each case I inquired how they were getting along. It was not a casual "Hi, how ya making out?" I really wanted to know. I asked how people were treating them, not only as travelers, but as students, workmen, and new neighbors. The answers were highly encouraging. There were hundreds of service men traveling, making up the bulk of passengers of every train, but, in no instance did I hear any sober soldier or sailor being rude to a Japanese traveler.

Every Nisei with whom I talked either had a job or good prospects of getting one, or as in many cases, was in school. The students were without exception, happy at college, well treated and quite satisfied. Many who were on their way out to school were certainly enthusiastic about getting out into "normal" life again.

At Denver, I met with twenty-five former University of Washington students. Every one was in school or had a job. How pleasant it was to see and talk with them!

Of course, I heard of a few instances of mistreatment and hardship... even of two students who were threatened with lynching...but none of the stories were first hand.

In closing, allow me to repeat...it was a great pleasure to meet old friends in new and "pleasant" settings.

Floyd Schmoe

****

PRESSURE GROUPS

Can it be that certain groups in the Northwest ad in California believe that they are serving the best interests of Democracy by provoking pressure against Japanese-Americans retaining their rights of citizenship? Let us understand the term DEMOCRACY!

DEMOCRACY STILL ON TRIAL

"The case of Gordon Hirabayashi" was "Re-tried" at the January 17 Sunday evening forum at Plymouth Congregational Church in Seattle before an audienceof over 200 people.

Former Wash. State Senator Mary Farquharson, speaking for the defense, told the gathering that evacuation came about largely because of propaganda not based on facts. She went on to review the well-known Pearl Harbor sabotage tales, which were refuted by officials there. She stated that this propaganda had been "deliberarely" put out by special interest groups.

Dr. Walter G. Hiltner, taking the side of the government, stated that most Japanese realized the evacuation was for their own safety, that they were now "being well fed and given comfortable beds," ad most were occupied in their own types of work. "Weshould not question the government in wartime ---reasons were not for us to say."

When Mrs. Farquharson disagreed with Dr. Hiltner's contention that the Japanese were living comfortably and contentedly, a woman in the audience brought up a question as follows: "Mrs. Farquharson stressed the point that they are unhappily situated--- ask her how happy my son is in the malaria infested South Pacific?"

The former state senator said that she could notcsee the logic in making one group of persons suffer needlessly, simply because another gruop is suffering.

Frank Seeley, University of Washington friend of Gordons, described a committee in Seattle which has beem organized to support the Hirabayashi Court appeals. Gordon is still in the King County Jail awaiting the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals which will hear his case on January 30 in Sam Francisco, California.

****

Sugar Shortage?

"In the Western beet growing states, a total of 8019 workers, recruited from relocation centers, harvested approximately 915,000 acres of land enough beets to produce 265, 000, 000 pounds of sugar." Western Farm Life 1/1.

****

Happy Anticipation

From Tulelake:-As the Old Year fades into eternity, carrying a ponderous load of uhhappy memories, we greet a stranger, the New Year. Who knows what is hidden in his pack?

We can only hope and pray that the New Year holds in store for us all ---peace, union, cheerful hearts about each home fire."

****

PHILOSOPHERS' CORNER

"In great attempts it is even glorious to fail." Longinus

"Rebellion against tyrants is obedience to God." Franklin

"They always talk who never think"
Prior

February 23, 1943

Mr. Hachiro Yuasa,
4-8-C,
Topaz, Utah

Dear Mr. Yuasa:

I appreciate very much having your good letter and am happy to welcome you and your wife into our Fellowship. We hope you will keep in touch with us so that we shall know if you do decide to resettle in Michigan. We have some awfully fine members in Michigan who will want to get acquainted with you.

Under separate cover I am sending you a few copies of FELLOWSHIP Magazine and some other literature which you may want to pass on to some of your friends.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.,
Associate Secretary

JMS:HP

3 each of Jan. & Feb. FELLOWSHIP
3 each of H.S. leaflets
1 each of Wage Peace Now
War is the Enemy
Sel. from War Without Violence
How Jesus Faces Totalitarianism
several M. Applications

July 17, 1942

Mr. Tom Keehn,
Deering Community Center,
Hillsboro, N. H.

Dear Tom;

Mary Alice Beck has told me recently that Bob Harding whom I believe is at Durham this summer, might be a good F.O.R. youth secretary. I would be interested in any reactions you may have to this and also any information as to where Bob might be later in the summer where I might get a chance to talk with him.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.,
Associate Secretary

JMS:HP
Dictated but not read by J. M. S.

• 2^{00} + m.a.
received Mr. + Mrs.

4-8-C
4-8-C
Topaz, Utah
Feb. 15, 1943

FEB 19 1943

Dear Mr. Swomley—

Thank you indeed for the letter of Feb. 8th. We are very definitely interested in keeping in touch with your office not only for the FOR news but also for resettlement problems.

Both my wife and I are pacifists and although this is our first opportunity in applying for membership in FOR nevertheless we have been connected with this group before the evacuation. At present we have an offer to resettle on a farm in Michigan and we will proceed to do so if the

We appreciate your interest in us deeply and it is our desire and hope that we may in a small measure add to the strength of the Fellowship.

Sincerely yours, Hachiro Yuasa
Hachiro Yuasa

I would like to submit the name of Mr. Siterious Y. Saito who would like to receive Fellowship magazine.
His address is 33-4-F Topaz, Utah.

draft board which is now being set up in this camp can give me clearance.

The new proclamation by Secretary of War Stimson has created an attitude of distrust and antagonism toward our government. The majority opinion of this camp is that we would like the return of our civil rights before we are asked to bear arms.

We have a small FOR group here and we are hopeful of developing a strong and unshakeable men and women. Any literature sent here will be greatly appreciated.

Jean, have we rec'd this membership application yet? no. 3/5/43 no cls sd. ① ~~Sally~~ ② Jean

February 23, 1943

Mr. Kenji Nakane,
42-10-B,
Poston, Arizona

Dear Mr. Nakane;

It is certainly good to have your letter and to know that you have become a member of our Fellowship. I am checking to see why you have not yet received FELLOWSHIP Magazine and trust that you will get one very soon. Under separate cover we are sending you some literature which may be helpful to you in encouraging people to understand the F.O.R., post-war reconstruction, and other items. I hope you will write me whenever there is anything we can do to be of service. Best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.,
Associate Secretary

JMS:HP

Wrote to Caleb Foote asking where M. A. is.

wrote again on 3/5

FEB 23 1943

Blk 42-10-B
Poston, Arizona
Feb. 16, 1943

Mr. John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Swomley:

I have received your letter of Feb. 8. And I wish to thank you for your very kind regards and encouraging thoughts extended to me. I shall cherish them, for such spurs me to a more envigorated actions and confidence in the bright future for the humanity of God's rithteousness and human decendy. While in one hand my heart is bleeding for the suffering humanity in the war-torn countries and for the sorry sight of those involved, I am gratefully happy, for this great tribulation has brought out many beautiful characters and innate hope and deep yearning of people which are making them into new-beings...I being one of them.

In answer to your question whether I am a pacifist or sympathetic to the position, I really do not know how to answer. I still am dark as to the true meaning of a pacifist, of the quality or qualification of one. But certainly I do believe I am one in that I refuse to sanction the resortment to the armed conflict or domination and coercions in settling any personal or international relations, and in that I am a firm believer of Jesus' way of life. And I have certainly admired the philosophy and the work-spirit of the F. O. R. since I came to know Dr. Allen Hunter and many others in Los Angeles three or four years ago. (Consequently when Mr. Caleb Foote of Berkeley, Calif. invited me a few weeks ago, I sent a membership application. I have not yet recieved a copy of the Felloship for my subscription, but I have received old copies from various sources.) I am passing them around as soon as I read them, from cover to cover. They stimulate me to thinking and great encouragement. Every article is live with our needs. Such should be read by more people. Any old copy sent to me will not be waisted...my friends eagerly reach for them...like one young person wanted to copy and article for further reference.

quoted to Caleb 3/5/43

I shall be always on the look out for the possible members. And I shall endeavour to win people in this great move-for peace and reconciliation.

Yes, there are many things to be done. At present I am working ~~x~~ in the Adult Education Department as its leader and an instructor. We have nearly a thousand students of collegiate and up, greater half of them are old Issei people studying English and theU. S. Social Civics to undersatnd America and American community and Govenrments. Their interest is deep. We have,in addition to the regular calculum course,Forums and Orientation Classes. Now the great nedd is the more reading materials... directed reading is very important. We are trying to set up two shelves of library, one for Books and literature for the Post-War Reconstruction and other to Social Geography of the U. S. Any books concerning these subjects or others will be greatly appreciated by the Dep't and the people, for they are deeply interested. We have a shelf for magazines;and a copy each of the Fellowship will be a valuable addition.

I am very grateful to your interest in our work and in myself. I shall be very happy if in my very insignificant way be of some service to you and to your cause in the future. And will be happy to continue this correspondence with your office for our common goal which by no means is static but certainly is dinamic and progressive as one of your writer puts it.

A dream-scheme is burmning in my mind. I am hoping that not long from now I shall be able to set it down in black and white and ask your advice and oppinion. However at present I am too involved to the programing of the Adult Education Program, and I must ~~xx~~ be content with just dreaming about it.

Thanking you again for your kindness.

Yours sincerely,

Kenji Nakane

Kenji Nakane

Pacific Cable

Vol. 1 February 28, 1943 No.15

THE IDEA FRONT

By Fred Eastman

There are two great fronts in this war: military and ideological. Newspapers, radio and motion pictures have stressed the dramatic events on the military front and given less attention to the basic ideas which are struggling for the possession of men's minds on the ideological front. As a result, the man on the street seems to think that if we can just knock out the military might of Germany, Italy, and Japan, the war will be over and there will be no need to worry about the ideological front. The matter is not so simple.

The fact is that unless we win the struggle on the idea front, a military victory may be only temporary. On the other hand, victory on the idea front, will ultimately mean a basis for a just and durable peace.

What are these ideas which are in conflict and which are so important to the future of every human being on this planet? Reduced to their very simplest form, here they are:

Concepts Concerning	Nazi-Fascist Totalitarian Idea	Christian Democratic Ideals
Man.................	Belongs to the state....	Belongs to his Creator
Masses................	Must follow the leader..	Are free men
Highest Value........	Power....................	Persons
Supreme loyalty.......	To nation...............	To God and Humanity
Religion.............	National................	Universal
Government...........	By compulsion...........	By consent
Industry.............	Absolute state control..	Free and competitive
Education............	Indoctrination..........	Free development of individual
Press and Radio......	For government propoganda...	Free agencies for discussion
Methods..............	Of fear and hatred......	Of faith and good will
Other nations........	Conquest................	Mutual Aid.

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* * *

"FIXING THINGS"

The newly organized Girl Scout Troop 45 of Los Angeles (of Chinese ancestry) has undertaken to supply scouting materials to the Girl Scout troop of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center (of Japanese ancestry). "We felt," explained the California Troop Leader Julia K.L.Chung, "that in this way we could best express our conviction that in Girl Scouting there are no racial barriers!"

Considerable newspaper space has been allotted to the above announcement. As a result of journalistic acclaim over the point that those of Chinese and Japanese ancestry are, in America, on speaking terms, one loses sight of the underlying cause for friendship developing among them. Troop 45 was *mailing* to the Wyoming internees --- not trinkets, not knick knacks, but *scouting* materials.

Though her statement might be misleading, it is apparent that Julia Chung was not seeking to play a female Santa Claus role. Instead, as she probably took for granted, it was but natural that the members of her group should be interested in "sister scouts" in another section of the country. These young persons have the same crafts to study, the same interest groups to attend, and because of the common bond of effort, a common concern for each other has arisen.

Truly, too many of us are enjoying the luxury of being generous to others because we feel we "ought". The story is told of the Mother, who, appreciating the goodness of her son, phrased her gratitude thus: "It is not so much that he does things *for* me, as that he fixes things so that we can do them *together*".

That was the intent of the Los Angeles troop. They had no intention of sending just any toys to Heart Mountain so that they could meet the "problem" of idle time some 2,000 miles away. Instead, they "fixed things" in order that both troops could do them together.

There are those who question the validity of International Houses on campuses. One Negro friend has said he views them as attempts of nice people to prove that people of all races can live together. The criticism, if just, is damning. If we believe in the unity of mankind we *know* that color matters not in

(continued on page 4)

GRAY CLOUDS

He walks our city's streets, averted eyes
    Studying shop windows which he does not see.
Only his alien image gazes back
    In dark bewildered misery.

He cannot face the stares, the hot eyes mocking
    The heritage his features must convey—
He knows the bitterness in narrow smiles,
    The scorn in shoulders quickly turned away.

If he could only know the thoughts that brim
    In minds still sensitive to truth;
Could realize the sorrow that they feel—
    The aching sympathy of youth for youth.

But he drifts on, without a dream of finding
    Fellowship in blue eyes seeking brown,
And untold thoughts die in the dusk, as he
    Steps toward a darkened future, staring down.

J. H. W.

* * * * * * *

ANOTHER STEP—LETTERS TO CHINA

As a result of experiments in "trying to discover how peoples learn about one another," the East and West Association is launching a "Letters-to-China" movement.

Americans, according to Pearl Buck who reports on the organization's studies, learn most readily when there is already a strongly established emotional interest. For example, Americans are now eager to come into closer acquaintance and friendship with the people of China. The Association is planning several ways by which to implement the mutual readiness for friendship of these people and hope to build a peace-time enduring interest to supplant war-time emotional admiration.

Recommending highly the use of personal letters from individual Americans to individual Chinese, they have agreed to transmit and translate all letters directed to China for those who wish to establish some personal tie with an individual in that country. Further information may be obtained by writing The East and West Association - 40 East 49th Street, New York, N. Y.

Cable Links

SHOZO KANEKO, former Seattle resident and Commercial Artist with the M.Furuya Importing and Exporting Company, has received clearance for work in Chicago. His release is the first to be secured by the Seattle office under Mr. Floyd Schmoe's direction.

THOMAS BODINE, until a few weeks ago in charge of the West Coast office of Student Relocation, stopped in at the CABLE office for a few moments en route to Philadelphia, Penn. He expects to stop at Hunt, Idaho on his way eastward.

MASAYUKI ROYAL KAJI has accepted a contract to work on the D.F. Hubbell ranch in Payette, Oregon. He has been at Minidoka.

****

FIXING THINGS (Cont.)

our ability to live together. If we have not learned that truth, then our education begins at that point.

But for those of us who profess to have understood that first lesson, there remains the urgent task of all community.....to fix things...to find the common bond of effort..to join in groups and there find more intimate opportunities to combine our drives with those of other pigmentation...not as an "example to others," but because we then have a chance together to bring about a united striving for a world where the gifts of charity will no longer be needed to palliate [illegible] of [illegible].

FACTS OF INTEREST

Reporting that some 850 students have been replaced in colleges and universities since last fall, a recent bulletin of the American Friends Service Committee gives the following statistics on the National Student Relocation Work.

1. Out of a total of 2,751 applications received, 850 students are actually transferred.
2. During the fall term, 576 persons had been placed in colleges.
3. The Army and Navy approved 362 colleges out of a total of 410 which expressed willingness to accept students.
4. The cooperating colleges have given financial aid amounting to $107,430.
5. In addition, individuals, foundations, denominations have provided $85,819 for scholarship aid.

The offices of the Student Relocation Council are being moved this month from San Francisco to 1201 Chestnut St. in Philadelphia in order to expedi ite arrangement for entrances into the eastern schools.

****

PATRIOTISM

"And who is the Patriot? It is he who knows no boundary, race or creed; Whose nation is humanity, whose countrymen are

March 2, 1943

Mrs. Betty Nishikawa
25-9-4
Manzanar, California

Dear Betty Nishikawa:

I appreciate receiving your letter though I am a little surprised that you feel you should not declare your pacifist position. I have never myself felt called upon to stand up and shout to people that I was a pacifist. However, I consider my pacifism as much a part of my Christianity as anything could be and therefore I was not shamed to be known as a pacifist among my friends and acquaintances, or among any other folks who might care to know about it. I believe the times we are living in are so nearly like the times described in the New Testament when the Apostle Paul said, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of the Christ".

I know that there are very few pacifists among the Japanese Americans. However, there is a higher percentage of pacifists among them than among our Caucasian or Negro people in America. We do, for example, have a nucleus of FOR folks in each camp.

Sometime I hope you will feel called to identify yourself with others in the camp who take the same position you do so that you may bear a witness to your faith even in an uncomfortable time. In any event, I am very eager to hear from you and to share with you by letter what fellowship we are permitted to share these days. We shall send some literature if we have not already sent some to be used in the camp.

Best wishes to you,

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

25 - 9 - 4
Manzanar Relocation Center
Manzanar, Calif.
Feb. 20, 1943.

Dear Mr. Swomley,

Thank you so much for your letter of the 8th. It was kind of you to write. You have asked me a number of questions and I would like to answer them by giving you my background as to my connections with the F. O. R. movement.

I do not think that I have fully joined your organization as a full member at any time but was in the group in Seattle while doing some social work in that city. That was in the years 1936 - 1938. Then I was in the group in Berkeley, Calif. from 1938 - 1941 when I was married and came to West Los Angles to live. I have also been in the Student Peace work in the summer of 1936. My religious affiliations in with the Friends Church in Berkeley as I am a birth-right member of that group. My stand as a pacifist is rather strong and yet I do not think that this is the time for us to flaunt it in the present situation behind the barbed wire. I hope that you do not misunderstand me on this score. I am a pacifist, to be sure but at present, I do not care to become a full member of the F. O. R. nor intend to start such a group here in this camp.

When Kirby Page was with us in camp, I discussed this quite thouroughly with him and also with Caleb Foote. It is hard for me to give the reasons on paper but from my observations in this camp, I feel that we must bide for time. Dr. Allan Hunter was with us last week-end and since he was over at our place for a few hours, I was able to talk to him of this too. I feel a greater need for small worship groups in our camp and not an organization with certain stands. I feel that such worship groups will be more useful under our present situation. Dr. Hunter was able to see the army here recruiting the volunteers from among the young men in the camp. They are still here doing so. You on the out-side must realize that we are not very free and that we are behind the barbed wires for the present. If we were out-side the situation would be rather different. I do hope that you will think of this and not judge me too harshly on my stand.

There are very few pacifists among our people. I know of just a few who are interested in the F. O. R. I am sure that they are members from some locality in the south. As soon as I am able, I shall be happy to send you the names of some of these folks and you may write to them and see how they feel on this issue. Perhaps I am too conservitive but I would rather be caucious than over-step the mark and do more damage in that way.

Caleb Foote has sent us copies of the Fellowship magazine from time to time. I would like to have them to enjoy and if possible would like to write articles for it. Could you suggest some phase of this camp life that may interest those of you in the Eastern coast?

I hope you noticed that our address has changed. It is in another part of the camp and now we have a room to ourselves. It is so nice

(over)

to have this privacy. At first we were in one room with two other families, total strangers. After three months, one couple moved to another part of the camp and we were sharing one room with a family of three, strangers until put into the room in camp. Now that we are alone, we are able to have our new friends in from time to time and are able to enjoy much that we were unable to until recently.

If there are any questions you would like to ask concerning this camp, I shall be very happy to answer them as best I can for you.

There is a libray here in the camp and I am sure that books would be welcome there. Also the Church office can form a libray of religious books for the young folks to read if enough books come in for use.

My husband is one of the ministers here and is working with the others under the one Manzanar Christian Church, an interdenominational church. He is an "issei" and his preaching is in the Japanese language. I am working in the Adult Education Department and have charge of the English classes for the non- English speaking folks in this camp. We have a total enrollment of over 300 students now with 11 classes. I have five teachers on my present staff and we find the work rather interesting. We make our own lessons. I am enjoying this type of work. Whenever I can, I try to help with the work of the church too. We have started a Young Adult Christian Forum to be held twice a month on Sunday afternoons. We are trying to give to those older "nisseis" something in the way of religion that might interest them. I shall write to you about it further the next time if you are interested in that phase.

Thanking you for your kind letter and interest and hoping to be of service to you sometime in the future.

Sincerely,

Betty Nishikawa

H.P.

March 2, 1943

Mr. Richard Suzuki
10H, 8A
Amache, Colorado

Dear Mr. Suzuki:

We are glad to have your letter and your contribution. We have heard from others as well as from yourself about the army registration in the relocation centers. I hope you are in touch with others in the center who take our pacifist position. If for any reason any of them are doubtful about their rights, please put them in touch with us so that we can be of immediate help.

All of us here join in sending you our very best wishes,

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

John ?.

FEB 15 19

10H-8-A
Amache, Colorado
Feb. 10, 1943

Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed please find $2.00 for the pledge I promised for February 15th.

We are now having a army registration for all people between the ages of 18 and 38 in the relocation centers. There is no danger of me volunteering for the army however. There are few others who share the same idea as I do such as Andrew Noda and Masao Satow. Lafayette has left this morning for Pendle Hill in Pennsylvania.

Give my best regards to John Nevin Sayre and the rest of the personalities.

Most sincerely yours,
Richard C. Suzuki

March 11, 1943

Mr. Walter L. Saito,
Block 16-3-Apt. E.,
Rohwer Relocation Center,
McGehee, Ark.

Dear Mr. Saito:

I surely appreciate receiving your letter and am happy to welcome you into the Fellowship of Reconciliation. I hope you had a good visit with Mr. John Nevin Sayre when he was in your camp. We are sending you, under separate cover, a small quantity of literature which you may want to put into the hands of interested people. This may help in arousing an interest on their part in pacifism.

I think it may be easire for you to get re-settled in the midwestern part of the United States than here in the East since there is some doubt yet as to whether the General in command of this eastern Defense Area will grand permission. If you would like to settle some place in the middle west, I would urge you to write to our midwest secretary, Mr. Herman Will, Jr., 740 Rush St., Chicago, Ill.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.,
Associate Secretary

JMS:HP

The following are potential counsellors for High School youth:

Name ____________________ Address ____________________________

Name ____________________ Address ____________________________

Name ____________________ Address ____________________________

The following are High School students who might be interested in a progressive youth organization:

Name ____________________ Address ____________________________

Name ____________________ Address ____________________________

Name ____________________ Address ____________________________

Signature of sender ____________________________________

Fellowship of Reconciliation,
2929 Broadway,
New York City, N. Y.

(G.W.)

membership rec'd-
9 x 4.

Block 16-3-Apt E
Rohwer Relocation Center
McGehee, Arkansas
February 27, 1943

MAR 1943
MAR 1 1943

The Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway, New York City

Dear Mr. John Swomley, Jr.,

I have just received your kind letter in response to our request for your offer for the worthwhile magazine Fellowship, which has indeed given us added inspiration in keeping faith with the greater ideals of Christian living.

Coincidently, last night we had the great pleasure and grand opportunity of hearing your eminent Kirby Page, whom we who have lived in California are proud to claim as our friend. He spoke quite diligently on the art of creative living and the philosophy of meaningful life. Other phases relative to the question of post-war-rehabilitation and consequent building of a better, healthier and spiritually sound world was discussed at an open forum following the meeting. Inasmuch as, Mr. Page is well versed on the pacifistic movement, we feel that our stand is being clarified in regards to the desire for continued militaristic policies of the world powers.

However our problems are different here in the various relocation centers. As you no doubt know, we are being minutely scrutinized in regards to our loyal devotion to this country of our birth.

With controversies been waged as to admitting the young people into the flow of national effort in industries, farms and other employment, as well as in the armed services. Many sincerely believe, whether from political or economic, surely not from spiritual aims, that we native Japanese Americans) prove inimical to the nations effort to hasten the day of peace. So you must realize the acuteness of our many diverse problems which had never before been encountered by any other racial group.

This Sunday, we are fortunate again in welcoming Mr. John Nevin Sayre, one of your fellow member and secretary. We have heard more frequently of his brother Mr. Francis Sayre, here, no doubt Mr. John Nevin Sayre can possibly equally understand our plight, since he had the benefit of this relation and in all likelihood more informed than one of our serious position as a group unknown to the vast majority of this modern civilized nation. I am personally looking forward to hearing his message and receiving more than just a review of what has passed but a more precious and vital key to the solution of our present day dilemma and still deeper reservoir of spiritual knowledge to the path of righteous and more abundant living. We are praying for this turbulent and shameful period of chaos to cease and nations and organizations and societies will again return to their rightful rational sense of brotherhood.

In reading over your National Council, I find Rev. Alfred A. Hunter on your list and grateful to know he is continuing his work in this field of Christian endeavor. Though my contact with him has been but few, I do know well of his inter-racial prayer meetings he has so admirably conducted in Los Angeles, and throughout Southern California.

While at Santa Anita Assembly Center in Arcadia, Calif. (a former race track), we received one of the greatest message from Rev. E. Stanley Jones who has undoubtedly received untold experiences of human sacrifices in the spiritual realm. It was truly a wonderful revelation, as an overwhelming audience numbered some 2000, quietly sat and grasped the real significance of his sermon, Sacrifice: Merited or Unmerited. This occasion I shall never forget, nor the man with such a dominating and dynamic character.

In closing I wish to again thank you kindly for your share of thoughtfulness. My own little work here in the capacity as the President of the Young Peoples Fellowship (Christian), does keep me consistently active. I pray for your every aid in this matter of re-adjusting and rehabilitating the members of our society of good Christian understanding. I would appreciate any information regarding any type of commendatory employment in any of the eastern State. I, myself, am particularly interested in resettling in some receptive community of Christian environ.

Gratefully yours,
Walter Y. Saito

March 11, 1943

Mr. Robert M. Akamatsu,
11-9-A,
Topaz, Utah

Dear Mr. Akamatsu:

I appreciate receiving your letter and am happy to welcome you into our Fellowship. It surely is good to have copies of the various application blanks you have been asked to fill out at the Assembly Center. If for any reason your position as a pacifist makes it difficult for you in the eyes of the War Relocation Authority, I hope you will let me know. We can take the matter up with them direct since we have had cordial relationships with them thus far. Under separate cover we are sending you a small quantity of literature which you may find helpful. You may want to put some of this in the hands of some of the people who may be interested in pacifism.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.,
Associate Secretary

JMS:HP

M a Reed

page to front

MAR 8 1943

March 3, 1943

Mr. John Swomley Jr.
2929 Broadway,
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Swomley:

Please accept my belated acknowledgment of your invitation to join your fellowship. I registered as a pacifist at the time of my original registration for Selective Service, October 16, 1943, and again for the special registration, Saturday, February 16, 1943. I am enclosing copies of the registration forms used for your information.

A part of the trouble in the relocation centers that you've undoubtedly heard about was due to question 28 on the registration form 126 Revised for aliens. The question, upon protest, was changed to "Are you loyal to the United States?" and in turn to "Will you swear to abide by the laws of the United States and to take no action which would in any way interfere with the war effort of the United States?" The title of the form was changed from "Application" to "Questionaire for Leave Clearance."

Although it had always been my good intentions to forward my application to your office it may be that I failed to do so in spite of the fact that I had thought I had done so while in Berkeley. If you do not already have it on file could you do so?

The needs in camp are many and varied although I imagine that you are particularly concerned about books, magazines and recreational equipments. Good books of any sort, whether they be textbooks, reference books, fiction or non fiction are badly needed both in the education system and in the public library. As for recreational equipment I imagine that Mr. James Lamb who is in charge of the Activities Section will be able to give you a much clearer picture of the needs. The whole program is greatly handicapped by the lack of facilities, trained leadership, as well as by the lack of equipment.

Give to walker

If it would be at all possible I would like to receive back issues of the Fellowship, including the January and February copies. I received a copy of the December number from Caleb Foote. Margaret Rohrer your Rocky Mt. Secretary is a classmate of mine at the University of California as she may have reported.

Very truly yours,

Robert M. Akamatsu

Robert M. Akamatsu,

11-9-A
Topaz, Utah

March 16th, 1943.

Mr. Lester E. Suzuki,
7K-7E,
Amache, Colorado.

Dear Mr. Suzuki:

We appreciate your recent letter and are happy to know of your interest in the F.O.R.

You ask about a subscription which Paul Hershey of Artina, California said he would send to you. I have checked on this and discover that Paul Hershey's letter to us was mislaid in our office.

We are sending you several back issues and will see that you get the others as they come through. Be sure to let me know if, for any reason, you do not get the future issues.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS:B

Form O. C. No. 1—Goldsmith Bros., Stationers, 77 Nassau St., N. Y.

Inter-Office Correspondence

USE THIS FORM FOR ALL OFFICE CORRESPONENCE—WRITE ON ONE SIDE OF PAPER ONLY

Date 3/12/43

To Sally/Jean **From** Helen

Subject: File

Lester E. Suzuki, 7K-7E, Amache, Colorado

has written as follows: "Paul Hershey of Artina, California, said sometime ago that he would subscribe for me the FELLOWSHIP but I haven't received a copy of it. Perhaps you might know about it."

Was in old folder marked "Summer addresses".

PUT IN WRITING WRITTEN MESSAGES SAVE TIME AND AVOID ERRORS

CHURCH PHONE
PA. 9485

LESTER E. SUZUKI, PASTOR
~~1224 WEST 35TH STREET, L. A.~~
~~RES. PHONE RE. 6184~~

MAR 8 1943

Japanese Methodist Church
English Speaking Division
~~3500 SOUTH NORMANDIE AVE.~~
~~LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA~~

7K-7E
Amache Colo
Mar. 4, 1943.

John Swomley, Jr.

Dear Mr. Swomley:

Your letter of Nov. 4, is long over due in being answered. Apologies galore but it doesn't seem to be of much use apologizing. I know Hideo Hashimoto well & he wrote to me recently of how he couldn't volunteer as a chaplain.

H.P. // Paul Hershey of Artesia, Cal. said sometime ago that he would subscribe for me the "Fellowship" but I haven't received a copy of it. Perhaps you might know about it.

I am a near pacifist, but not quite. I was once & got into a lot of deep mud in Japan. To explain all is a long story. I'm in a position now to volunteer as chaplain to our Nisei combat unit if the need is greater there. However I keep close touch with pacifists. I keep in touch with Allan Hunter, Nicholson, Binfords, Russell Clay, Clarence Wilson, & many others.

H.P. member? Yes. → Pacifists here are Andrew Noda my brother Richard Suzuki. Lafayette Noda went to Pendle Hill & Kenji Okuda went to Oberlin College. They receive the Pacific Cable from Seattle —— John Nevin Sayre has been here & met with us. A. J. Muste was on the coast before evacuation & met with us. Harold Hull has always been working with us.

Sincerely yours
Lester E. Suzuki

March 18, 1943

Mr. Haruo Ishimaru,
Look Hall,
Yankton, So. Dakota

Dear Haruo Ishimaru:

Thank you for your letter. We are happy to hear from you and to know you are in college at Yankton. You might be interested in getting in touch with Mrs. Marion Stukey, Hillcrest Apartments, Yankton, S. D., who is a member of the F.O.R.

We are sending you, under separate cover, some information which may be helpful to you in speaking on the evacuation. We are also sending you a smaple copy of FELLOWSHIP Magazine which, from time to time, carries information that may be helpful to you.

We are enclosing a copy of our statement of purpose. If you find yourself in agreement with it, we invite you to use the membership application and join our Fellowship. The magazine is sent monthly to all contributing members of the F.O.R. Best wishes to you and be sure to write me and let me know your progress in your work.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.,
Associate Secretary

JMS:HP
Enc.

Ackw.

March 13, 1943

MAR 15 1943

Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Friends,

I am a Nisei or Japanese American attending school in Yankton. I am not familiar with your group, but I have heard much about it. I am studying at present to prepare myself for the ministry. I am the only Japanese in this College and probably in the county. I have been here only for a month. I have been very well treated both by the faculty and the student body. I am happy to say that I am already accepted legally, as students, as workers, and of any references to sabotage or espionage. I once observed a little pamphlet you had concerning the Nisei and Issei in camps. I would like to have some of those to distribute. I would be glad to help defray expenses.

Please send me information about your organization. I would be happy to know more about you since so many of my friends have spoken highly about you. I, too, although in a humbler way, am working and studying in hopes of a lasting peace for mankind which I believe can only be found through a universal practical applications of Christian ideals and principle. I would like to meet some of you. I hope as one of the regular students.

Being the only Japanese, I am often asked many questions. Since I have had some lecturing experience, I plan to speak to various groups. I will undoubtedly be questioned at these meetings. I am writing to you for aid. It seems ironic that a Nisei must turn to a Caucasian group of friend for data on the Japanese. However, I have learned that you have made a study of the Japanese, alien and American, problem on the pacific coast. I would appreciate it if you could send me any bulletins you may have or any information as to sources. I am especially interested in facts or statistics on their past records

4. if any of you come to Yankton College you will be kind enough to look for me.

Thank you and I hope to hear from you. Your kind attention to my plea for information will be greatly appreciated, since I am eager to start some fraternalizing "propoganda."

Sincerely yours,

Haruo Ishimaru

Look Hall

Yankton, So. Dakota.

Hillcrest Apts.

March 23, 1943

Mr. Jackson Takayanagi
1236 28th Street
Des Moines, Iowa

Dear Mr. Takayanagi:

Thank you for your letter. I knew Don Kirschner had left for Mississippi but did not know where he had left his records. I hope you will keep them intact so that they will be readily available for us when we need them again. I should be very happy to see you sometime, perhaps at one of our conferences so that we can talk about ways in which you can be of service to the F.O.R. It is always difficult to make suggestions like this by letter because one cannot easily find out that way the best talents of another person and know what he most ought to do to aid the F.O.R. Perhaps the nearest F.O.R. conference to you in the near future will be a race relations institute which we are sponsoring in St. Louis the weekend of April 9, 10, 11. I do not know the exact place where the institute will be held as yet, but you can find out by writing Professor Harold Pflug, Eden Theological Seminary, Webster Grove, Missouri.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

Ret. letter
John for
answer

March 19, 1943
1236 28th. St.
Des Moines, Ia.

John M. Swomley
2929 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Swomley:

Thank you so much for your letter of sometime ago. You will have to forgive me for being so slow to answer. I have been rather busy however, but that is always such a poor excuse.

I wish to thank you for the information which you send me concerning the travel fund situation. The girl whom I referred to has now relocated. She has started work in Des Moines today. It may be of interest to you to know that she is a F.O.R.

Our Fellowship group here in Des Moines has had some very interesting meetings and we are enjoying the fellowship among each other. We are meeting once a week rather than every other week and I do beleive that it will create an closer understanding as well as fellowship with each other.

Don Kirschner left us for Mississippi some two weeks ago. We have not heard from him as yet but believe that he has safely reached his destination. Don left all of the Fellowship material concerning Iowa state with me. When a new secretary for Iowa is selected, will you please, inform me so that I may forward to him the material Don has left with me.

I would like to be informed of coming Fellowship conferences for at times it may be possible for me to attending. If you have a list of coming conferences I would certainly be interested.

If there is anything that I may do here in Des Moines or elsewhere in the state for the F.O.R. I would be more than glad to be of service. I do hope that you will have time to write me a few lines now and then.

Best wishes to you.

Sincerely,
Jackson Takayanagi
Jackson Takayanagi

P.S. Enclosed fine two dollars for the furtherment of Fellowship work.

March 23, 1943

Mr. Perry Saito
1414-D, WRA
Newell, California

Dear Perry:

Thank you for your letter. Will you please let me know exactly what amount you think you will need for transportation from Newell to Chicago? We shall then send you a check so that you can use this for your transportation. Inasmuch as you plan to work for the F.O.R., we shall not consider this as a loan but as actual traveling expense to your new job. The sooner you write to me, the quicker I can get a check to you.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

1414-D, WRA
Newell, Calif.
March 17,

Dear Mr. Swomley,

In a recent letter you suggested the possibility that a loan might be arranged for train-fare to Chicago. I wonder, if the offer still holds, I'd like to take advantage of that loan.

Since the begining of the year, or thereabouts, the Relocation Centers have been advocating a policy of resettlement for all of the colonists. I had planned before that to use our reserve to get me to the midwest. However, I fear that the rest of the family is going to need the fund much more than I will.

Because my father has passed away, my ~~b~~ mother, and my younger brother and sister are going to have a hard time resettling on even $100.00 which constitutes our reserve. That sum is slowly diminishing as we stay here in camp.

So you see, Mr. Twomley, I am in need of the loan. I can make no guarantee as to exactly when I can repay the IOR, but to say that the income from my first job will be used to clear the debt.

I do not know yet when my clearance will be coming. I wish you would write Mr. Elmer Shirrell of Chicago to hurry the clearance for me. Herman Hill knows where to find him, but I do not.

Thanks for everything. I'll wire if and when I get clearance.

Penny Saito

H.P. Fowler

March 25, 1943

Mr. Shig Hashimoto
8-23-C
Heart Mountain, Wyoming

Dear Mr. Hashimoto:

It is surely good to get your letter and to know of your interest in the pacifist position. Shall see that Fellowship magazine is sent to you at least for a while and hope that you will share it with others of your friends as you get it. I am glad to hear of your stand with respect to the army situation in Heart Mountain. Of course, I could not serve in a non-combatant capacity and anyhow I am sure I would object to segregation on racial grounds.

If you should go to CPS camp, the pacifist movement would do its best to take care of your parents. Before we would commit ourselves definitely, we would want to be sure that you were going to CPS camp on the basis of your convictions and not because of possible support for your parents. We would also want to know whether they could work if a job was offered to them.

Best wishes to you,

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

HEART MOUNTAIN
WAR RELOCATION PROJECT
HEART MOUNTAIN, WYOMING

8-23-C

March 19, 1943

The Fellowship of Reconciliation
c/o Mr. John W. Swomley, Jr.
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Swomley:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 4. I am sorry that I am late in replying to your kind letter. This change in environment plus my bad habit of procrastination is getting the best of me.

In your letter you ask whether I am a pacifist or am sympathetic to the position. I am sympathetic to the position, but I don't know whether I can be called a 100% pacifist. Back in California before evacuation, I was serving as the president of the Southern Calif. Japanese Y.P. Church Federation. While being the representative from the Japanese Federation, I had the opportunity to meet and to know many F.O.R. members. At present my correspondence includes many F.O.R. members in C.P.S. camps. Dr. Booth, Dr. Schmoe, Fred Fertig, Caleb Foote and others are only a few that I got to know after the start of this terrible war. As to my stand and classification in the present situation, I am single, 21, and a 3-C and I dont anticipate fighting even for the good U.S.A. until my status is satisfactorily cleared. Because of dependents and of the financial situation, I was prompted to this situation. Here in the registration in the Heart Mt. Relocation Center, I stated that I wont volunteer; but if I have to go, I'll serve in non-combatant duties only if my citizenship status is cleared and my privilege and opportunities are same as other citizens.

We are working hard in this camp to keep up the morale. Even under adverse circumstances, you can count on us as trust-worthy Americans. In our Churches, activities, and in our work, we are progressing quite nicely; but it is very noticeable that none have really unpacked mentally.

As you might know, the most important and immediate problem here is that of relocation. The sooner we get out of these camps, the better off we will be. The American Friends Service Committee has been a great help to us and is helping us relocate many nisei. We are very grateful

to them and to you for your interest in us and in the minority groups.

All the work I have been doing has been more or less along with the pacifist principles. All that I might do afterwards, I hope will be the same. What bothers me is the insecurity of the future for my parents as well as for my friends. Could I as a pacifist in a C.P.S. camp care for my parents? How about the future? These as well as other problems come to my selfish self. If the promises favorable to us were made by the U.S. government that we will enjoy equal rights as equal citizens, what stops me from thinking that these promises won't be fulfilled? Promises have been broken over and over again. If promises were put in action, this is a different story. In my mind it is nobler to fight for a purpose you firmly believe in than to fight for one half-heartedly; therefore, while in camp I want to be of most service to the people and to work toward the brotherhood of all men. So, quietly I have been doing what I thought was right. Even though at this time I don't join the F.O.R. I am with the organization in spirit.

I appreciate your kind offer to the "Fellowship". Thank you very much for the copy you sent me. Sometimes I have been fortunate to have had a copy of the "Fellowship" given to me. If it is possible to receive the "Fellowship" magazine regularly, I would be very glad to receive it. After I am through I shall pass it to my friends. If it is possible to obtain any literature whether it is for the Sunday school, for young people, or for adults, I will be very glad to receive it for the people in camp.

If you wish to know further what we are doing, I would be glad to do what I can. Thanking you kindly, I am.

Sincerely yours,

Shig Hashimoto

Form O. C. No. 1—Goldsmith Bros., Stationers, 77 Nassau St., N. Y.

Inter-Office Correspondence

USE THIS FORM FOR ALL OFFICE CORRESPONENCE—WRITE ON ONE SIDE OF PAPER ONLY

Date March 25, 1943

To Ruth Steenburgh *From* Helen Pell

Subject:

Mr. Shig Hashimoto
8-23-C
Heart Mountain, Wyoming

Please send Fellowship to Shig Hashimoto for 6 months.

PUT IN WRITING WRITTEN MESSAGES SAVE TIME AND AVOID ERRORS

March 30, 1943

Mr. Bean Takeda,
6-7-F,
Rohwer Relocation Center,
McGehee, Ark.

Dear Mr. Takeda:

Thank you for your letter. We shall be happy to send you FELLOWSHIP Magazine for a time. If we have any items on Japanese-Americans and the evacuation question, we shall send them to you also. I believe that Caleb Foote, 2151 Vine St., Berkeley, Calif., has a bibliography and some source material available for 5¢. I am glad you liked the talks of Mr. Page and Mr. Sayre and hope that you will become more interested in the work of the F.O.R.

Best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.,
Associate Secretary

JMS:HP

Sent Am. Refugees,
Have we Forgotten Justice
Caleb's mimeographed letter starting: "Knowing your interest in", etc.

Memo to Lit. Dept. asking them to send Fellowship free for several months.

Bean Takeda
5 - 7 - F
Rohwer Relocation Center
McGehee, Arkansas
March 25, 1943

Mr. John M. Swomley, Jr.
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York City

Dear Mr. Swomley:

Thank you for your kind letter of February 23. Procrastination being one of my shortcomings, I am just now getting around to answering it, which should have been done long ago. I hope you will pardon the inexcusable delay.

I am not wholly a pacifist, but I am decidedly sympathetic to the position and would like very much to receive your very fine magazine, Fellowship. I have read one or two copies of it, and I find it very stimulating and thought-provoking. In addition, I wonder if it would be possible to receive reprints or back copies of numbers containing articles on Japanese Americans and the evacuation question. I am making a special study of the subject, and I am told that Fellowship came out with some unusually good articles on various phases of the evacuation. I am working in the Reports and Information section in the Center here, and such material would provide me some valuable sources with which to work. I would be grateful to you for your help in the matter.

Since receiving your letter, Kirby Page and John Nevin Sayre have dropped in on us here and spoken to jampacked crowds of Japanese Americans. Mr. Page gave us a very interesting lecture on Gandhi and Mr. Sayre on "Peace," while both put in well-deserved plugs for the F.O.R. It was the first time that I have heard either speaker, and I must say that I was very much delighted. Mr. Page was kind enough to mail me two of his books after reaching his La Habra home, allowing me to buy them at half the usual price. Mr. Sayre left some books and pamphlets for our use, which we appreciated greatly. Men like Mr. Page and Mr. Sayre are doing invaluable work, and I wish there were more like them. In fact, the entire F.O.R. organization is performing a splendid piece of work in the cause of the Japanese Americans, and please believe me when I say that we are grateful and sincerely appreciative of this fine work.

Too often we are prone to take such things too much for granted and fail to express our feelings, though we do feel it inside us.

Again, may I express my thanks for your every kindness, and hope that I may have the pleasure of hearing from you again soon.

Very truly yours,

Bean

Takeda.

The Pacific Cable

Volume I March 31, 1943 No.18

NISEI STUDENTS SPEAK

Dave Okada and Kenji Okuda who are now attending Oberlin College, spoke recently to a group of fellow students concerning the Japanese-American relocation problem. Dave spoke on the topic, "The Antecedents of Evacuation." He drew a vivid historical background picture tracing the Japanese-American problem back to its origin-1882 when people on the Pacific Coast "welcomed the Japanese laborers and workers." Dissatisfaction with these people became increasingly acute as they became independent and were able to compete with established enterprises. This resulted in anti-democratic legislution being past-Anti-Alien Land Act of California and the Oriental Exclucion Act (1924). This feeling of animosity reached its climax with Pearl Harbor and the Evacuation.

In closing Dave Okada said: "If military necessity and protective custody were the actual reasons for evacuation, why were certain legislators and powerful organizations so active at this moment in attempting to secure lesislation to deprive the Nisei of their citizenship? Their position is based on the evacuation as evidence of the Nisei's

(pl[illegible] to p.8)

NEW RURAL SCHOOL OPENS AT HEART MT.

A diversified program of intensive study is under way at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center with the purpose of training those interested to take a real active part in rural life. This training will make it possible for the young person to adapt himself more readily to farm life.

****

PEN AND INK AT HAND

According to the Heart Mountain Sentinel (Mar. 27, '43), the high school students of the Center are going to "exchange news" with high school pupils of St. Cloud, Minn.

If any students at any of the centers desire to do the same with high school young people here in Seattle we of the Cable staff would be glad to cooperate. Just drop us a card telling of your interest and we will do the rest.

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"...in the church the only appropriate symbols are universal symbols."

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Living a full life: Have no fear-be aware of your guilt-be creative-speak softly-keep love at the core of life.

THE PACIFIC CABLE
To Serve As A Communication of
Good Will
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CHANGE FOR THE BETTER

These past six months have seen some changes in government policy toward the Japanese-Americans, changes, we believe, for the better. Many Nisei have been accepted into the armed forces, others are acting as instructors of the Japnese language and now Senators Wallgren and Chandler have voiced their opinion that all loyal Japanese-Americans should be allowed their full freedom. Indications now point to the fact that the majority of these people will be resettled within twelve months. We sincerely hope that this will prove to be the case.

Citizens of the East and Middle West can do much to aid these people by helping to create within their respective communities a spirit of good-will and fellowship toward these neighbors of ours. We of the West coast hope that you will do this, for we have lived with these people and know what fine friends they make.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

BON VOYAGE

With this issue of the *Pacific Cable* my term as Editor must come to an end. It has been of deep satisfaction to me to know that thru the medium of the printed page I have been of some service to my many unseen friends in the various relocation centers.

I know that as we face life together it will be with a deep desire to leave things a little bit better than when we found them.

The fine spirit with which you have faced the vicissitudes of life has been an inspiration to all of us. I pray that each one of you will strive to maintain your faith and courage not only toward yourself but toward all mankind.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

President Roosevelt has said:-
"...No loyal citizen of the United States should be denied the democratic right to exercise the responsibilities of his citizenship, regardless of his ancestry. The principle on which this country was founded and by which it has always been governed is that Americanism is a matter of the mind and heart; Americanism is not, & never was, a matter of race or ancestry.

REACTION TO VOLUNTEER PROGRAM

Nisei Attitude--

Why should we fight for a government that has taken away our homes, our jobs, our freedom, and put us into concentration camps without proof of any sort of guilt?

Why should the Japanese-Americans be forced to prove their loyalty? Other Americans do not have to prove theirs.

Why should we be made to volunteer when the rest of the country is now on selective service? This is just another example of discrimination. Months ago when we were to be drafted, the government classified us as aliens ineligible for army service. Now the government expects us to forget our hurt and our pride and volunteer.

Nisei soldiers in the U.S. Army uniform are considered loyal enough to die for their country and to carry a gun, but not loyal enough to return to their homes on the Pacific Coast. A Nisei soldier walking on the streets of Seattle would be jailed. In some Relocation Centers, soldiers are not allowed to visit their parents.

Why aren't Japanese-Americans allowed to enter the air force?

The segregated combat unit is not good. Why should we be set apart from others? We would do more good scattered through the whole army. In that way we could come in personal contact with many hundreds of Caucasians and through that contact show them we are just as they are.

A Japanese-American combat unit might be used as advanced shock troops in most forward areas of battle. Used as a suicide regiment.

After the last war, aliens who had been promised their citizenship if they would fight for the U.S., did not get their citizenship for 14 years, and then only because the JACL put a lot of money into the campaign, and applied pressure at Washington. Those same World War veterans are now in concentration camps with us, and they are saying, "Look at us now, no better off than we were before we fought in the last war. That is what will happen to you." What guarantee have the Japanese-Americans and aliens today that they will fare any better from the government after this war?

What will happen to our parents? Will the government give them freedom? What if we should die? They have no means of support now; they are penniless. It is one thing to leave your parents in homes of their own, with their own means of support; another thing to leave them in concentration camps, wards of the government.

Our parents don't want us to go. We want to go, but we don't want to hurt them.

Issei Attitude--

The government has taken everything we prized most dearly from us --our freedom, our homes, our job, our pride. We who thought it a dis-

(Over)

grace to ask the government for help, and have worked for many decades to provide for our families and to help create a more prosperous America, have been made paupers by our government. Now we are being asked to give up our sons also. Why should we bid godspeed to our sons to go out and get killed for a country that has treated us so?

What will become of us if our sons go? We have no money, no homes, no strength left. We are old, too old to carve new places for ourselves in the world. We cannot be relocated. We are depending on our sons to find jobs on the outside and take care of us.

One father said to his son, "If you enlist I will commit suicide."

One old man, brought up according to the ancient Samurai code, said, "I am ashamed of my people. They forget that the finest Japanese have always believed that the greatest honor one can obtain is to give your life for the country of your birth. Look at the way the Hawaiians have volunteered. But of course, they were not evacuated."

Caucasian Staff and JACL Attitude:

You are on the spot. The whole future of the Japanese in this country is hanging on your decision. You must look forward, and not backward. For your own sakes you can't let the bitterness and hurt in your hearts blind you to the tremendous implications of your refusal to volunteer. The people on the outside will not know your reasons for refusing. They will simply think, "There, that proves it. The evacuation was necessary and right. Those people are disloyal. Look, they won't even join our sons to fight for democracy."

Your friends need the club that a successful volunteering will place in their hands. They can turn then and say to the scoffers, "Look, this proves it; what greater proof do you need of the loyalty of these people?"

We on the staff do not need proof of your loyalty. We live with you, work with you, know you. But the people who don't know you need that proof.

It is significant that to date those who have volunteered are chiefly married men with children. They are thinking of their children's future. They want to give them the opportunity to walk the streets of America equally with all other Americans. They refuse to prejudice their future. Instead of looking backward, they are looking ahead for their children's sakes.

You've got to cut the apron strings and think for yourselves. The future lies in your hands. It may well be that future Japanese-Americans; looking back on your decision will say, in the words of Churchill, "Never before have so many been indebted to the services of so few."

You've got to decide what you really want. Life here in this camp. or freedom to live and work in the world outside.

Everything that could be done to any people has been done to you. But you have taken it with chins up. We have marveled at your ability to make the most of the little given you. Now the greatest test of all of your courage and ability to take it has arisen. We believe you will rise above your very natural feelings of hurt and resentment and once more show the people of this country that you are leaving no stone upturned to prove your loyalty to the United States.

The government in this action is saying in effect, "We made a mistake; we are sorry. Now we are trying to make amends by again opening the army to Americans of Japanese ancestry.

The army designated a separate combat unit so that the greatest publicity would attach to that unit If you are all scattered through an army of 11,000,000 men no one would know you were there and the public would have no indication of your contribution to the war effort. Once you are in the army your abilities only will limit your advancement. The rumor is utterly false that this Japanese-American combat unit will be used as a suicide squad. The indications are now that this unit will be used in the European sector of the war rather than in the South Pacific. If the volunteering is unsuccessful there is every reason to think no selective service will be inaugurated.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Nothing that happens can hurt me, whether I win or lose, though life may be changed on the surface, I do my main living within."

A Boeing Worker Comments:-

"...I've just read an article in the March Readers Digest referring to the Japanese. It certainly seems that they have been handled very stupidly--and what expense! To maintain the relocation centers next year will take around $80,000,000. And then we have caused so much unhappiness and discontent, to say nothing of the wasted manpower. The writer says that for a fraction of that amount they could all be investigated and the disloyal ones weeded out."

YOU WERE MISSED

To young people now living at the relocation centers and who have attended the United Christian Youth Conference of Washington in past years might be interested to know that we missed them as we convened at Yakima, March 5,6,7.

As friends together in our search for the great truths of life, we extend a hand of fellowship. We know that mere distance cannot break the unity that binds our hearts to the things of the Spirit.

WHICH WAY FOR ME?

Each day of our lives we are called upon to make far reaching decisions. So often the issues confronting us present such a confused pattern that we we hardly know which way to turn. Usually in our search for an adequate answer we think only of ourselves and our pet desires. Self has

(con. p. 8)

FACTS OF INTEREST

Former residents of Bainbridge Island have been transferred to Minidoka Center.

According to a letter written to the Pacific Citizen, "There is no such thing as Dual-citizenship'." On July 15, 1924 the Japanese gov't disowned all people of Japanese ancestry born in "countries where birth gives nationality, as it does in the United States." These people lose their Japanese nationality from birth. (3/4/43.

"Alexander Hamilton, a Founding Father, would be committing a felony today if he married blueblooded Elizabeth Schuyler in the state of Georgia, which bars the marriage of whites with 'all Negroes, mulattoes mestizons, and their descendents, having any ascertainable trace of either Negro or African, West Indian or Asiatic Indian blood in their veins.'
Hamilton was a native of the West Indies."

"Sixteen states still bar marriage between whites and Asiatics, including Chinese."

Arizona specifically prohibits the marriage of 'whites' and Hindus-[illegible]-Hindu signifies a religion not a race. Also, Hindus are Aryans withstanding their darker skin.

C-A-B-L-E L-I-N-K-S

Shhh—Don't say anything but I'm going to copy this just as Jackie passed it to me.

"Chuck, here's some for "Cable Links"

Ruth Nishino and Vernon Shimo-Takahara were married Feb. 28 (Sunday) in Social Hall 28 at Hunt. The couple have left for Kaslo, B.C., the home of the groom's parents.
I met Ruth and Vernon at Hunt and they are cute.

Minnie Yokoyama and Henry Itoi, formerly of the U. of W., were married at the home of Rev. Mr. Thompson in Twin Falls, Idaho.
Minnie and Henry both went to U. as I stated; Minnie is a very good singer. Both kids are from Seattle.

Oh! Some more news, if it hasn't already been printed:
Stella Yorozu attended a Girl Reserve conference in Denver and also visited her sisters Lily and Helen while there,"

Ajukiko Kawakami has left Hunt to work in a Denver office.

Fred Kosaka, Grad. of U.of W. has received his 2nd lieutenants commission in the medical corps.

* * * * * * * * * *

The discipline necessary to the fulfillment of a task will be accepted cheerfully if we have a real passion to do something worthwhile.

WE WERE MISINFORMED

Last month the Pacific Cable published the fact that Sho Kaneko was the first person to be placed through the American Friends Service Committee. The statement should have read that Sho was the first person placed thru the new Relocation Hostel in Chicago which had just opened a few days previous. Although Floyd Schmoe has no accurate records on hand more than a hundred people have been helped to relocate thru the AFSC during the past year. Approximately ten each week are being placed now thru the Chicago Hostel alone. Those wishing particulars concerning this newly opened center should write to Edwin Morgenroth, 189 West Madison Street, Chicago.

Just Returned

Floyd Schmoe has just returned to his Seattle office from another five weeks in the field. Gordon Hirabayashi who accompanied Floyd on this trip and who according to Floyd was very useful to him as "an extra pair of legs and a distinct aid to the memory" has stopped off for a short visit with his parents, recently relocated from Tulelake to a farm near Weiser, Idaho. It is expected that Gordy will continue with the Service Committee in relocation work.

* * * * * * * * * * *

"...it is the ultimate wisdom of the mountains that a man is never more a man than when he is striving for what is beyond his grasp, and that there is no conquest worth the winning save that over his own weakness and ignorance and fear.

It is not the summit that matters, but the fight for the summit; not the victory; but the game itself."

High Conquest J.R.Ullman

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

FIRE PROTECTION CREW

The U.S Forestry Service and the U.S. Grazing Service are organizing a volunteer group of some fifty young men at Minidoka Relocation Center to fight grass and brush fires.

****

A Heart Mountain resident thinks:-

"From the top of the hill the gate is small and insignificant in the distance, but it is symbolic. For beyond its tough mesh and the barbed wire on each side, there is that intangible known as liberty." Heart Mt. Sen.3/27

* * * * * * * * * *

ANOTHER PROBLEM ON WAY??

There is a good possibility that negroes from the Bahama Islands will be imported in the near future in order to relieve the labor shortage in the southern states. If there is a labor shortage in the South one might well ask why? Would racial discrimination have anything to do wi with it? Let us think twice before importing a new labor supply unless we are ready to give them equal status with other citizens of the U.S.

(continued from p.1)

Nisei Students Speaks

unassimilability and disloyalty. There are some things worth more than physical safety and one of them is the right of every citizen, regardless of race or color, to be given the opportunity to prove himself to his fellow-citizens without bias and discrimination."

Next, Kenji Okuda spoke on the subject Living in a Relocation Center. First, he drew a picture of the physical aspects of the Relocation Center in Colo. telling how the people are fed and how the camp is administered.

"As the days in these centers stretch into months, one wonders how the people are reacting, just what effect this experience has had upon these Americans." He goes on to tell how insecure the Nisei feel themselves to be and find it hard to relax or to fight off indifference. Life in these centers is not challenging enough for those who like to think for themselves. Therefore, the Nisei are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain "the higher values of life." Only as the Nisei are allowed to be reassimilated into American life will this trend toward lethergy stop. They are anxious to do something worthwhile.

The last speaker on this program was Florence Herber who spoke on the subject-Post-war Solutions. She offered the following four points as possible solutions to the Japanese-American problem.

1. Return all Issei and Nisei to California and its little Tokios...

2. Deportation of all Japanese to Japan. Would deporting our own citizens be in keeping with our democratic ideals?

3. Japanese-Americans might be confined to relocation centers after the war. What about individual freedom for citizens?

4. Distribution and relocation of families in friendly communities throughout the country.

"We have not faced the total problem as it exists. The crux of this problem is the attitude of the majority...to all colored peoples."

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Never yet has law formed a great man; 'tis liberty that breeds giants and heroes." Schiller

"...the world is ruled by deeds, not by good intentions, and... one efficient sinner is worth ten futile saints and martyrs." Shaw

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PLEASE NOTE:-

Due to labor difficulties the Pacific Cable has not been able to come out on time. Please be patient with us as we endeavor to do our best under the circumstances.

****

Wendell Willkie says in his new book One World, "...little can be won after the war that is not won during the war itself."

Think in terms of mountains and and you shall climb.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
2929 Broadway
New York City

March 31, 1943

TO F.O.R. MEMBERS IN WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY CENTERS, AND F.O.R. STAFF MEMBERS:

Apprehension has been expressed that C.O.s who do not answer in the affirmative questions 27 and 28, (dealing respectively with willingness to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, and with swearing unqualified allegiance to the United States and defending the United States from attack, etc.) in Form No. 126, which is being used in the handling of leave clearances for relocation of Americans of Japanese descent, may be discriminated against in matters of leave clearance, ~~in~~ be segregated, and possibly in effect interned for the duration. Fear has also been expressed that another repercussion of the registration now taking place may be that C.O.s who do not answer the above questions in the affirmative will be taken out of responsible positions in the Centers, and permitted to hold only those which involve little responsibility or supervisory function.

We are calling to the attention of the WRA heads that the Selective Service Act contains provisions for C.O.s, both for those who cannot accept combatant service and for those who cannot accept any service, combatant or non-combatant, in the armed forces; and that Congress unquestionably intended that there should be no discrimination on grounds of national or racial origin in these provisions for C.O.s. We are suggesting that reference to C.O. provisions be made in Form No. 126, and similar documents, just as there are questions relating to conscientious objection in the Selective Service questionnaires, and that the attention of all agents of WRA be called to the provisions for C.O.s, and that such agents be instructed to see to it that there is no discrimination against Americans of Japanese descent in this connection.

The FOR is of course concerned in this connection only with sincere C.O.s, and not with draft evaders in the proper sense of that term. It is clear that those who are sincere C.O.s, in order that the record may be clear, should state the exact facts relating to their convictions and position in filling out any forms in which this question arises.

We shall appreciate reports as to the facts both of instances where it is clear that no discrimination is being practiced against C.O.s in matters of leave clearances and other respects, and of instances where there is discriminations or suspicion of discrimination.

I need hardly say that as always, the Fellowship is concerned about the observance of legal provisions relating to C.O.s, and furthermore, extends the hand of comradeship to all who obey the leading of conscience and of the Divine Spirit, and especially of those who may be called upon to suffer hardship for doing so.

Yours in fellowship,

A. J. Muste

ajm;herd

K – C. V.

APR 12 1943

P.O. Box 46
Fort Collins, Colorado
April 6, 1943

Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York, New York.

Gentlemen:

I have enclosed $1.00 for a year's subscription to the Fellowship. I am at present in the Topaz Relocation Center, but I plan to leave tomorrow for the above address.

I hope that you will send me the magazine at the above address and keep in touch with me. Please let me know if there are any Fellowship groups in that area.

Sincerely yours
Kiyosuke Nomura

send FOR name
and Fellowship

is a member
H P

April 20, 1943

Rev. A. M. Lukens,
312 E. Oak St.
Ft. Collins, Colo.

Dear Mr. Lukens;

Kiyonike Nomura, a member of the F.O.R., has just left the Topaz, Utah, Relocation Center to settle in Fort Collins. His address has been given to us as P. O. Box 46, Fort Collins, Colo. He has asked us for the names of some F.O.R. members in Fort Collins so that he can get in touch with the group there. I hope you or some other of our members there will look him up and invite him to Fellowship meetings.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.,
Associate Secretary

JMS:HP

c.c. Margaret Rohrer

Margaret; Will you follow up on this?
J.M.S.

Royden Susu Mago

APR 13 1943

58-11-D
Rivers, Arizona
April, 8, 1943.

Mr. John M. Swomley Jr.
Associate Secretary,
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway, New York, New York.

Dear Sir:

I received your letter almost two months ago and am sorry to have left it unanswered for such a long time,but I hope you will understand and appreciate my reason for such a long silence.

I am at this time and have been for quite a long time in a confused state of mind regarding several matters, one of them being the Pacifism question.I realize all people go through such periods of real questioning regarding the most vital matters.

This paragraph,will I believe answer two of the questions asked in your letter.I am not a Pacifist to the great extent to which Fellowship members pledge themselves.I believe one can be a true Christian and still go to war when his country is in danger and needs him.I believe there will never be peace in this world until Jesus comes Himself,even as he has said. So you see that I have been at odds,doctrinally speaking,with the religious authority in this center.They are very sympathetic to the Fellowship and support your program faithfully.During the recent campaign to get volunteers for the American-Japanese combat team,the young peoples pastor was doing his utmost to strengthen the convictions of the few conscientous objectors that there may have been.

Who's this

We shall never be able to fully thank you for the great material help you have given all through the whole evacuation and relocation period and right up to this present moment.Your efforts have truly been tireless and we are exceedingly grateful and full of admiration for you,yet my religious convictions differ from yours.

As stated before,this center is quite a stronghold for Pacifist groups and literature from your group seems to be abundant .I read through the two copies of The Fellowship magazine that you sent to me and have also contacted members of your group.

I know there is much to learn and perhaps one of these days with sincerity and conviction ,I shall join your band of good workers, but until I can thoroughly do so,I realize it would be meaningless.

As this letter comes to a close,I can't help but think how contemptible it must sound to you, but I trust that you will understand and will pray for me ,as I have earnestly done,that if I have not yet learned the Truth of His Word and the way in which I should go,it will be made definitely clear to me,for that is my greatest desire.

May the Lord bless each of us,as we are conscience-led,and I am grateful that it is not for us to judge but the all- knowing God alone can judge righteously.

Very sincerely in His mercies
Florence Sato.

(over)

April 15, 1943

Dear Miss Sato:

Thank you so much for your letter. You may be very sure that I respect your position and am glad to know that you are continuing to think and pray about it. My very best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.,
Associate Secretary

JMS:HP

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

A Fellowship that refuses to participate in any war and seeks to demonstrate that love is the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship.

2929 BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY

Telephone: UNiversity 4-2670

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May 15, 1943

Sent to
leaders in WRA
Centers 5/19/43

A number of months ago I wrote some of our F.O.R. members in W.R.A. camps asking if there was any way in which the F.O.R. could be of added service to our members there. We have had a good response. Several replies urged us to send more literature so that a number of Niseis could learn about the Fellowship and pacifism.

We are eager to spread our message just as widely as possible and hope that you will give us some idea of the literature you can profitably use. The items on the enclosed list are available. If you can give such items as a copy of Fellowship to an interested person in the center, be sure to let us hear from you.

We will be eager to have a letter from you telling of the F.O.R. work in the camp and any other news you would care to send. You will be interested in knowing that we have just added to our staff a young Nisei, Perry Saito, formerly of Tule Lake Center, who will travel and interpret the evacuation and the relocation program to groups in the East and the Midwest.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

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LITERATURE ITEMS

Sample Copies of FELLOWSHIP	Free
WHAT IS THE F.O.R.?	Free
YOUTH AND THE PEACE TO COME	Free
YOUTH SEEKS A NEW WAY	Free
YOUTH IN A WORLD AT WAR	Free
TRUE OR FALSE (for High School age)	Free
HELP WANTED (for High School age)	Free
ANNOUNCING (for High School age)	Free
EIGHT WAYS TO BUILD PEACE	Free
CORPORAL NICHOLS DISMISSED	Free
CONSCIENCE COMPELS THEM	Free
F.O.R. STATEMENT OF PURPOSE	Free

****

If you can use one of any of the following for lending to interested persons and would not otherwise order one, we will send it or them to you free for use in the center.

HUMILIATION WITH HONOR, Vera Brittain	$1.00
WAGE PEACE NOW, A. J. Muste	.15
HOW JESUS FACED TOTALITARIANISM, Kirby Page	.15
NEW TESTAMENT BASIS OF PACIFISM, G.H.C. MacGregor	.50
SELECTIONS FROM WAR WITHOUT VIOLENCE, K. Shridharani	.15

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

A Fellowship that refuses to participate in any war and seeks to demonstrate that love is the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship.

2929 BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY

Telephone: UNiversity 4-2670

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Margaret Rohrer............Rocky Mountain
1418 Grape Street
Denver, Colorado
Constance Rumbough.................South
1804 Grand Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee
Carl J. Landes.......................Rural
Box 516, Merom, Indiana

May 15, 1943

Sent to Japanese file of non-members.

A number of months ago I wrote some of our F.O.R. members in W.R.A. camps asking if there was any way in which the F.O.R. could be of added service to our members there. We have had a good response. Several replies urged us to send more literature so that a number of Niseis could learn about the Fellowship and pacifism.

We are eager to spread our message just as widely as possible and hope that you will give us some idea of the literature you can profitably use. The items on the enclosed list are available. If you can give such items as a copy of Fellowship to an interested person in the center, be sure to let us hear from you.

We will be eager to have a letter from you telling of the F.O.R. work in the camp and any other news you would care to send. You will be interested in knowing that we have just added to our staff a young Nisei, Perry Saito, formerly of Tule Lake Center, who will travel and interpret the evacuation and the relocation program to groups in the East and the Midwest.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Officers

Arthur L. Swift, Jr.................*Chairman*
Kirby Page...................*Vice-Chairman*
Mrs. Henry Hill Pierce.......*Vice-Chairman*
Douglas V. Steere...........*Vice-Chairman*
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Berkeley, California
Mrs. Mary U. Farquharson........*Northwest*
4033 University Way
Seattle, Washington
Margaret Rohrer............*Rocky Mountain*
1418 Grape Street
Denver, Colorado
Constance Rumbough..................*South*
1804 Grand Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee
Carl J. Landes..........................*Rural*
Box 516, Merom, Indiana

Someone has suggested that you might be interested in the religious pacifist position.

Since you are not a member of the FELLOWSHIP of RECONCILIATION, it has occurred to me that you would be interested in some of our literature, if you have not already seen it. In case you have had it, possibly you can pass it along to someone else who can make good use of it.

If you are in agreement with the basic program and position of the F.O.R., it would be a joy to welcome you into membership.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

P.S.

Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of our monthly magazine FELLOWSHIP, as well as one or two other items of literature.

JMS*SA

393

Form #45

Form letter sent to:

Alpha Takagi, B2-1-A, Heart Mountain, Wyoming
Shig Hashimoto, B8-23-C, Heart Mountain, Wyoming
Mary Sakimura, B21-2-F, Heart Mountain, Wyoming
John Kitasako, B23-7-F, Heart Mountain, Wyoming
Paul Oyamada, B21-2-F, Heart Mountain, Wyoming

March 2, 1943

Mr. Paul Oyamada
B21-2-F
Heart Mountain, Wyoming

Dear Paul Oyamada:

We have heard about you from some of our members either in your W.R.A. center or on the West Coast. We have been urged to write you to invite you to correspond with us if you have any requests or problems which you want called to the attention of interested people and friends outside of the camps. We are eager to be of help to you also if you want to have some of our literature and books for use in the camps. In addition, we would be eager to know if you are a pacifist or sympathetic to the position, whether you know of other pacifists in the camps and whether you would like to receive copies of Fellowship Magazine each month. Under separate cover we are sending you a sample copy of Fellowship. If you find that you would like to receive it and if you are a pacifist, we hope you will, without any obligation to contribute to our movement, while in a W.R.A. center, use the enclosed statement of purpose with membership application attached. You may send the membership application to our office.

If, however, you feel that you cannot join the F.O.R. for any reason but would still like to receive Fellowship Magazine, I hope you will let me hear from you. I would also be eager to know if there are others in the camp who would like to receive it. Perhaps you would also write me about the need for books in your camp and indicate what use you would make of books or booklets which we might send. Hoping to hear from you soon, I am

Yours sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

Enc.
JMS*SA

Form #45

Same letter to:
Dixon Miyauchi
Ichiro Nagatani,
George Nakashima
Kenji Oyanagi
2/23/43 - Walter Saito, 16-3-B, McGehee, Ark. (Rohwer Relocation Center)
Bean Takeda, 5-7-F, " " " " "

November 4, 1942

Mr. Carl Sandoz,
Director of Social Work,
Minidoka Relocation Center,
Hunt, Idaho

Dear Carl Sandoz:

from some of our members either in your ~~[illegible]~~ W.R.A center or on the west coast

We have heard about you [either from the Pacific Cable, a newsletter published by the Quakers and F.O.R. people in Seattle, or from other persons on the west coast who know you.] We have been urged to write you to invite you to correspond with us if you have any requests or problems which you want called to the attention of interested people and friends outside of the camps. We are eager to be of help to you also if you want to have some of our literature and books for use in the camps. In addition, we would be eager to know if you are a pacifist or sympathetic to the position, whether you know of other pacifists in the camps and whether you would like to receive copies of Fellowship Magazine each month. Under separate cover we are sending you a sample copy of Fellowship. If you find that you would like to receive it and if you are a pacifist, we hope you will, without any obligation to contribute to our movement, while in a W.R.A center, use the enclosed statement of purpose with membership application attached. You may send the membership application to our office.

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Yours sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.,
Associate Secretary

JMS:HP
Enc.

List from Ruth Mitchell

Topaz F.O.R. List

✓ Tom Hoshiyama 3-4-E (temporary chairman)
× Iwao Kawakami (secretary)
× Hachiro and Yone Yuasa
✓ Mas Wakai - sympathetic 3-6-F
× Paul Fujii - " 16-1-A
× Rev. Tanaka
× Rev. Toriumi and wife
× Hi Korimatsu
Hi and Iwao Bando
× Kay Yamashita - very dependable and good key person 6-3-E
✓ Mary McMillan - high school teacher - worked in Oakland Japanese
2-9-F church - knows many of residents - really lives pacifism
2-11- ✓ Victor and Mildred Goertzel -He is Director of Guidance and Placement
Joe Goodman and his wife are scheduled to arrive soon.
Emil Sekerak - A C.O. on detached service - We wonder if he has agreed not to take part in activities as he steers clear of us. He's doing a good job in the Coop.

We wish more C.O.'s would come on detached service as there is certainly a place for them.

3/4/43
Form letter sent —
with my Coop

Form #45

✓ Joe Goodman
1127 Post St
San Francisco Cal

✓ E Sekerak
WRA
Delta, Utah

June 7, 1943

Mr. Alpha Takagi
2-1-AB, WRA
Heart Mountain, Wyoming

Dear Mr. Takagi:

In late February we received your good letter enclosing a contribution of $2.00 and indicating that you wanted to become a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. In your letter you did not enclose the signed statement of purpose which we like to have on record here in our files. We have written you once or twice about this and having had no reply, are wondering whether you have had a change of address or whether you have been fortunate enough to leave W.R.A. for a job in the east.

We would be very happy to hear from you and would be glad to have you send us the enclosed membership application so we can have a record of it. In the meantime we have been sending you FELLOWSHIP magazine and hope that you have found it an important contribution to your life.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

3-10-43
Letter, X and R

no reply

write again
write Emi

made a subscriber
5-17-43

Alpha Takagi
2-1-AB W.R.A.
Heart Mountain, Wyoming
February 26, 1942

MAR 2 1943

apr ✓
may ✓

2.00

The Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway, New York City
New York

Dear John

Dear Mr. John M. Swomley, Jr.

Your letter and a copy of Fellowship Magazine was received. I am grateful to you for your kindness and for your invitation to become a member of the Fellowship of Reconcilitation.

In accord with your purpose, It is my conviction that belligient force is not the way to right wrong. I agree with your principles and would like to be one of you. It is indeed encouraging and strengthening to know that I can be be one of a large group of like mind.

Enclosed is a small contribution. Please use it to further your work.

2.00
ck - I.

Sincerely yours
Alpha Takagi

Have already written Perry.

MRS. MAXWELL GREENLER
136 NORTH STREET
CHARDON, OHIO

April 6, 1944

to June 5/3/44

Mr. Perry Saito
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Saito,

I am sending you a check for $5.00 which is a gift of the children of the Primary Dep't. in the Chardon Methodist Church. They want you to buy gifts with it for the children in a Relocation Camp.

Will you write a letter to our Primary Department, or ask someone at the Camp to write to them, so that they will have a personal interest in the children to whom they have sent their gifts?

Sincerely,
Blanche Greenler
Sup't. of the
Primary Dep't.

16518 Broadway
Maple Hts.
Bedford, Ohio
May 23, 1944

Dear Mr. Swomley,

Thank you for your prompt consideration of my letter concerning the names of children in relocation centers. Since I don't see the children often I don't know how many have written. I do know that they were very enthusiastic about receiving the names. I have heard no repercussions from the parents. My principal, a member of John Haynes Holmes' church is quite co-operative in whatever I attempt.

Sincerely yours,

Frances Haley
Frances A. Haley

Mr. John Swomley, Jr.
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.

April 6, 1944

Mr. Shiro Abe
Community Council
Granada Relocation Center
Amache, Colorado

Dear Mr. Abe:

Thank you for the copy of the letter which you sent to various officials of the government. We believe that the points you list are good and should be circulated and publicized widely. We are now thinking of ways of how most effectively this can be done. As you will note from the marked copy of EQUALITY, which is enclosed herewith, a digest of your requests appears; this came to us last month from a bulletin issued by the American Civil Liberties Union.

One of our concerns about educating the public regarding Japanese Americans is that Nisei who have had an opportunity to interpret the situation to church and other groups have justified the evacuation as a "military necessity". We believe that a factual background should be presented and that racial and economic issues involved should be emphasized--that the clamor and hysteria for the removal of Japanese Americans was the work of an organized pressure group.

It is for this reason that we are encouraging the distribution of our booklet OUTCASTS among nisei as well as other groups. I am sending you a copy under separate cover.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

APR 3 1944

COMMUNITY COUNCIL
GRANADA RELOCATION CENTER
AMACHE, COLORADO

March 30, 1944

Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

We are enclosing herewith for your information, a copy of a draft of a letter sent to various executives and departments of the United States Government.

We would appreciate any assistance or support you can give us towards our realization of these requests.

Very truly yours,

Shiro Abe
Shiro Abe, Chairman
Community Council

Encl.

The draft age evacuee Americans of Japanese ancestry have been and are responding to the call of the government to accept military service and civilian responsibilities in the war effort.

As it is known to all of us, the evacuees suffered severe economic losses and hardships and they are faced with numerous problems both present and future, as a direct consequence of evacuation. There is, as a result, a deep and general concern among the residents of the center as to the future security and welfare of the dependents and relatives of the Americans of Japanese ancestry being called into service.

We believe, however, that the rights and privileges of citizenship should, in all justice, be combined with the duties and obligations of citizenship. Therefore and pursuant to widespread appeal made by the citizen residents of the community, we, the Amache Community Council, hereby submit the following requests which they have asked us to forward:

1. That equal opportunity for service and advancement in all branches of the Armed Forces and Services be opened and offered to Japanese American draftees solely on the basis of individual merit and qualification.

2. That Japanese American servicemen who are called to the colors hereafter be co-mingled with citizens of other racial extractions and not be assigned to segregated units.

3. That evacuee's right to travel and live wherever he chooses within any of the 48 states and territories of the United States, on the very same basis as any other American citizen or resident, be restored without delay.

4. That all evacuees be accorded all the rights and privileges which the Constitution of the United States gives them.

5. That any resettlement policy of the evacuees still remaining in the centers be coupled with adequate government protection and the economic means to start life anew.

6. That clarification be made regarding the voting and residenceship status of Japanese Americans who become of age in the centers.

7. That the right to become naturalized citizens of the United States be extended to the alien Japanese.

8. That pending complete resettlement, relocation centers be preserved and evacuees remaining therein be accorded treatment befitting loyal Americans and law-abiding residents, and that adequate wages be paid them scaled according to U. S. Army standards.

9. That immediate and more vigorous effort be made by the United States Government towards enlightening the misinformed American public with truth regarding the Japanese in America, and that the factual difference between the people of Japanese extraction who are loyal citizens and law-abiding residents of this country and the Japanese people in Japan be clearly presented.

10. That students of Japanese ancestry be freely admitted to all the schools on the same basis with students of any other racial extraction.

11. That the United States Government establish adequate precautionary measures so that the sad experiences of evacuation will never again be repeated either with the Japanese or with any other group because of race, color, or creed.

These requests are made to you insofar as they fall within your jurisdiction.

Since we feel keenly that democracy is the ideal way of life, we are making these requests on behalf of every American in the hope that our democracy may be made more perfect for the benefit of everyone.

Respectfully yours,

Community Council
Granada Relocation Center
Amache, Colorado

April 12, 1944

Miss Ruthevelyn Pim
306 Davison
Vassar College
Poughkeepsie, New York

Dear Ruthevelyn:

Thank you for your letter. We are glad to hear that you are going to the Tule Lake Center to teach. As you probably know, this is the most difficult and therefore the most challenging place in the WRA program.

Three of our publications will be of unusual value to you in your work there and you ought to become acquainted with them ahead of time. I am enclosing a copy of the FORERUNNER which is our publication for high school youth, and which carries information you could use in your contacts. The second publication is EQUALITY, our Race Relations bulletin which may be helpful to you in your contacts with older people. The third is OUTCASTS, which carries, according to the Japanese American Citizens League, the best account of evacuation, relocation, etc.

If you know definitely the route you are going to take there, we may be able to put you in touch with some FOR people near the center, such as Mr. and Mrs. Orval Etter, 1420 E. 20th Street, Eugene, Oregon, who do our Oregon State work. Or, you might want to contact Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Lambie, P O Box 617, Klamath Falls, Oregon, which is not too far from Newell. They are active FOR members.

Do call on us from time to time for any help we can give.

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

APR 10 1944

306 Davison

Vassar College
Poughkeepsie
New York

April 8

John ?

Gentlemen,

I am writing to send you a change of address and to share with you my good news. I graduate here on April 19. For the next month my address will be 5510 North Sherridan Rd, Apt. 16B, Chicago, 40, Illinois. But after May 15, there is another change, which will probably hold "for the duration". I will be at the Tule Lake relocation center, teaching sixth grade. The address; War Relocation Authority, Tule Lake Center, Newell, Calif. I am terribly excited at the prospect of working out there--in fact I can hardly wait to begin. Bob Vogel of the Syracuse office sent me the name of Miss Lillie Roudabush who is also there are she tells me there are now six FOR members

O.K. com

on the staff there. Naturally, I am delighted because, although I don't know them personally, it will be so nice to have a few people who feel pretty much the same way towards the present state of the world.

Sincerely,

Ruthevelyn Pim

April 14, 1944

Miss Stella Robbins
Tule Lake Center
Newell, California

Dear Stella Robbins:

A. J. Muste has turned over to me your recent letter about work in the Tule Lake Center. I have written the Baptist, Episcopal, Congregational and Methodist leaders in this field a personal letter encouraging them to provide pastors for the Tule Lake Center and am following up on your lead about Irene Webster Smith.

Many thanks for sending us this information as we are eager to know of ways in which we can cooperate with you and the others at Tule Lake.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

Tulelake, Newell, California

APR 10 1944

Mr. J. Will you handle? April 1, 1944

A.J.Muste, Al H might want to see (+ use?)
F.O.R.,
New York City, the composition.

A J

Dear A.J.;

For a long time I have meant to write you to sugges a name for a possible F O R worker, since I know you have bee taking some new workers into the service.

Irene Webster-Smith who spent 25 years in Japan as head of a home for girls which was supported by the Japanese people themselves, a very unusual woman and most effective with the Japanese people here would in my estimation be invaluable on the F O R staff to work with the Japanese and to let the Caucasians know of their problems.

She is a Quaker from Dublin, Ireland. The San Francisco Office of WRA was all ready to assign her to this camp as a counsellor, when they discovered she wasnot a citizen. She visited this camp several times and others. Wasinvoted to Poston for Christmas service. Heres she took both the Japanese service and the American service also a special service for youngpeople. She is an ardent pacifist, and deepl religious. She seems to be popular with both the conservative church people, and the liberals. Her religious ideas are liberal alright, true Friends philosophy, but she often speak of God's care and guidance in such a way that she wins the conservative people also.

Last spring I met her for dirst time while I was teaching at William Penn College. She was making a tour of the college of Mid west to act as good will envoy, speaking about the Japanese and counseling with the relocatees here and there. Her two days at Wm. Penn were a great blessing. She wasbusy every minute, eating with the Y.M. and Y.W. groups, the International Relations groups, etc. She made a hit in a chapel talk (amd majority of students were not Quakers) giving inside information to show the Japanese not so bad as many htought. She even had meetings with the women's missoona society in the town and the W C T U, making all these plans after her arrival. Likewise when she visited us here in camp

the first outsider to visit us after the incidents, she was busy every minute, speaking to classes, etc.

Gordon Chapman had asked her to comehere. She, like some of u here was greatly concerned about the Christian work here. Gordon Chapman wanted to know if it would be wise to send in a young Japanese pastor to work with the youngpeople here. We feel it would be, but have heard nothing more, as to whether Chapman can arrange it. They thought the young man could live in colony as an unauthorized resident, as that could probably be arranged, while a Caucasian may not live on the project unless in employ of WRA, androoms are hard to get in Tule Lake and Klamath and gas a problem.

I wonder if F O R could cooperate with Chapman in getting such a youngman. He wouldhaveto be exceptionally good. Wish the Tanabe's could return. They were fine. They went to Detroit to work for Federation of Churches there. They are F O R 's.

There is also a great need for a good Caucasian minister here. We have now only one Japanese minister, who is very fine with the older peoplein their Japanese serbice and who has a good crowd to hear him. But the work with young people is sadly neglected. But a few of staff members attempt to work with youngpeople, perahps I should say one staff member does. And the sort of thinghe is givingthem is turning them away. For example a large delegation of church people from Klamath Falls came out to save the souls of the Japanese recently and conducted a regular old fashioned revival, condemning dancing etc. which these people love. Before this a group of about 30 to 50 youngpeople had been coming to Fellowship, and they had organized and had some good officers. Not all of these were Christians but they were willing to aprticpate. Since that revival very few boys have attended, even the officers of the group. The young people are not concult ed regarding their wishes, or when theyare their wishes are disregarded.

For example, when Josephine Duveneck was here last week end, from the AFSC office in San Francisco she was to speak to Fellowship group. That is I asked Raymond to have her sepak. At first he feared to have her, fearing she might not make he message "religious". Then he decided to have her and asked th girl secretary of the group what she thought the students would like to hear, a religious message or discussion of Japanese problems. Quick as a flash she answered "Japanese problems". But even so, Raymond asked Mrs. Duveneck to tell them the religious ideas of the Quakers thought she felt something else more appropriate, and when her friend who accompanied her talked with them later about race prejudice, Raymond was quite put out about it, saying they had discussed that topic too much already. She had the group with her, and was just what they needed zt the time, we felt. Solendid reaction, only too bad no boys present.

However she had a chance to talk to some of them in school next day. So far we have been able to use such speakers in our classes, both Irene Webster- Smith and Mrs. Duveneck and friend. Mr. Bodine is here this week.

I understand no one from outside may come into camp unless he represents a church organization. Irene Webster S,ith is technically representing the Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, but Mr. Chapman sent her in for him.

I hope to visit the Eugene F O R group this week. They are sending in some things for colonists. The Recreati Dept of WRA has been very inactive and they need recreation badly. If we had the two type of people I ~~name~~- named we might be able to have some cooperation with Recreation Dept. The head of Recreation will probably go into army soon and we are hoping to have abetter person. No telling. We have have here a Mrs. May who is tow work in recreation eventuall

She is or was an attender of 57th St. Meeting of Friends in Chicago, lived in Japan in Childhood, is liberal in religion, not sureif pacifist but at least close to it. We feel she wou be grand as head of the recreation Dept. She is also greatly concerned about the religious situation here. She is the only staff member here who believes much as I do reluguously. Rest are either irreligious or old fashined type.

The chief problem in having an outside such as Irene Webster-Smith or any really good minister to come in is the problem of living quarters. A Rev. McNaughton, a former missionary to Japan, (Faith missionary) and wife live at Tule Lake, but they arrived there long ago while houses were available. They get gas to come into colony frequently. They may be usefu as personal visitation workers, andhave really got many more of the newcomers to come out to church. But their religious evangelism and emphasis on second coming, etc. make us feel they are a hindrance to work with youngpeople especially, While Hanaford's were here they took little part in the work, only some visiting, but now he isonly minister here, so preach English service usually. He does not claim to be a preacher, but a personal worker. Cannot preach a good sermon, apart from theology, and realizes it. So if someoneelse came in he would probably stand aside, especially if that person had Chapman'S authorization.

We need, of course, someone who will not consider Buddhism all wrong. We had a very high type of Buddhist here before segregation. I attened a meeting of the Zen sect and it was a cross between a catholic service with its rituatl and a Quaker meeting with its periods of silence and meditation and the speeches in English which emphasized "mercy and love" They said"We have suffered injustice, it is true, but we cannot overcome hatred with hatred, but with love and forgiveness." Then after segregation Father Kai, a Shin sect Buddhist came in and held meetings and stirred the peopleup to a white heat ofnationalism and non cooperation. But no doubt there are some Zens still here, and I feel it would be valuable to have someone who would recognize their good pojnta and even cooperate with them ocasionally. Would that be too hard to find? Well the address of Irene Webster-Smith is 238 South Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. Of course she is often away on her trips. She is now Far west representative of the Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, but they cannot support her so she is on her own in that regard. Seems a shame to me fc one with her value to be unemployed merely because not a citizen.

Stella M. Robbins.

She is not young, but she stood a very strenuous itinerary last spring going from one collegeto antoher and she had a goc rest in Canada this summer.

Another person who wouldbe good worker for F O R is Catherine Hobbe, an elem teacher here. She is splendid in her personal relations, and high sense of social injustice. Liberal in religion, makes friends easily. She used to attend New York meetings. But I doubt if she would give up her work here. Also she made more at teaching last year than we earn her here and not sure if she would feel she could accept an F O R salary. No telling.

We need teachers badly.

JOSEPH B. HUNTER
RELOCATION CENTER
McGEHEE, ARKANSAS

MAY 1 1944

April 24, 1944

Mr. John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Swomley:

Your general letter of April 19 came a few days ago. I always read the material which comes from your office, and I am genuinely interested in everything that the FOR is doing. I think that you are helping to save the soul of Christianity.

It is my understanding that Mr. Carey McWilliams will have published this month a book on the evacuation of the Japanese people from the West Coast. From the other writings which he has done, I am sure that it will be the most adequate and thorough treatment of this unhappy experience that has been published by any writing. When that book comes from the press, I hope that significant material within it is made available through pamphlets and magazine articles and given wide circulation throughout the country.

WRA is now a part of the Department of Interior. I think that this is a significant and fortunate change. Mr. Ickes is a courageous and straightforward man and in time will be able to expose some of the vicious influences that are working undercover to prevent the return of these people to rightful citizenship and opportunities. I am particularly distressed at the evident opposition to any significant relocation of farmers from these centers. This prevents the production of large quantities of food which the Army and hungry world needs. It is easy to understand why certain entrenched vegetable growers would want to prevent other expert agriculturists from getting established again in competitive production. The same people need to realize, however, that curtailing the production of food is the most flagrant kind of sabotage today. If the Italian Americans are doing this, whom are they protecting + helping, the U.S. or Italy??

Your letter calls attention to the pamphlet by Caleb Foote entitled Outcasts. I try to keep some copies on my desk all the time for circulation among people whom I think can be helped. I wish you would send me additional copies, for as many as my enclosed check will pay for.

$1.05 - to Evelyn + Lit Dept

Sincerely,
Joseph B. Hunter
Joseph B. Hunter

Enclosure

MAY 10 1944

Shizu

16518 Broadway
Maple Heights
Bedford, Ohio
May 8, 1944

Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York City

Dear Sirs:

Around five weeks ago I wrote to Perry Saito asking for the names of Nisei boys and girls in relocation centers. Two weeks ago I received a letter from Perry saying that the had notified the office to send me the names but they have not arrived. Since I do not know the circumstances I hope I am not unjust in my criticism but you are missing an opportunity to help bring about the better understanding you want. The situation here has changed so that I no longer teach that group of children in sixth grade but I am still in the system. Every time I see any of them they ask me "Have the names come?" and every time I have to say "No". There are only three more weeks of school. If you don't happen to have the exact number then send me what you have but please send them. You can't change the attitudes of a lot of the older people but children are different and they are where we should begin on our efforts in creating better attitudes. I've gone as far as I can and now the next step is up to you. I thought that since Perry is apparently out on tour or at least was at the time he wrote that my letter would receive more prompt attention if I sent it to you. Now please don't disappoint me. Help me plant a little seed of understanding here.

In Fellowship,

Frances Haley
Frances A. Haley

May 11, 1944

Dear Friend:

I am sorry we have been remiss about your letter to Perry Saito, in which you asked for the names of children in relocation centers. Perry forwarded your letter to us and we included it along with a number of other similar requests which were sent to our contacts in the centers, urging them to encourage correspondence between the students in the centers and those on the "outside". I do hope you will hear from one of the centers.

One of our friends in Hunt, Idaho has sent in a list of names of children in the 7th grade there who are eager to correspond with other students. I am sending you the names, in case you can use them. for the 6th grade children you mentioned.

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

Miss Frances Haley
16518 Broadway
Maple Heights
Bedford, Ohio

May 17, 1944

Dr. Donnell W. Boardman
War Relocation Center
Poston, Arizona

Dear Dr. Boardman:

Many thanks for your good letter introducing Tom Masuda. So far as I know he has not yet shown up in New York, but I shall be glad to see him and talk with him when he does come.

I suppose you know all about Mayor LaGuardia's statement trying to prevent Japanese Americans from settling in New York City. The enclosed items will give you an indication of what we have been doing in the New York City and New Jersey area recently along these lines.

I note that you were in New York recently, judging from the post mark on the letter from Bob Montgomery and also from the note on the back that you had mailed it here. I imagine, however, that this will catch up with you somehow even if you have not as yet returned to Poston.

Best wishes to you and the others in your family, especially your wife.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS:MVC

Nevin:

Since John may not be here when this person arrives, you may want to take note of this letter and see him when he comes.

-----Marjie Carpenter

Will be glad to talk
to him if he comes
& John is not around

N

MAY 1 1944

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
COLORADO RIVER WAR RELOCATION PROJECT
Poston, Arizona

In reply, please refer to:

April 25, 1944

- return to

Mr. John Swomley
2929 Broadway
New York City, N. Y.

Dear John:

Tom Masuda is one of the dynamos of Japanese American W.R.A. thought, being a member of the community council and at present on a tour of the entire country evaluating relocation prospects. He is due in New York during the second or third week of May and is going to look you up to get your personal slant on his problem, personal and representative.

He is a great hand at income tax returns as I know from my own experience and is a corporation lawyer, who represented a number of large Seattle firms before evacuation.

He is accompanied by George Nishita, a farmer who is highly respected in Poston and whose judgment will be accepted by a number of his fellow farmers here.

Tom at least will call you up shortly after arriving in New York. He can, I assure you, provide a very entertaining and profitable conversation on W.R.A. in general and Poston in particular. Perhaps you will be able to give him some direction or pointers in evaluating New York as a potential place of relocation for himself or for other Japanese Americans.

Our personal plans are not well formed as yet; and until the next steps presents itself, we plod our way in Poston. Write us a line; tell us what is new in the Big Town and the little world.

Sincerely

Don Boardman

Donnell W. Boardman, M.D.
Senior Medical Officer

DWB/pt

FOR VICTORY
BUY
UNITED STATES
WAR
BONDS
AND
STAMPS

May 17, 1944

Mr. Robert M. Akamatsu
11-4-E
Topaz, Utah

Dear Robert Akamatsu:

Thank you for your letter. We shall keep it on file here, in case questions are raised about your draft status.

If you are still in the Center and still earning only the $19 per month which you indicate, I would suggest that you leave the Center immediately to get another position, rather than wait for Selective Service to classify you. In any event, their classification will work a hardship on you, and it would be well to get some kind of a start in the community outside.

If you need suggestions as to where to go, I would suggest you write two F.O.R. members, Mr. & Mrs. Ralph Smeltzer,

John:
This is the boy whom M. Rohrer wrote about--he suffered a psychological breakdown after evacuation and she suggested you write a letter of encouragement, etc.
SA

11-4-C
Topaz Utah

May 4, 1944

Mr. John Swomley
2929 Broadway,
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Swomley:

I greatly appreciated receiving your letter of the 24th in which you offered your counsel and advise. I should perhaps review my history so that you may be acquainted with my case if I should have to call upon your help sometime in the near future.

At the time of my registration for Selective Service, October 18, 1940, I filed a statement of conscientious objection to war a position I reiterated at the time of registration on DSS 304 A, Statement of American Citizens of Japanese Ancestry, on February 12, 1943 with the War Department. As for my draft classification, I received a 4-F classification on September 22, 1941, following a physical examination and remained in this classification until January 4, 1943 when I received my 4-C classification. With the resumption of Selective Service I received a 1-A on February 9, 1944 on which I filed a request for reclassification. I reported for my preinduction physical examination at Ft. Douglas, Utah, on April 14, 1944 and was "accepted for limited service." I received my Certificate of Fitness dated April 20, 1944 on April 22, 1944. At about the same time I received another 1-A classification by local board action dated April 19, 1944 on which on the advise of the local Selective Service representative I filed another request. In both my original and second statement, I reviewed my history and reiterated my original statement at the same time taking the opportunity of presenting additional information and material such as the pamphlet, "Conscience Compels Them" and the statement of purpose of the Fellowship of Reconcilation. Although the induction date for the group which took the preinduction physical on the 14th of April has been set neither I nor the rest of the group

168 Clinton St
Bklyn

have yet received any official advise to this effect. Needless to say I have not heard from my local draft board with the result that I can assume unless I should hear from them prior to the 11th that I will not be called this time.

I should perhaps at the same time point out that I am twenty five years old (born September 14, 1918), married, with one child, born January 30, 1944. Despite the fact that I have not as yet relocated it has been my intention that if and when I do receeive my 4-E classification to ask for a temporary deferrment so that I may be able to have an opportunity to leave the center to earn a little more than my $19 per month as a "starter" for my wife and child who are totally dependent upon myself.

I trust that this information will prove of interest to you. I will keep in touch with you on future developments and probably call upon your aid from time to time.

Very truly yours,

Robert M. Akamatsu

Robert M. Akamatsu

P. S. I have just received two bulletins one of which states that the next induction will not be until the 18th, the other states that it will probably not be until the fourth week of this month. Both of these bulletins are published by the Council Selective Service Committee and semi-official.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Hunt, Idaho
May 26, 1944.
Dorm 49-A

John M. Swomley Jr.
FOR
2929 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

Dear Friend:

Your letter concerning evacuee correspondence with high school students, was received some time ago. Many of the students here are interested in corresponding with students outside, but they are rather reluctant in writing first. So I'm enclosing some names of students who are very interested in such correspondence.

Yours sincerely
Minnie C. Schmidt

FOR VICTORY
BUY
UNITED STATES
WAR
BONDS
AND
STAMPS

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Rohwer Relocation Center
Relocation, Arkansas

May 26, 1944

Mr. John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Swomley:

We appreciate your sending this list of young people and will try to make contacts with young people here who will be glad to correspond with the fine young folks whose names you have sent.

This is a fine public relations effort, and we certainly want to cooperate.

With real appreciation for your fine work in the cause of peace, I am

Your friend,

Joseph B. Hunter
Joseph B. Hunter
Assistant Project Director
Community Management Division

FOR VICTORY
BUY
UNITED STATES DEFENSE
BONDS
AND
STAMPS

Dear Shizu,
Please send him the address to which a box may be sent; Will you?
Perry

Southwest Texas Conference
Methodist Youth Fellowship

answered

June 26, 1944

Box 837
Donna, Texas.

Dear Perry,

I have collected a box of things that I would like to send to a relocation center. There are things for small boys. Please tell me where to send them.

Also give me the name & address of one or two 18 year old boys so that I may correspond with them.

Sencerely
Gordon Wood

July 12, 1944

Miss Edith Peterson
Rivers, Arizona

Dear Miss Peterson:

Thank you for your letter and contribution. We are glad to to know that you are organizing a Forerunners group.

One thing you might do in the relocation center is to encourage correspondence between the young people in camp and those on the outside. I am enclosing a number of names of persons who are eager to know their fellow Americans. We receive requests from unknown and strange places, like Pentwater, Michigan, for example, and correspondence may well pave the way for future relocation.

Best wishes to you,

Sincerely yours,

Shizu Asahi
for Race Relations Department

July 12, 1944

Miss Edith Peterson
Rivers, Arizona

Dear Miss Peterson:

Thank you for your letter and contribution. We are glad to to know that you are organizing a Forerunners group.

One thing you might do in the relocation center is to encourage correspondence between the young people in camp and those on the outside. I am enclosing a number of names of persons who are eager to know their fellow Americans. We receive requests from unknown and strange places, like Pentwater, Michigan, for example, and correspondence may well pave the way for future relocation.

Best wishes to you,

Sincerely yours,

Shizu Asahi
for Race Relations Department

Rivers, Arizona
June 5, 1944

JUN 9 1944

Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York city, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Elkinton:

Please find enclosed $10 as a contribution to F.O.R. Please feel free to use it in whatever field of work is in most need. I am relying on your best judgment.

John

Please let me know of anything I might be able to do for F.O.R. here in camp. We are now organizing "Forerunners" and will keep Mrs. Osborn posted on developments.

Thank you.

Yours truly,
Edith Peterson

You may want to see

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Rohwer Relocation Center
McGehee, Arkansas

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO:
C. A. -- PSH 32

JUL 24 1944

July 19, 1944

Mr. John M. Swomley, Jr.
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Dear John:

We have appreciated ~~having us~~ being on your mailing list, particularly for the materials for high school young people.

For obvious reasons, we have not fostered intensively a distinctive F.O.R. group. We have passed along your materials to church members and young people whom we knew to be sympathetic and interested. There are among us, persons of various point of views, Buddhists and Christians, who certainly approach the full acceptance of the method of reconciliation. In fact, I feel the number has grown since we have been in the center.

If we have been negligent writing you of our work here, nevertheless, be reassured we have appreciated you communications and help.

Sincerely,

Nat K Griswold

Nat K. Griswold
Supervisor
Community Activities

FOR VICTORY
BUY
UNITED STATES
WAR
BONDS
AND
STAMPS

Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York

September 7, 1944

file

Dear Friend:

From time to time we have sent our contacts in the various relocation centers a list of names, mostly of high school age youth, who were eager to correspond with their fellow Americans in the centers. Requests for nisei correspondents continue to come in from young people who met our staff members, Perry Saito and Kenji Okuda, this summer at camps and conferences.

If you are in a position to contact people of high school age or over who would like to have a "pen-pal" on the outside, please send in their names and block numbers. It would be helpful to know their ages, and if possible, their interests. Since some nisei are reluctant to begin a correspondense, but would be glad to answer a letter they receive I believe that your sending names of nisei in to us would bring better results than our sending a list of correspondents to you.

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

File: Japanese Evacuation

"COLONISTS" IN WYOMING

What about the Japanese-Americans? Here's a first-hand account of people from Palo Alto, San Jose, Southern California and the Yakima Valley, now "relocated" in Wyoming.

As the first light breaks the darkness, the roosters of a concentration camp suddenly come to life. First one, then another, then a chorus of dishpans rattle and clatter the call to breakfast. It is partly clouded, and the deep pink in the Eastern sky suddenly gives way as the whole heavens blaze. The eyes are pulled up and up, above the drab barracks and the drab countryside, to this spectacle of the Great Plains. The color dies as quickly as it had lived. For a moment the whole world is gray, and then the sun catches the snow on the mountains to the southeast.

Inside the black barracks the people stir. Some groan and roll over. Others push back the covers and slip quickly into their clothes. Grabbing towel and toothbrush, they go outdoors where the bits of snow and ice crunch under their feet. "Cold," they say to one another, and hurry towards the warmth of the latrines. Soon they are lining up to get breakfast: grapefruit, cold cereal, French toast, coffee.

As the sunlight reaches the camp, a bell on one of the barracks starts ringing and the kids come down to school. Lacking a schoolhouse, they sit in barracks all day, many on benches without backs, sharing textbooks because there aren't enough to go around. The teachers try to get along under the primitive conditions, finding their classes noisy because the partitions separating the rooms are flimsy — don't go up to the roof.

Over in the Administration Building the block administrators get together for their daily meeting. Appointed by the W.R.A., this group is all Nisei. It carries out the minor functions of government, takes the complaints of the people to the Administration. Like any governing body that doesn't have much power, its members sit and smoke and joke and appoint committees. The Isseis, who are not eligible to be block administrators, serve on a block council. And the people laugh, and call the block administrators stooges and the block council blockheads, for they know who really runs the government.

Out in a corridor two Caucasian members of the Administration talk with each other about the colonists. Unlike the army which ordered the evacuation, most of the W.R.A. staff want to see the Japanese really relocated. One of these men is from Washington and tells how well former colonists who have gone out under student relocation have fared. He hopes the W.R.A. will work on public opinion so that more and more colonists can get out. And the administrators are tall clean-cut Caucasians who are rather embarrassed when they are asked why the camps are called "partnership enterprises," because they know as well as anyone the difference between voluntary partnership and coercion.

And two of the people overhear a snatch of their conversation as they pass, and one mutters: "Colonists! Jesus Christ! I wonder if they call tigers pussy cats?"

* * *

As the morning goes on, the sun becomes warmer and now it falls full on the ground which forms the streets and the spaces between the barracks. And the puddles of water which had been frozen hard all night long begin to melt. When a boot lands on them they crack and break, and muddy water spurts up over the toe of the boot. Then the millions of little frozen water particles in the earth that had been holding the ground firm and hard, these too begin to melt, and the ground softens. As the sun continues to shine on it, and the people to walk over it, it becomes muddy. The people's feet get wet and dirty whenever they step outside a building.

Two Nisei girls walking across the camp jump and slide in the mud, and try to keep in the shade of the barracks where the ground is still firm. They are social workers. Social workers in a place like this? What does a social worker do to prevent juvenile delinquency when kids are suddenly jerked from normal life to this? Recreation? When there's no item in the budget for recreational material and the recreation halls are even used as offices? Education? When they promise us school buildings and good equipment and we don't get them? When they promise that the college kids can get out and then let only a few go? Worthwhile work? When the majority of the jobs they give us are so meaningless that most of the kids act as if they were doing time?

How can you teach democracy in a concentration camp? Or praise American labor standards where people get $4 for a 44-hour week and nothing for overtime? Or talk about racial equality when the Caucasians on the W.R.A. staff are setting up a whole Jim Crow system of their own?

> Lookit these little boys. They used to worship football players. Remember when you were a little kid, how every little boy has a hero? Now they follow the toughest gang leaders, and the gangs get tougher and fight one another and steal lumber. New gangs are formed, and they look at the girls more often.........Lookit that girl, most gregarious damn person I ever saw. But even she needs to be off alone sometimes— but she never can here. We're not individuals here, but cogs that eat and sleep and work and live all alike.........Lookit that mother — she used to be the core of her family, providing the meals, training her children, those little things that build a family unity. Now other people throw food at us, the kids no longer eat with the parents, but learn their manners from the roughnecks, run wild most of the time. What kind of people will we be if our families break up?.........
>
> I read in a paper how a minister said we oughta be satisfied because we were being well fed and housed and given a chance to work. Is that all living means to that guy? Is life just getting your belly filled and a hoe put in your hand? Betcha that same fellow talks a lot about liberty and spiritual values when he's thinking about Hitler!.........

And the social workers walk on across the camp. People change slowly, but being social workers, they can see the change. And the sun cuts into the shade of the barracks, and more and more of the ground becomes muddy and soft.

* * *

Down by the mess halls, the people line up for lunch. One of the girls tells a story she had read in a paper about a barber named Vic. Vic liked to show people his draft registration card, because on it he was checked as a member of the white race. The color of his skin was black, but he was a Cuban.

Often when he went into restaurants or bars, the proprietor would shout: "Scram! We don't soive niggers here!" Then Vic would produce the little piece of paper which was his passport to equality, and invariably the proprietor would feel like a dolt. And the proprietor should feel like a dolt. Does a colored man have to be a foreigner to get equality in this democracy? What is the race line? Obviously it isn't the color line — Vic's case proves that. So does the familiar fact that a Negro who wears a turban can ride in the same streetcar with Southern white folks. Is it a hat prejudice? Is it a draft card prejudice?

And the people laugh at the story, because they have learned to laugh at the things that hurt them most. Whenever anyone mentions that they may stay here permanently, "like Indians on a reservation," everyone always laughs. But they do not think the subject of Indian reservations is funny.

What is the race line? The people would like to know. They tell about the time the Elks had a party for the teachers — but only the Caucasians were invited. The next day, one of the women teachers (Caucasian) was telling another of the women teachers (Nisei) what a wonderful party they had had. The Nisei girl smiled and laughed, but later she went home and cried.

And they tell about the two washrooms at the Pomona Center. Over the big washroom was a sign which read: "Caucasian Administrative Staff Only," and over the little washroom, "Japanese Administrative Staff Only."

Then there's the story about the Caucasian history teacher who told her class: "Today we will study the Constitution." And the class laughed and tittered so that they never did.

And the people who have been hurt make cracks about the number of Jews on the W.R.A. staff, and they say to one another: "Did you see the two new Hebes who are here?" And they make disparaging remarks about Negroes, and point out the economic degradation of the Mexicans.

* * *

In the afternoon many persons crowd into the "Courthouse" for a public forum. The Niseis who run it have hopefully hung a sign which proclaims Voltaire's famous statement about free speech. First, a visitor speaks, and then there is to be an open discussion. Toward the end of the speech, a Caucasian walks in, and one woman whispers to another: "Here comes an administrative stooge. Now we can't say what we want." But the other, sizing the newcomer up, disagrees: "Naw. He's only a kid highschool teacher."

The discussion begins, and the chairman is nervous. He wants it to be frank enough to satisfy the people, but is scared of future censorship if it gets out of hand. A tall, lean fellow with a black goatee rises again and again. "Are you going to participate in this Camp government? Do you still think you're citizens of this country? Do you have the rights of citizens? Isn't the government just going to coddle you and make you into another bunch of people on an Indian Reservation? Or will they ship you all back to Japan? What sort of jobs could you get if you could go outside? What are you, citizens or Japs? Or are you donkeys?"

The fears that lurk in the people have been touched, and they stir nervously. The chairman raps for order. A block administrator jumps up: "I read in a novel once where Kathleen Norris or some one said a man and his wife with some chickens could live on the prairie as happily as in New York City. We've got plenty of prairie here. All we need is the chickens!"

The crowd roars. The chairman relaxes a little. The talk goes on, and Niseis ask each other about Nisei problems and discuss "Japanese-American Salvation," as if the Japanese-American problem was the only problem in an otherwise unimportant world.

* * *

It is Halloween, and across the camp are many parties. In one mess hall, gay streamers enliven the walls, and the people crowd together as the orchestra comes in. Ten Nisei boys, each wearing a red-and-black-checked flannel shirt, and a girl at the piano, start to play remarkably good music. But no one dances. Finally a boy says to a girl, "Hell! Let's dance!" The ice is broken, and the floor is suddenly jammed with couples dancing or watching a hot jitterbug exhibition. People laugh and joke, and a boy says to the girl he is dancing with: "I almost forget where I am!" "I never do," the girl replies, as the smile goes from her face.

Sitting on a bench in one corner watching are Caucasian members of the Administrative personnel. Everyone else is standing, for there are no other seats. Every so often one woman in a fur coat stands on the bench to get a better view and, waving her corsage, shrills gayly at her Caucasian companions below. Several of their faces are flushed, their breaths heavy with the aroma of wine. Liquor is strictly contraband within the camp, and the people turn and look and turn away again.

* * *

What will these camps produce? Out of them can come leaders and prophets, men and women of great faith and great patience, blazing new paths in overcoming racial prejudice. Will the hardship burn and temper their faith and make it strong? Will there be men like Phillippe Vernier, whose love and strength came out of four years of solitary?

The people do not know. In one of the barracks, a late bull session is going on around the warm stove. "Its too easy," said one boy. "We get food, there's no rent to pay, the routine is deadening. Everything leads to a degenerative life instead of an invigorative one. Everyone is grabbing for himself. We grab the coal, grab bits of wood lying around, grab for clothing allotments, grab our food. No wonder the little kids are getting so they do it too, and think only of themselves. No wonder we're apathetic and ingrown."

The people walk quickly home through the sharp cold of the night. The ground is hard under their feet along the brightly-lighted streets and alleys. From a thousand chimneys the harsh coal smoke tries to rise, curls under the weight of the cold air, and settles like a blanket close to the ground. A train whistle sounds in the darkness. Music comes from a guard tower where a bored soldier listens to the radio. From the floodlights a path of light surrounds the camp.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
2151 Vine Street
Berkeley, California

November 6, 1942

Bob Montgomery,
Poston Arizona

Lillie Roudabush, Tule Lake Center, Newell, Calif.

Sam Hohri, 10-4-2 Manzanar, Calif.

~~Rev. Royden Susu-Mago, 52-9-C, Rivers, Ariz.~~

~~Mr. Dixon Miyauchi, 29-8-E, Hunt, Idaho~~

Myrtle Barley, Block 324, Poston, Ariz.

~~Victor Goertzel, 2-11-B, Central Utah Project, Topaz, Utah~~

~~Andrew Noda, 86-9B, Amache, Colo.~~

~~Mr. Hisao Hata, 25-17-B, Heart Mt. Relocation Center, Wyom.~~

Mr. Nat Griswold, Rohwer Camp for Japanese, Ark.

Dr. J. B. Hunter, War Relocation Authority, McGehee, Arkansas

None for Jerome Center at Denson, Ark.

Vernon Rees
Community Christian Church
22-26
Heart Mountain, Wyoming

Minnie C. Schmidt
Minidoka Project
Hunt, Idaho

---

from MR.

Hunt, Idaho For people

Minnie Schmidt
Rev. Tsutomu Fukuyama – suggested as contact
Martha Higashida, 4-2-F

Poston
Bob Montgomery

WRA closing protested as detrimental

LA Tribune 7/20/45

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Far from aiding Japanese to reorient themselves in American life, the announced closing of war relocation centers has jim-jammed not only resettlement, but the morale of those still living in the centers, was the gist of a recent protest from the American Civil Liberites Union to Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes, which asked that the War Relocation Authority amend its earlier announcement to read that the camps will not necessarily be closed on any specific date, but that the whole program would be wound up as soon as possible.

Roger Baldwin, ACLU director, said that there has been considerable increase in applications for repatriation by Japanese who hope, by this method, to be admitted to Tule Lake segregation center. The amended policy, he said, "would slow down undesired expatriations born of fear, reassure those who are now unable to leave the camps with any prospect of self-support, and permit a less hurried adjustment of exceedingly difficult personal economic problems".

Both Secretary Ickes and Dillon S. Myer, WRA director, replied in defense of the camp closing policy. They said it was a necessary step if centers are not to remain as "isolated reservations or old peoples homes, with their residents government pensioners, deprived of all initiative and self-respect, and set apart as an easy target for race baiters." Provisions for the welfare of departing Japanese were being made, they added, through public and private welfare agencies.

THE PROBLEM OF RELOCATION FROM THE W.R.A. CENTERS

The W.R.A. program of relocation has been gathering headway during the past month. In April, about 200 people left the Tule Lake Project for work or school, about as many as had gone out in all the previous months together. The present plan aims at the rapid relocation of as many individuals outside the Western Defense Command as possible. It is presumed that the young adults, the single and most Americanized, will be the first to go, acting as embassadors for the rest. As the exodus gains momentum it becomes clear that emphasis must soon shift from individual to family relocation if the program is to succeed, and if the family unit is to be maintained.

The 14,000 people in Tule Lake Relocation Center can be divided roughly into the following age groups: One-third under 18 years of age; one-third from 18 to 34; one-third over 34 years. In the first group are the school children still dependent upon their parents. They cannot be moved out unless their parents go too. Most of those in the third group are the Issei, born in Japan, parents of the younger Nisei. For a number of reasons these cannot be moved out alone. Some of these reasons are:

Unfamiliarity with English language and American ways.

Timidity and uncertainty, partly due to above. Fear of adverse reception outside the Centers is very real.

Lack of money. Many, especially the farmers, lost everything at the time of evacuation. Clientele and good will gone, former business owners must now start from scratch.

Dependent minor children make it impossible to accept present low-wage jobs being offered in cities. They are afraid they will not be able to support a family under present high living cost. Fear of not being able to find housing enters in, too.

Age. Most job opportunities specifically call for younger men. A considerable number of Issei are past the age where they can do hard physical work. They feel unable to start again to learn a new trade.

Nationality. Most ~~job~~ opportunities call for American citizens.

These reasons, among others, make it impossible for two-thirds of the population to hope to make a success of relocation on their own. They are dependent on the help of the middle thir[illegible] the Nisei from 18 to 35, to resettle.

This middle group is the one that is now going out. Not all of them will go, however, under present conditions. Most of the jobs offered are for single young men and women. Young married couples with small children hesitate to take the risk. Young unmarried girls are often discouraged by their parents from relocating. This is partly from fear that the girl cannot take care of herself, and partly because the girl's chances for suitable marriage are obviously poor in a strange Caucasian community.

Two-thirds of the community are dependent for their relocation on the help of older brothers and sisters, grown sons and daughters. The sense of family loyalty is strong, and most of these young people feel a keen responsibility toward their parents and younger brothers and sisters. But, as we have seen, not all of them will relocate at this stage. Of those that do, not many will be able to carry the burden of dependents soon. The students need help themselves; most of the jobs open now will not go much beyond the support of the younger earners.

Let us turn back for another look at the children. Over thirty thousand boys and girls under 18, American citizens, look ahead to their second year in the W.R.A. Centers. The Centers are far from being typical American communities. The children hear more Japanese and less English than they ever have in their lives before and with every month their Japanese improves and their English deteriorates. With the moving out of the young adults the strongest Americanizing force in the Centers declines. As this continues the tide in the Centers will inevitably turn increasingly toward the older culture pattern. The schools will be unable to stem this tide.

For the first time in their lives these independent people are learning to accept government aid. This is a habit easily acquired and not easily lost. Social Welfare workers in the Centers comment on the increasing ease with which the evacuees learn to ask and accept aid.

Thirty thousand boys and girls are growing in a situation of government dependency which undermines family solidarity and destroys initiative, ambition, and self-respect. To call the Centers de-Americanizing institutions is not criticism of the very excellent work of the W.R.A. It is simply to point out the end inherent in the system of mass segregation and dependency.

The answer seems to be to find ways of relocating members of a family together, or small groups of families wherever possible. Family unity is a plant that must be tended if it is to thrive. The young people going out need to be encouraged and helped to make plans for the rest of the family left behind. Cooperating with W.R.A., individuals and groups in Mid-western cities can help to find housing and work for the other members of the families of the Nisei who come to their communities. Better opportunities for family resettlement, at least for the agricultural element, will be on farms. Possibilities of starting small cooperative farming groups in favorable communities should be further explored. Much education must be done within the Centers to overcome the fears and growing apathy. Still more education must be done outside to secure opportunities for employment where the families may be kept together.

The relocation of one hundred thousand dislocated people is proving a tremendously difficult and complicated task. But this task at our doors should prove valuable laboratory training in preparation for the resettlement of the World's fifty million refugees following the war.

Jean McKay
Tri-State High School
Newell, California

xmas box
november 20
kanazawa

BOX BOX BOX BOX

SUGGESTED CHRISTMAS GIFTS

Pencil sets, colored pencils, crayons, painting sets, drawing paper, coloring books, cutout books, scrapbooks, albums.

Games such as checkers, chess, bingo, dominoes, backgammon, Chinese Checkers, puzzles of all kinds.

Equipment for games, such as handballs, baseballs, bats, gloves, rubber balls.

Sailing boats, model motor cars, airplanes, tops, etc.

Handicraft, How to Make (Popular Science), beads to string, stamp album, hobby books, jack knife, scraps of wood for carving, model airplane kits and [illegible] pieces of wood for same, model sets of other kinds.

Harmonicas, drums, etc.

Stuffed toy animals, dolls, dresses for dolls, paper dolls, doll houses, tiny furniture sets, dish sets, and all kinds of play house sets.

Tablets, notebooks and writing paper. Pads, colored paper, pencil sharpener, erasers.

Bibles, all the favorite child classic books and magazines for children, such as Jack and Jill, Child Life, Boy's Life, etc.

Towels and washcloths; decorative strips for shelves, oilcloth. Window curtain material. Shower curtains.

Aprons, pajamas, dresses, scarfs, mittens, handkerchiefs, hair ribbons.

Yardage from which clothing might be made.

Yarn and crochet thread, needlework, fancy work of any kind, stamped materials, needles, thimbles, work baskets, blunt scissors.

Soap, toothpaste and tooth powder, face powders and creams, toilet goods, toilet kits.

Hair and clothes brushes and combs.

Boys belts, socks, etc.

Baby rattles, sets of blocks.

####

CHRISTMAS GIFT QUOTAS

RELOCATION CENTER: ADDRESS Denomination, Organization, Etc.	Spoken For:	Approx. No. Children In Center	Over or Short
MANZANAR R. C.: Owens Valley, Calif.		4,000	
Congregational Christian*	2,500		
Evangelical*	500		
Unitarians	500		
Brethren Service Committee	500		
	4,000	4,000	
TULE LAKE R. C.: Newell, Calif.		6,400	
Disciples*	3,000		
Evangelical Reformed*	1,000		
Methodist*	2,000		
Advisory Committee for Evacuees	2,800		
	8,800	6,400	2,400
COLORADO RIVER R. C.: Poston, Arizona		8,000	
Northern Baptist*	2,000		
United Lutheran*	2,500		
Methodist*	2,000		
	6,500	8,000	-1,500
GILA RIVER R. C.: Gila, Arizona		6,000	
National Baptist*	500		
Friends*	500		
Methodist*	2,000		
American Friends Service Committee	2,000		
A. M. E. Zion*	500		
YWCA Girl Reserves (Tucson-Phoenix)	500		
	6,000	6,000	
MINIDOKA R. C.: Eden, Idaho		4,000	
Northern Baptist*	2,000		
Episcopal*	2,500		
	4,500	4,500	500
CENTRAL UTAH R. C.: Topaz, Utah		4,000	
United Brethren*	1,000		
American Friends Service Committee	500		
Methodist*	1,000		
Common Council for American Unity			
	2,500	4,000	-1,500

HEART MOUNTAIN R. C.: Cody, Wyoming		4,000	
Presbyterian, U. S. A.*	4,000		
	4,000	4,000	
GRANADA R. C.: Granada, Colorado		3,200	
Reformed in America*	3,200		
	3,200	3,200	
JEROME R. C.: Denson, Arkansas		4,000	
Presbyterian U. S.*	2,000		
Methodist*	1,500		
YWCA Girl Reserves, McKeesport, Pa.	75 Calico nursery toys		
" " " Reading, Pa.			
	3,575	4,000	-425
ROHWER R. C.: McGehee, Arkansas		4,000	
United Presbyterian*	1,000		
A. M. E.*	500		
Methodist*	1,500		
YWCA Girl Reserves, Wichita, Kansas			
	3,000	4,000	-1,000

*Member of Home Missions Council of North America.

A CHRISTMAS PROJECT FOR YOUR GROUP

A Christmas Gift Project for

This year little children, the warring world over, are living in bewilderment and insecurity. Thousands of them are beyond our reach, behind enemy lines.

But we have in our own country other thousands of American children of Japanese parentage in war relocation centers who are facing their first Christmas away from all that they have ever known as home.

Whatever the merits of enforced relocation may be, surely these little children are as innocent as Santa Claus himself.

And so we invite you to consider a Christmas project that will show these ~~2804~~ children in a tangible way that we love them.

20000 ~~2864~~ Children in Japanese Relocation Camps, ~~at Tule Lake~~

19 On the other side of this folder you will find suggested projects for any group--old or young--small or large, church, school or club, or just a family.

Such plans for Christmas giving will mean more than you or I can imagine in GOOD WILL and FRIENDSHIP. - These young girls and boys are accepting their enforced exile with a spirit that deserves our admiration and affection.

Read this whole folder carefully. - Its entire purpose is to set your mind to working on ways that you can help. - It's up to you to follow through. Nobody is going to urge you to do a thing about it. We hope, of course, that you will see in it a grand chance to LIVE the golden rule.

HOW YOU CAN CO-OPERATE WITH US

HERE ARE SUGGESTED PROJECTS ON WHICH YOUR GROUP CAN START WORK AT ONCE.
The ~~All~~ GIFTS ARE FOR CHILDREN, AGE 1 TO AGE 12. THERE ARE 20,000 ~~2864~~ OF THEM.

A. **WORK PROJECT GROUP**
Personally made presents give added joy. So we suggest organizing a Work Shop Party. Start perhaps with a toy scavenger hunt. Then repair and touch toys up with gay paints. One group we know has borrowed a jigsaw, bought plywood and are making animated toys. Your imagination is the only limit to this project.

B. **DOLL MATERIAL PROJECT**
Girls (some grey haired) why not make packets of doll dress materials. Just imagine the joy such Christmas wrapped packets will give hundreds of little girls at Tule Lake who will love to cut out and sew dresses for their precious dolls.

the Japanese relocation camps.

C. **VARIETY FEATURE PLAN**
Your group can each select a different gift from suggestions at right. Such a project is simple and suitable to all age groups. What a wonderful Christmas package a variety of presents will make.

D. **CATALOG ORDER PROJECT**
Limited in time? Then why not get your group together with gift catalogues. One person can write and place the order. When the order arrives, you can have a wrapping bee. How easy! What fun! How the boys and girls at Tule Lake will enjoy opening those presents.

the camps

E. **OTHER SUGGESTED PROJECTS**
- A Book Buying Party
- A Bead Stringing Bee
- Making Scrap Books
- Raggety Ann Making
- Mitten Knitting
- F → Handwork in almost any craft

Note: Other projects that fit your groups will suggest themselves to you.

1. Each group will mail or express its own box not later than December 10th to Camp Director, Tule Lake Relocation Center, Newell, California, Attention of Kiyoshi Yumibe. (Cost of shipping should be shared by group.) see (X)
2. Each gift should be Christmas wrapped and marked with name and address of donor and FOR group to personalize it for the boy or girl who receives it.
3. Attach a tag to the outside of each gift describing it. This will help our Santa Claus (~~Kiyoshi Yumibe~~) ~~at Tule Lake~~ in each camp to distribute them wisely.
4. Put the same love and care into preparing your gift that you would for your own child and you will be doing it right.

SUGGESTED GIFTS

In 50¢ Range
- colored crayons
- dominoes
- harmonicas
- thimble and thread
- blunt scizzors
- scarfs
- mittens
- boys belts
- handkerchiefs
- games
- books
- toilet kits
- baby rattles
- picture books
- pencil sets
- books for coloring
- sets of blocks
- handicraft
- How To Make--Popular Science
- beads to string
- writing paper
- stamp album
- hobby books
- tops
- baseball
- box of paints
- boy's socks (gay)
- jack knife
- hair ribbons

See any catalog for other suggestions

AN ADVENTURE IN FRIENDSHIP

PREPARING several thousand ~~2864~~ PRESENTS BY DECEMBER 12th ~~10th~~ CHALLENGES US TO TRANSLATE INTEREST INTO IMMEDIATE WHOLEHEARTED ACTION.

Sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation

If writing for more information or additional copies of this address correspondence to → John Swomley Fellowship 2929 Broadway.

EXPIDITING COMMITTEE

Here are the names of the committee who stand responsible for this plan. Call any one of them if you want further information or need more folders. We shall, of course, be glad to hear of your progress.

Helen Mary Forbush	BUC 5344	Albert Whitmore	Van 5111
Barbara Battershell	Cal 5115	Molly A. Morgenroth	Green 2048
Ethel & Robert Irwin	Lin 4298	Lucy J. Matchett	Bev 3923
Kay Nichiyama	Mid 1922	Frances C. Davidson	Sup 4660
Howard Huntzicker	Lin 3700	Robert Judd	Ran 1194
Kenneth Ubbelohde	But 9019	Alice Boynton	Buc 5344

→ If writing, address correspondence to Advisory Committee for Evacuees, Room 1010, 189 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
20 SOUTH TWELFTH STREET • PHILADELPHIA 7, PENNSYLVANIA

For Christmas Behind Barbed Wire

For the last two years, many churches and other organizations cooperated in sending Christmas gifts to boys and girls in War Relocation Projects. These American children, whose ancestors immigrated to this country from Japan, will this year have their third Christmas away from home, their third Christmas behind barbed wire.

Once again, the American Friends Service Committee wishes to help carry Christmas to these children. Because of the response to the project last year, the parents of these children are to be included in the 1944 Christmas program. Something either for their own personal use or for their small one roomed homes will bring joy and give faith in America to the older people.

Directions for sending gifts to residents in Relocation Centers:

1. Select a NEW gift for a person of any age.
2. Put your name and address on a Christmas card.
3. Tie the card to the gift.
   DO NOT WRAP THE GIFT. However, please send tissue paper and ribbon with the gift which will be wrapped at its destination.
4. Mail your gift to one of the A.F.S.C. receiving centers:

AFSC Storeroom
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

AFSC Storeroom
501 N. Raymond Ave.
Pasadena 3, Cal.

Friends Meeting House
2151 Vine Street
Berkeley 7, Cal.

Friends Center
3959 - 15th Ave.
Seattle 5, Wash.

5. Mail NOT LATER THAN NOVEMBER 15th so that the Committee may have time to pack it and get it to its destination (by freight) in plenty of time for Christmas.

You may send more than one gift if you wish.

Please do not send war toys. Christmas celebrates the birth of One who preached "Peace on Earth, Good Will to men."

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
20 SOUTH TWELFTH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

Sec. 562, P. L. & R.
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
Philadelphia, Pa.
Permit No. 389

John Swomley
F.O.R.
2929 Broadway
New York City

POSTMASTER: If undeliverable FOR ANY REASON, notify sender, stating reason, on Form 3547, postage for which is guaranteed.

not a complete list, but key people. Can you send us a list of members in other camps?

Can Margaret Rohrer visit us soon? All of us still linger over Caleb's invigorating visit with pleasure. He did a grand job.

Will you send us a consignment of books or a list of available materials? There are three I should like to buy personally: Holmes, Out of Darkness; Chalmers, Candles in the Wind; Gregg, The Power of Non-Violence. People are hungry for reading materials.

1/7/43 [illegible] to Walter but didn't tell him to send a consignment. H.P.

Yours truly,

Ruth Mitchell

Ruth Mitchell

Dear Helen,

About the middle of October I sent a carbon of a form letter about Topaz to A.J. with a note to pass it on to Connie for our Columbia team to read. Perhaps it was overlooked. How is the team getting along. I miss all of you—had a nice card from Em and Bob Morgan.

Will you change my address from 1317 Alturas St to Topaz (as above). Mother still forwards me F.O.R. materials, but they are moving soon.

Gave note to Sally 1-4-43

FELLOWSHIP AID IN RESETTLEMENT AMERICAN BORN JAPANESE

Farmer

URGENT TO F.O.R. SECRETARIES

From John Nevin Sayre
November 25, 1942

Please read at once the enclosed memoranda:

(A) Statement by George E. Rundquist, Executive Secretary, Committee on Resettlement of Japanese-Americans.

(B) F.O.R. War Victims Loan Plan to help Fellowship members and others to get out of Relocation Centers.

(C) F.O.R. Contact Persons in Relocation Centers.

Comment

(A) The Committee on Resettlement of Japanese-Americans is sponsored jointly by the Federal Council of Churches and Home Missions Council of North America in cooperation with the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. Its Executive Committee is composed of Hermann N. Morse, Chairman; J. Quinter Miller, Secretary-Treasurer; Roswell Barnes, Mark Dawber, John Thomas, and George E. Rundquist, Executive Secretary. It is in constant touch with the W.R.A. headquarters in Washington. Its address is 297 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

(B) Procedure on the F.O.R. Loan Plan is still being worked out, but I expect that it will move along the following lines:

1. We will designate an F.O.R. representative in each Relocation Center who will recommend the persons there whom he thinks should be especially aided by the F.O.R. Travel Fund.
2. He will forward these names and addresses to Mr. Rundquist if they are adults, or to the Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee if they are students. He will send copies of same to me.
3. The Rundquist Committee will then try to secure an appropriate job for the evacuee in an American community and also try to have the employer or community pay the evacuee's travel expenses in whole or in part. The Quaker Committee will do the same for students.
4. If a local community feels that it cannot meet the travel bill (or only a part of it) then Mr. Rundquist or the Quaker Committee will decide how much of the F.O.R. loan money should be used for this purpose, and pay same out of their general loan fund.
5. Mr. Rundquist or the Friends will then apply to the War Victims Fund of the F.O.R. for this amount, specifying the person for whom it was used. Our War Victims Fund will reimburse accordingly.
6. For the present we have informed the Rundquist Committee and the Quaker Committee that each can count on the F.O.R. War Victims Loan Fund to lend up to a total amount of $500. This may be increased or decreased later to either or both Committees in the light of developing needs of War Victims at home and abroad and of our own resources.
7. Please check carefully the list of suggested F.O.R. Contact Persons in Relocation Centers. If you think that any of these names should be changed, please air mail or telegraph me what substitutions you propose. Also, I should be glad to have suggestions for a second string of contacts in each Center. Ultimately, the F.O.R. group in a Center might wish to elect its representative, but at the present stage of things I believe that we should do the selecting.

THE RESETTLEMENT OF AMERICAN BORN JAPANESE

By George E. Rundquist
November 18, 1942

The War Relocation Authority

The W.R.A. estimates that there are about 30,000 American born citizens of Japanese extraction now in the ten Relocation Centers who will be available for private employment outside of the Centers.

In a letter to the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese-Americans, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York City, Dillon S. Myer, Director of the W.R.A. writes, "The War Relocation Authority has recently adopted regulations which should enable all of the evacuees who are qualified and care to do so to leave the Relocation Centers. These regulations were discussed with the War Department and the Department of Justice and have the approval of these Departments. These new regulations and the program of outside employment are meeting with the approval and receiving the assistance of other agencies of the Federal Government."

Dispersal Resettlement

This new policy of dispersal resettlement of evacuees deserves the support of all Christian Americans. The Government has asked the churches to help. We dare not refuse. It is a challenge to the churches to take the lead in this resettlement program.

What the Churches Can Do

1. Locate jobs for evacuees at Prevailing Wages in the community.
2. Prepare the community in which jobs have been obtained to receive the evacuees.
3. Make arrangements for suitable housing, with local hostels, such as the Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A. and in private homes. If the job is domestic service, make certain that living quarters are suitable for intelligent Americans.
4. Act as counsellor or guide to evacuees. They will need sympathetic and understanding fellowship outside of their jobs.

Clearance of Evacuees

Every evacuee permitted to resettle outside of the ten Relocation Centers will be thoroughly investigated by the F.B.I. as well as the War Relocation Authority.

Some assurance that the presence of the evacuees will cause no disturbance in the community to which they go is required by the W.R.A. A letter from a prominent citizen, clergyman, or committee that is organized to assist the Resettlement Program, stating that in your opinion the evacuee will be welcome, is all that is necessary. You cannot guarantee that there will not be any disturbance, but you can sound out public sentiment and be reasonably certain of public acceptance if you prepare the ground well.

Once the evacuee leaves the Center he is as free as any other American citizen. He is requested to keep the W.R.A. informed of changes of address or employment. The employer assumes no more responsibility for the evacuee than he does for any other American in his employ. The evacuee may be discharged at any time and he may quit his job. He will be free to accept employment in another locality or he may return to the Relocation Center.

The W.R.A. provides transportation only to the most convenient railroad or bus station nearest the Relocation Center. The evacuee, employer, or interested friends or agencies will be expected to assume all travelling costs to the place of resettlement.

It is expected that several thousand applicants for resettlement will soon be available. These people represent a real cross section of American skills: domestics, secretaries, office workers, scientists, technicians, farmers, etc.

Action Now

If you or your community are ready to accept an evacuee and can use some of these people, write George E. Rundquist, Executive Secretary, Committee on Resettlement of Japanese-Americans, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York.

* * * * *

WAR VICTIMS FUND FREES JAPANESE-AMERICANS

The F.O.R. has appropriated $1000. from its War Victims Fund to open the road to freedom for Japanese-Americans who are detained in Relocation Centers but who have jobs awaiting them in American communities east of the Rockies once they get money to pay the cost of rail or bus transportation. Since the Government, and most employers, will not pay transportation charges and since many of the evacuees have used up what money they were able to save from the wreck of their fortunes caused by the evacuation eight months ago, it is necessary for someone to provide money for transportation and purchase of a few articles of clothing so that evacuees may be able to present a decent appearance when they arrive on the job.

The Fellowship, in providing a revolving loan fund for this purpose, proposes that an evacuee who has borrowed from it will repay from his earnings after he is out, so that a later evacuee can also borrow the cost of his transportation to a job and in turn repay, and so help still other evacuees to go from detention to freedom via the bridge of the F.O.R. fund.

At the moment, the occupation of all of France by Hitler's forces has created an uncertainty about getting through to the F.O.R. educational project at Le Chambon the war victims' aid we had been sending up to the time of the occupation. We hope and believe that the present stoppage of aid will be only temporary; that a way will be opened by which the help we had been sending every month can be resumed. But, meanwhile, the installments for November and December which were marked for France will be used instead for the loan fund for our own Japanese-American war victims to help them out of the Relocation Centers to freedom in their own land.

The Government has lately let down the bars against Japanese-American evacuees settling in the Eastern region of the United States. Today, those who are released can go to almost any place in the country, including New England, if it is east of the Pacific Coast Military Area. Once they leave the Relocation Centers they become as free as any other American citizen.

But before the Government will release any evacuee it requires assurance from responsible persons in the community to which he goes that there will be a job open at prevailing wages, that suitable housing will be available, and that some church or reliable individual is ready to befriend the evacuee to the extent of helping him get fairly started in his new life.

For specific advice on what you can do to help open up opportunities for Japanese-Americans to settle in your neighborhood, write to: George E. Rundquist, Executive Secretary, Committee on Resettlement of Japanese-Americans, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York City, or to the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

* * * * *

F.O.R. CONTACTS IN RELOCATION CENTERS

Tule Lake	Rev. Shigeo Tanabe, 28-16-C W.R.A. Center Newell, California	Topaz	Iwao Kawakami, Blk. 16, Bldg. 9, Apt. 4, Central Utah Project Topaz, Utah
Manzanar	Jackson Takayanagi Blk. 16, Bldg. 9, Apt. 4 Manzanar, California	Granada	Kenji Okuda, 7-G-7-D Granada Relocation Project Amache, Colorado
Gila River	Rev. Royden Susu-Mago Camp #2, 52-9-C Rivers, Arizona	Heart Mt.	Miss Emi Kimura, B-29-16-C Heart Mt. Relocation Center Wyoming
Minidoka	Dixon Miyauchi, 40-8-E, Hunt Branch Twin Falls, Idaho	Jerome	Rev. Hideo Hashimoto, Blk. 44 B arrack 04, Apt. B, Jerome Relocation Center, Denson, Ark.
Poston	Mary D. Finch Block 324 Poston, Arizona		
Rohwer	Nat Griswold Rohwer Camp for Japanese Arkansas		

John

From John Nevin Sayre
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway, New York City

PLEASE CIRCULATE THE INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THE FOLLOWING EXCERPT FROM A LETTER FROM THE COMMITTEE ON RESETTLEMENT OF JAPANESE AMERICANS AMONGST F.O.R. MEMBERS AND OTHERS WHO ARE INTERESTED IN THE RESETTLEMENT OF AMERICANS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY.

March 1, 1943

There has been some little time passed since we discussed the possibility of opening up hostels to which unemployed evacuees might go under the sponsorship of certain agencies. The idea of bringing unemployed evacuees to a community where they and the employer might meet face-to-face has met with much enthusiasm. However, certain difficulties have been pointed out in connection with the hostel idea:

1. Before a suitable house could be rented, the consent of the immediate neighbors to the opening of such a house would have to be obtained if trouble were to be avoided.
2. Such a house would quickly become known as the "Jap House."
3. It might be looked upon by organized labor as a potential pool of strikebreakers.
4. In a community where there are many Negroes it would possibly represent a group of people who might displace them in industry.
5. It would become the target for attack by all the opposition. Drunks, trouble-makers, people who have lost sons or husbands in the Far East would find it a convenient place upon which to vent their mischief or vengeance. Unsympathetic police could very easily make life miserable for the residents of such a house. They would find it amusing to boot some of "those damn Japs" around.

Those are some of the dangers that have been pointed out to the idea of a hostel in which a group of ten or twelve evacuees might reside.

A counter-proposal is that we find in each community ten or fifteen scattered homes which would have a room available for the use of evacuees for temporary residence. The idea would be exactly the same as that of a hostel, that is, a place of residence for unemployed evacuees sponsored by social or religious agencies. It would have this advantage, the evacuees would be scattered. There would be no one place which could be known as "the Jap House", no single target that would be conspicuous, and the homes which extended such hospitality would become centers of information concerning the problem of the evacuees and would in turn inform and educate the people of the community in the way that seems best, that is by word of mouth information rather than local newspaper publicity. I do believe the idea is a good one and I think it can be worked. Members of the F.O.R. and other people of good will certainly can be found in practically every community in the country who would open up their homes for one or more of these people. The danger, as I see it, is that the family with whom the evacuee might live would become so interested in a particular evacuee that we soon would be lacking residences to which evacuees could go temporarily. However, we shall have to take those chances. One of the jobs that we are presenting to local committees is that they make up lists of rooms scattered throughout the community in which evacuees might make their permanent residence, but we will need very badly temporary homes and we shall have to try and convince those householders that the best service they can render to the cause would be to encourage the evacuee to seek a permanent room as soon as he obtains employment. -- GEORGE E. RUNDQUIST
Executive Secretary

Japanese Folder

From: John Nevin Sayre
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York City

Senator A. B. Chandler, Kentucky, chairman of a sub-committee to investigate Japanese relocation, who has just completed inspection of Relocation Centers in three states, is reported to be recommending release of 82,000 loyal American Japanese from Centers in the next few months. Such a step would go far to restore American democracy for them and for us provided it does not carry the implication that the remaining residents in the Relocation Centers -- some 40,000 -- are disloyal or that they must be kept in the Centers for the duration. With regard to all, the Government should return to the Anglo-Saxon principle of freedom that persons are presumed to be loyal and law-abiding unless there is definite evidence against them that they have had opportunity to hear and oppose before a legal tribunal. Now is the time when the democratic voice of America, speaking through letters and telegrams from citizens throughout the country, should make itself heard on the above points in Washington. Here are the things you can do:

Congratulate Senator Albert B. Chandler, Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Write or wire Senator Robert Reynolds)
Senator Sheridan Downey) all of Senate Office Building
Senator Hiram Johnson)

Then write A letter to your newspaper editor.

Get further action by Your minister and church.
Your Board of Missions or other national denominational group.
Your F.O.R., Socialist Party, W.I.L. or other group.

April 5, 1943

From: John Nevin Sayre
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York City

MEMORANDUM #4

F.O.R. TRAVEL LOAN FUND

It appears that my Memorandum #3, of April 9, failed to take into account one important fact regarding the W.R.A. decision to give travel assistance to evacuees leaving the Centers: i.e. the assistance promised is limited to evacuees granted indefinite leave and it does not apply to students going out on educational leave. Of course, the Government may decide to extend travel assistance to cover both groups but until it does so the Fellowship of Reconciliation is prepared to help students with educational leave along the lines of our previous plan. This means that if a student in your Center wishes to borrow some money from the F.O.R. Travel Loan Fund you should forward his application and requisite information to Mrs. Elizabeth B. Emlen, National Japanese American Student Relocation Council, 1201 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. This organization will then decide whether the Fellowship's funds made available to it should be used for the particular loan in question. If its decision is in the affirmative it will advance the necessary money to the F.O.R. Contact Persons through whom the application was made.

For my own information and the F.O.R. record, I would appreciate having a copy of the application for a loan sent to me. This, however, is not essential. The reason for dealing directly with the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council in the above matter is that its resources are not limited to the contributions being made to it by the F.O.R. If assistance depended on the F.O.R. Loan Fund exclusively the student assistance would soon run out.

Certain delays that have happened in the past have not been the fault of the Student Relocation Council or of the F.O.R., but they have been due to the necessity of getting certain papers cleared by the F.B.I. or other Government authorities.

April 16, 1943

Salem, Ohio
152 Vine Ave.
Feb 24, 1944

Mr. Perry Saito

Dear Sir,

I am interested in the good American Japanese and would like the address of one to write to. I am a married women 42 yrs old. I would also like two young peoples address between ages 14 + 18.
If it is possible to oftain this for me do, I thank you.

Yours Truly
Mrs. J. S. Getz

Mary Jo Hobbs 18 Box 285 S.M.U. Dallas

19 Grace Jarrell Williams, 1520 Main Street
Humboldt, Tenn.

Billye Kathryn Whisnand Age 19
3230 Fairmore (Interested in
Dallas 10, Texas religious work)

Ivey Jeanne Parker
Box 1026
Paducah, Texas

Madelon Clayton
410 N. Windomere
Dallas 11, Texas

Jean Nettleton
621 West Avenue K
San Angelo, Texas
Age 18 — Speech

Lena Mary Connally
Beeville, Texas - Age 18

Mary Virginia Tinnin
501 Johnson St.
Del Rio, Texas 17
(over)

N. Lee Cate
Box 195
Southern Meth Univ
Dallas, Texas (Interest: Literature, esp. poetry)
age: 26

Ferris Baker
6117 Airline Road age 25
Dallas, Texas (Photography - & Theology

Bobbye Lee Wendland (Interested in
1204 North Third music, journalism)
Temple, Texas age: 18

Cross - 76904

MAR 23 1944

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

INFORMATION SERVICE

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

For Immediate Release to PMs
OF WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15, 1944 W.

Approximately one-fifth of the 112,000 people of Japanese ancestry evacuated from the West Coast to relocation centers two years ago are now living and supporting themselves outside the centers, according to a report of the War Relocation Authority to Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes.

The report, made public on the eve of the second anniversary of WRA, states that more than 19,000 of the evacuees, including women and children, have been granted indefinite leave to establish homes in communities scattered from the eastern boundary of the exclusion area to the Atlantic coast. Between 2,000 and 3,000 others are on seasonal leave, mainly as farm workers, it was announced.

Of the employable men, more are engaged in the agricultural job of contributing to the Nation's food supply than in any other occupation, WRA Director Dillon S. Myer reported. Many others are helping to relieve manpower shortages in factories, shops, and offices, and a considerable number have volunteered for service in the United States Army. Selective Service inductions are now increasing the number in the Armed forces.

In releasing the report Secretary Ickes explained that it is a policy of the War Relocation Authority, which is a civilian agency now under the Department of the Interior, to encourage the evacuees to scatter over wide areas, and to avoid congregating in colonies. The purpose of the policy is to stimulate their integration into the normal social and economic life of the communities where they relocate.

As a result of the relocation program, Secretary Ickes pointed out, people of Japanese descent who formerly lived in a comparatively narrow strip along the Pacific Coast are now spread out clear across the remainder of the country. About 7,000 of these former West Coast residents have relocated in the Rocky Mountain states, with Utah and Colorado receiving the largest numbers. More than 12,000 have sought homes in states farther east, particularly in the Great Lakes region. Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan, in the order named have been favorite middle-western states for relocation. The most popular city is Chicago, where more than 3,500 are now living. Other cities where considerable numbers have relocated, according to the WRA records, are: Denver, 1083; Salt Lake City, 740; Cleveland, 787; Detroit, 531; Minneapolis, 464; New York City, 406; Washington, D. C., 150; Washington Metropolitan Area, 200.

(over)

"A fact that has been widely overlooked by the country at large," the Secretary said, "is that these people are mainly American citizens, entitled to the rights specifically guaranteed to all American citizens in the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. Fully two-thirds of them were born in America, and 72 per cent of these native-born Americans have never seen Japan. They have lived their lives in America, going to American schools, playing with other Americans, working with other Americans, and planning their lives ahead with no other thought than to remain Americans to the end of their days. Most of the relocators to date have been Americans citizens. Both the citizens and the aliens have been carefully screened, and only those who are loyal citizens or law-abiding aliens are receiving permission to relocate."

Secretary Ickes emphasized the fact that thousands of American boys of Japanese ancestry are fighting for the United States in Italy and other parts of the world. "In Italy," he said, "an Army battalion composed almost entirely of Americans of Japanese descent has distinguished itself in valiant fighting. This battalion has suffered casualties amounting to more than 40 per cent of the entire personnel. One Distinguished Service Cross and thirteen Silver Stars have been bestowed on members of the unit for gallantry in action, and 58, or more, Purple Hearts have been awarded to them."

"The job of the War Relocation Authority," Mr. Ickes said, "is to provide shelter and subsistence, in the relocation centers, for the people of Japanese ancestry evacuated from the West Coast until they are able to find new homes in other parts of the country outside the exclusion area. It has the responsibility of protecting them in the rights to which they are legally and decently entitled, and of helping them to find opportunities for resettlement. It has never been the intention of the Government to hold them in the relocation centers longer than was needed to segregate those whose sympathies lay with Japan from those whose sympathies lay with the United States and to make arrangements for the resettlement of those who are eligible for leave."

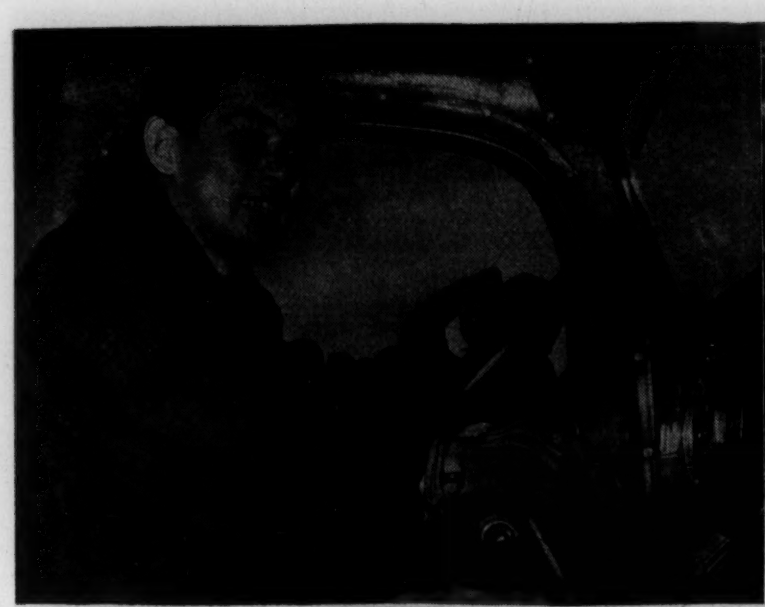
All adults who have obtained leave from the centers, or who are eligible for leave, have been thoroughly examined on matters that might have a bearing on their loyalties, the report stated. Among the topics covered by the examination are education, former employment, visits to Japan, relatives in Japan, investments in Japan, and social and religious affiliations. The records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other intelligence agencies have been checked for any information that might appear in them regarding the people whose eligibility for leave was receiving attention. Their conduct in the centers has also been considered.

***

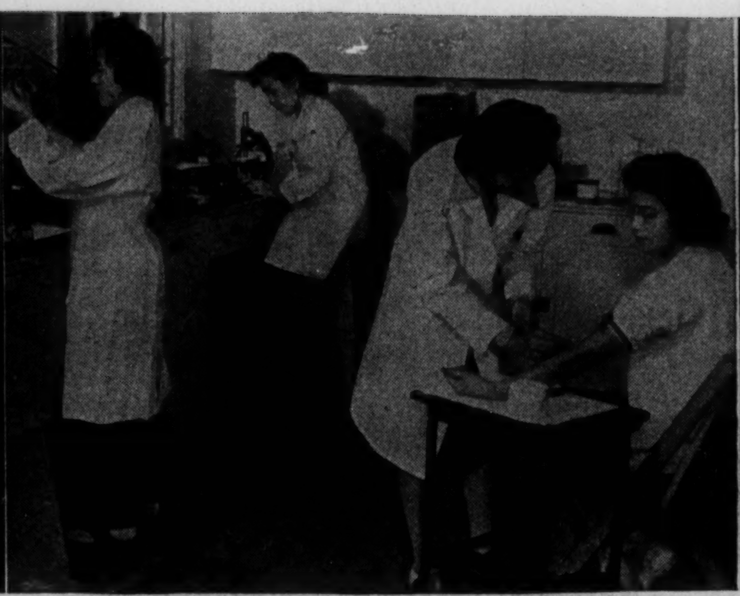
Relocating a People

I AM glad to observe that the War Department, the Navy Department, the War Manpower Commission, the Department of Justice, and the War Relocation Authority are collaborating in a program which will assure the opportunity for all loyal Americans, including Americans of Japanese ancestry, to serve their country at a time when the fullest and wisest use of our manpower is all-important to the war effort.

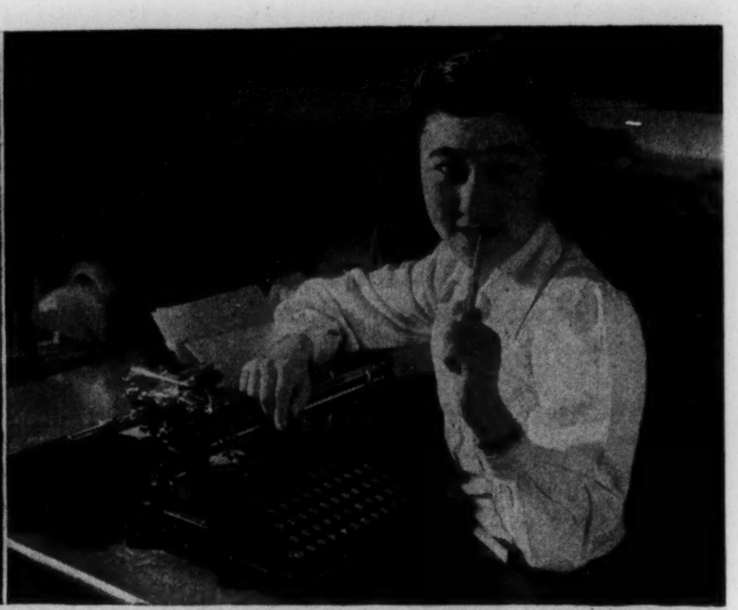
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
February 1, 1943



Relocation center residents include trained engineers, mechanics, drivers, shop and mill workers with a variety of skills.



These hospital laboratory workers, and many other technicians with equally important skills, are waiting for opportunities to serve outside communities.



A considerable number of secretaries, stenographers, and other clerical workers are available for employment outside the relocation centers.

RELOCATING A PEOPLE

In 10 wartime communities in the western part of the United States, more than a hundred thousand men, women, and children are living temporarily, awaiting an opportunity to resume normal lives in ordinary communities. All of them are of Japanese descent, and were evacuated from strategic military areas of the West Coast in the spring and summer of 1942. These wartime communities, known as relocation centers, were established when it became evident that such a large number of people could not immediately locate themselves successfully in new communities. There was no intent to remove from them any of their rights or to deprive them of the opportunity of earning a livelihood and contributing to the Nation's economy.

Nearly two-thirds of these people are American citizens. Nearly two-thirds were born in America and most have attended American schools. Only a few hundred of this citizen group have ever been outside the boundaries of the United States. The draft-age men not already in uniform were made eligible for military service by an official announcement of the War Department, on January 28, 1943, which recognized "the inherent right of every faithful citizen, regardless of ancestry, to bear arms in the Nation's battle."

The aliens, who comprise the remaining third, are barred from citizenship by our immigration laws which do not permit Orientals to acquire citizenship by naturalization. Almost without exception, however, they have lived in the United States for at least two decades, and the majority of them have been here for three decades, or longer.

The relocation of these people—both citizens and aliens whose records indicate that they would not endanger the security of the country—in normal communities where they may enjoy the full benefits of American justice, is a national problem deserving the thoughtful consideration of every person who believes in American principles. All together, the Japanese-American population evacuated from the West Coast comprises less than one-tenth of one percent of our total population. Dispersed throughout the interior of the country, only a few families to any one community, they should be able, with their wide diversity of skills, to contribute notably to the civilian and wartime needs of the Nation.

Both the War Department and the Department of Justice have examined and approved the relocation procedures of the War Relocation Authority, which include an investigation of each evacuee's previous behavior and attitudes, and a record check by the Federal Bureau of Investigation before leave is granted from a relocation center. The relocation policy also has the approval of War Manpower Commission. The Chairman has stated that it "should have the dual effect of benefiting the evacuees, many of whom are American citizens, and of making available to the country several thousand people for employment on farms and in industry."

16—33537-1

How to Employ Evacuees

An offer of employment should be prepared and presented to the nearest relocation office of the War Relocation Authority, or, if more convenient, to your local United States Employment Office.

Addresses of principal relocation offices:

Cleveland, Union Commerce Building.
Chicago, 226 West Jackson Boulevard.
Kansas City, 1509 Fidelity Building.
Denver, Midland Savings Building.
Salt Lake City, 318 Atlas Building.

Information to be given in each offer:

1. Employer's name and address.
2. Type of worker desired:
   - (*a*) Experience desired.
   - (*b*) Skills, knowledge, or abilities required.
   - (*c*) Sex; age; physical requirements.
3. Working conditions:
   - (*a*) Hours and pay.
   - (*b*) Permanency.
   - (*c*) Union or nonunion.
4. Living accommodations:
   - (*a*) Housing (if provided, describe it).
   - (*b*) Board (if included, explain arrangement).
   - (*c*) Trading center: Distance and transportation.
   - (*d*) Health and educational facilities.
5. Other special features pertaining to offer.

Employers who prefer to recruit labor directly at a relocation center may apply to the project director, either in person or in writing.

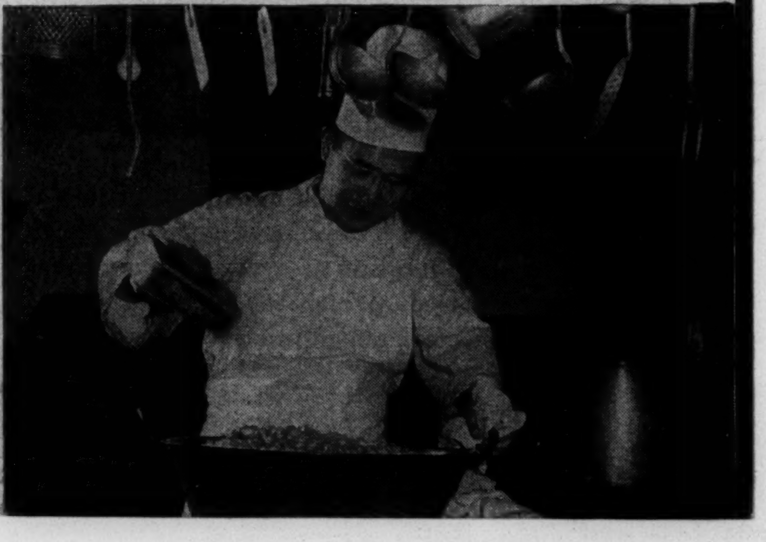
U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—33587-1

Major Industry Groups

(Selected)

Americans of Japanese ancestry, 14 years of age and over, in California, Oregon, and Washington; Census of 1940

Agriculture:	
Men	17,785
Women	4,242
Retail trade (clerks, salesmen, etc.):	
Men	6,592
Women	2,690
Wholesale trade (both sexes)	2,190
Domestic service (private homes):	
Men	2,421
Women	2,323
Hotels, laundries, cleaners and dyers	3,592
Manufacturing (all kinds)	1,978
Professional services	1,326
Finance, insurance, real estate	656
Railroading, trucking, etc	686
Auto storage, rental, repair	292
Other business and repair services	119



DENVER DRAWS 1,083 RELOCATED COAST JAPANESE

Denver Post — 3/16/44

Denver has 1,083 of the Japanese relocated from the west coast two years ago and later released to support themselves, the second largest number among all cities in the United States, Secretary of the Interior Ickes disclosed in Washington Thursday.

The relocated population was more than three times as large as Denver's prewar Japanese population, and brought the total of persons of Japanese blood in the city to approximately 1,400. The 1940 census listed 323 Japanese as Denver residents.

Ickes said more than 21,000 of the 112,000 people of Japanese ancestry removed from the west coast to relocation centers early in 1942 are now living and supporting themselves outside the centers.

Colorado and Utah received the largest number among the 7,000 who relocated in the Rocky Mountain

(Turn to Page 7 —Col. 1.)

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DENVER

CITY RANKS SECOND ONLY TO CHICAGO

Nip Population Trebled Thru Release From Camps.

(Continued From Page One.)

states, but the state totals were not included in press dispatches. Others have sought homes in states farther east, particularly Illinois, Ohio and Michigan.

The report stated Chicago, where more than 3,500 are now living, has been the most popular city. After Chicago and Denver, cities in which considerable numbers have relocated are Cleveland, 787; Salt Lake City, 740; Detroit, 531 Minneapolis, 464; New York city, 406, and Washington, 150.

More than 19,000, the secretary said, have been granted indefinite leave to establish homes in communities scattered from the eastern boundary of the exclusion area to the Atlantic coast. On seasonal leave mainly as farm workers are between 2,000 and 3,0[illegible] others, while an army battalion [illegible] entirely of Americans [illegible] descent has alread[illegible] the Italian campaign.

TWO-THIRDS BORN IN AMERI[illegible]

Ickes said that of [illegible] men granted leave [illegible] engaged in agriculture [illegible] any other occupation.

"A fact that has been widely overlooked," Ickes said, "is that these people are mainly American citizens, entitled to the rights specifically guaranteed to all American citizens. Fully two-thirds of them were born in America, and 72 per cent of these native-born Americans have never seen Japan."

Ickes emphasized that both the citizens and the aliens have been carefully screened and "only those who are loyal citizens or law-abiding aliens are receiving permission to relocate."

"It has never been the intention of the government to hold them (the Japanese) in relocation centers longer than was needed to segregate those whose sympathies lay with Japan from those whose sympathies lay with the United States, and to make arrangements for the resettlement of those eligible for leave," Ickes said.

Sentiment against permitting Japanese in large colonies to settle permanently in Colorado is growing steadily on the western slope, M. E. Thorp, Delta cattleman, said in Denver Thursday.

"We know if the Japanese get entrenched, we can't compete with them because of their lower standard of living," Thorp stated. "We people on the western slope want other Coloradans to know we are ready to do our full share in helping solve this situation."

Thorp said the city council of Delta and six organizations adopted a resolution condemning Americans who sell land to the Japanese and going on record in support of an amendment to the state constitution making possible a law to bar alien Japanese from owning land.

Organizations in Delta county indorsing the resolution include the Chamber of Commerce, the Elks lodge, the American Legion, the Lions club, the Rotary club and Veterans of Foreign Wars. In addition, a Delta mass meeting of 500 persons last month approved the resolution.

WARD'S EMPLOYES

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Organizations in Delta county indorsing the resolution include the Chamber of Commerce, the Elks lodge, the American Legion, the Lions club, the Rotary club and Veterans of Foreign Wars. In addition, a Delta mass meeting of 500 persons last month approved the resolution.

WARD'S EMPLOYES GRANTED PAY RISE

Chicago, March 16.—(A. P.)—A general increase of 7½ cents an hour and a minimum wage of 50 cents an hour has been granted 1,100 employes of Montgomery Ward & Co., in St. Paul, Minn., Edgar L. Warren, regional war labor board hairman, announced Thursday. The case, one of the oldest dis- e cases on the regional WLB ket, was certified to the board b. 15, 1943. The board referred uestions of maintenance of

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PROTEST MEETING!

Against Mayor LaGuardia's Proposed Japanese-American Discrimination Policy.

●

SPEAKERS:

Norman Thomas, Leading Socialist
John Thomas, American Baptist Home Missions Society
Madison Jones, of the F. E. P. C.
Japanese-American Speaker, (To be announced)

LABOR TEMPLE, 242 East 14th Street - New York City

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17th, 1944, 8:15 p. m.

Auspices: Minorities Workshop, Socialist Party, 303 - 4th Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

6 Livingstone Street
Asheville, N.C.
March 20, 1944

Mr. Perry Saito
Brotherhood of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Saito,

Before I get to the point, I think it is best to re-introduce myself.

When you spoke at Stephens-Lee High School in Asheville, I was the master of cermonies. My name is Theodore Toatley, Jr.

Now, What I want to tell you is that I enjoyed your talk very much. I think you are the best speaker we have ever had and I hope you will visit us again sometime.

Could you please send me the words to the song you led in chapel? (Amen is the title, I think)

I will be waiting for a reply

Sincerely Yours
Theodore Toatley

P.S.

I know this sounds silly but will you send me one of your pictures? You see I like to keep pictures of friends and important people I have met.

"Theodore"

my address:
Theodore Toatley, Jr.
61 Livingstone Street
Asheville, N.C.

The FORERUNNERS

Sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation

2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

Secretary
Margaret Ann Osborn

Advisory Committee
Harold Chance
George Corwin
Martin L. Harvey
Elise Moller
Alfred Moore
Leon Sanborne
Ruth Seabury
George Oliver Taylor
Dan West

March 23, 1944

Dear Friend:

Perry Saito, one of our race relations secretaries, tells me that you are interested in knowing Japanese Americans and that you are concerned about racial problems that exist in this country. He suggested that I write you about THE FORERUNNERS, a national organization of high school youth, who explore together the problems of race, economics, politics and kindred subjects and seek to find the causes that prevent world brotherhood. The enclosed folder describes THE FORERUNNERS. The newspaper, The Forerunner, goes out monthly to all members.

The enclosed membership application is for your convenience. If you are interested in the program and aims of THE FORERUNNERS, I hope you will fill it out and send it in to us.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Ann Osborn
Secretary

Enc.

450

Chardon, Ohio
March 28, 1944

Dear Perry,

Would you please send me the address of an American girl in a relocation center? I an nineteen years of age.

Could you please give me some ideas on how to start a group of young people who have had no previous education along the line and who are very prejudiced upon the path of Christian brotherhood? I am a youth leader of a monthly discussion group made up of young people from five different denomination churches. I sometimes wish

I were a member of a minority group. Perhaps then I could really understand and appreciate their possibilities and problems and would be better equipped to serve my church. Please let me know where I can obtain some good literature to start out this group.

Sincerely,

Miss Betty Meyer
Washington St.
Chardon, Ohio

Shigeo - do you have a copy of this?

APR 3 1944

RELOCATION PROBLEMS AND POLICIES

An address delivered by Director D. S. Myer of the War Relocation Authority before the Tuesday Evening Club at Pasadena, California, March 14, 1944.

Two years ago next Saturday -- on the 18th day of March, 1942 -- the War Relocation Authority was created by an executive order of the President of the United States. This new agency was confronted with a problem of unusual complexity in a field of human relations where misconceptions, confusion, and emotions stirred by the impact of the war were destined to produce wide and vigorous discussion. Many facts essential to a competent understanding of the problem have been obscured by misrepresentation and insufficient public information. I want to review some of them for you, in order to define the background of the policies which have guided the development of the WRA program during the two years since it came into existence.

The evacuation of 112,000 men, women, and children of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast in the spring of 1942 was an undertaking without parallel in our national history. On February 19, the President issued an executive order authorizing the Secretary of War, or military commanders designated by him, to prescribe military areas from which any or all persons might be excluded, or in which their movements might be restricted. Though the order made no specific mention of any group that might be evacuated, it was immediately and correctly interpreted as a forerunner to the exclusion orders that were issued by the military a few weeks later. As a result, many people of Japanese descent began to move voluntarily away from the West Coast area. This movement was accelerated on March 2 by a proclamation of the Commanding General of the Western Defense Command, designating two military zones in the states of Oregon, Washington, California, and Arizona from which certain persons might be excluded. Altogether, about 8,000 individuals of Japanese descent left the designated areas voluntarily and tried to establish new homes on their own initiative.

I want to emphasize that neither the President, in his orders authorizing the designation of exclusion areas and creating the War Relocation Authority, nor the Commanding General of the Western Defense Command in any military proclamation, ever ordered or suggested that the people to be evacuated should be confined or restricted in their movements outside the exclusion areas on the Pacific Coast. It was soon apparent, however, that 110,000 people could not be ordered to leave the coastal area and migrate inland without some kind of assistance and supervision. In various communities eastward from the exclusion areas, the appearance of the voluntary evacuees caused unfriendly tension and misunderstanding. Many families needed assistance in finding and traveling to new locations where they could support themselves and establish new homes.

These conditions became so acute that, on March 29, the Commanding

General of the Western Defense Command issued a proclamation prohibiting further voluntary relocation. Thereafter, the evacuation was accomplished under Army orders, according to a definite schedule. The people were moved, first, into 15 temporary assembly centers where they remained under Army supervision until the relocation centers, operated by the War Relocation Authority, were ready to receive them.

These WRA centers were intended only as way-stations where the evacuees could reside while arrangements were made for them to relocate in normal communities outside the exclusion zones. About two-thirds of the evacuees were American citizens by birth, as you are probably aware.

The responsibility of the War Relocation Authority for the evacuees began with their arrival at the relocation centers. Ten centers were built to receive them. These centers, constructed by the Army, are large cantonments of barrack-type buildings, usually covered with tar paper and lined with wallboard. Each building used to house the evacuees is 100 feet long and 20 feet wide, and originally divided into four, five, or six one-room apartments, allowing about 100 square feet of floor space for each person. The standard equipment for each apartment included a heating stove and a broom, plus a cot, mattress, and two Army blankets for each individual. All other furniture and equipment had to be supplied by the evacuees themselves.

There is no plumbing in the buildings where the people reside. The wash rooms, latrines, and laundry rooms are housed separately, each unit serving about 250 people living in 12 barracks. Meals are served in mess halls, cafeteria style.

Since March, 1943, the War Relocation Authority has been registered with the Office of Price Administration as an "institutional user" of foods, and has abided by all OPA restrictions on institutional consumers. In fact, WRA was adhering voluntarily to the quotas suggested by OPA even before rationing became mandatory. Every center observes two meatless days each week.

The maximum food cost permitted in a center is 45 cents per person per day or 15 cents per meal. This food is purchased through the Army Quartermaster Corps, or grown on the farmlands that surround the centers. Evacuee farm crews grow and harvest a considerable part of the vegetables served in the mess halls, and nearly all the centers also produce poultry, eggs, and pork. A few produce beef and dairy products.

In addition to supplying the evacuees with housing and food, the War Relocation Authority provides two other services: medical care and schooling for the children through high school. The medical program is operated largely by evacuee doctors, and the school curriculum is planned to stress Americanization activities.

The first nine months after the creation of WRA, on March 18, 1942, were chiefly devoted to the difficult job of establishing the necessities of of community life in the ten new wartime cities. Transfer of the evacuees from the assembly centers to the relocation centers continued from early May until November of 1942, and the WRA staff had its hands full getting them housed, arranging to feed them, providing sanitation and safeguarding against the outbreak of epidemics, establishing police and fire protection, and attending to numerous urgent details. Every day we faced new emergencies.

Even then, however, in the midst of the transfer operations, we started a seasonal leave program, permitting workers to depart from the centers as a means of relieving the manpower shortage in western agricultural areas. In 1942 nearly 10,000 evacuee workers were given leaves from the centers to participate in harvest operations. Last year an approximately equal number left the centers on seasonal leave.

In connection with this seasonal work, I want to read an extract from a letter, written by the President of the Chamber of Commerce in Twin Falls, Idaho, describing the service the evacuees gave to this one community. He wrote:

"The citizens of the Hunt Relocation Center have performed a most patriotic service to the farmers of southern Idaho to the war effort, since their evacuation here less than fifteen months ago. Approximately 2,500 Japanese Americans have helped to harvest our bumper crops the past two falls, and helped to cultivate them the past summer. Without their help thousands of acres and tens of thousands of tons of foodstuffs would have rotted in the field each year."

Meanwhile we began in the late summer of 1942 to gear up a program for relocating the evacuees in year-round employment and in normal communities outside the evacuated area. One problem that had to be given major consideration in our planning from the start was the necessity of taking adequate precautions to safeguard the national security. Despite the rumors you may have heard and the changes that have been made, we have recognized all along that some of the evacuees have stronger ties with Japan than with the United States.

But in the beginning we had no records by which we could identify those strongly pro-Japanese individuals. We knew that immediately after the declaration of war against Japan, on December 7, 1941, and before the War Relocation Authority came into existence, the Federal Bureau of Investigation had acted to apprehend all aliens believed to be potentially dangerous to the national security. We knew that these individuals had been sent to internment camps and were not part of the population received at relocation centers. Nevertheless, we started almost immediately building up records on the relocation center population.

The most important step in this process was taken in February, 1943. In collaboration with the Army, the War Relocation Authority conducted a mass registration of all persons in the centers above 17 years of age. Both men and women, citizens and aliens, were required to fill out questionnaires calling for information on such matters as education, previous employment, relatives in Japan, knowledge of the Japanese language, investments in Japan, organizational and religious affiliations, and other pertinent matters. In addition, the citizen evacuees were asked to pledge allegiance to the United States, and the aliens were asked to promise that they would abide by the Nation's laws and not interfere with the war effort. The information obtained from these questionnaires has been extremely useful in identifying strongly pro-Japanese or potentially dangerous individuals who are denied the privlege of leave under our regulations. In addition, we have gathered extensive information from other sources pertaining to the backgrounds and attitudes of the individual evacuees. In many cases information has been sought from former employers, former neighbors, municipal officials, and others in the communities where the evacuees lived before the evacuation. We have consulted the files of federal intelligence agencies, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, for any information available there on the people in the centers whose eligibility for leave was receiving our attention. We have made full use of our own records at the centers, including internal security and employment records, to obtain information regarding the conduct of individual evacuees since they came under the supervision of the War Relocation Authority. Many of our dockets of information on individual evacuees run to ten and twenty pages and all this information is considered in determining the eligibility of evacuees for indefinite leave. Within the past several months we have taken steps to segregate those who are ineligible for leave from the bulk of the evacuee population, and we have quartered such individuals at the Tule Lake Center.

I want to say just a few words, here, about the population at Tule Lake. Most of the adult people detained there have indicated either by word or action that they prefer to consider themselves Japanese rather than American. There are, among them, a considerable number of agitators and trouble-makers who have revealed definite inclinations to hinder the American war effort and to interfere with the orderly administration of the center. On the other hand, another and much larger element is composed of elderly aliens who have simply given up the struggle to adjust themselves to circumstances brought on by the war, and who want nothing more than to live out the rest of their days in the land of their birth. Still another group, larger than either of the previous two, is composed of children and young people whose records contain no evidence of disloyalty but who are living at Tule Lake simply because of family ties.

Several months ago, as I'm sure you'll recall, a group of troublemakers at the center precipitated disorders which culminated in the calling in of the Army, by the Project Director, to administer the center until order could be restored. The trouble was the outgrowth of a strike, incited by agitators, which brought about a complete stoppage of work in harvesting vegetables grown on the farmlands connected with the center.

The impression has been widely created in this State and in other sections of the country that the summoning of troops into the Tule Lake Center indicated a complete and permanent breakdown of the WRA administration. I want to emphasize that we have always had a division of labor with the Army at WRA centers. Under the terms of our agreement with the War Department, we are responsible for all phases of internal administration at the centers, while the Army provides external guarding and checks the passes of people moving in and out. However, the agreement also provides that whenever violence is imminent and a show of force is needed, we can call in the troops stationed immediately outside the center for the purpose of restoring order.

Now that the segregation process is virtually completed, we are redoubling our efforts to restore the people living at the other nine centers to private life at the earliest opportunity. Those who oppose this program and advocate keeping all evacuees confined for the duration of the war are overlooking some rather fundamental provisions of the American constitution.

Virtually all legal authorities who have studied the matter, including the Attorney General of the United States, have expressed grave doubt that the Federal Constitution could be interpreted to permit a mass detention program in which American citizens were involved. The Supreme Court has never ruled on the issue, but a significant statement was made by Mr. Justice Murphy in connection with the Hirabayashi case wherein the Court upheld the validity of the curfew orders applied by the West Coast military authorities prior to the evacuation. In his concurring opinion, Mr. Justice Murphy said, "This (meaning the curfew) goes to the very brink of constitutional power."

Last July, the District Court of Northern California gave a decision which related more closely to the issue. Miss Mitsuye Endo, a resident of the Tule Lake Center (before it became a segregation center) had applied for a writ of habeas corpus to gain her release. This application was denied by the court solely on the grounds that WRA has a relocation program under which she could have applied for leave without calling on the court.

We now have in nine centers, excluding Tule Lake, about 70,000 men, women, and children who are eligible for relocation in normal communities, and approximately 19,000 others have already been relocated in communities scattered across the country from the Sierra Nevada Mountains to the Atlantic Coast. I have outlined the investigation that we make of each adult evacuee before granting leave clearance, and now I want to mention briefly another important procedure in our program. In connection with relocation, we have made it a practice all along to check community sentiment in areas where the evacuees are relocating. There has never been any serious question about relocating them in the larger cities, such as Chicago, New York, and Cleveland. But in smaller cities and towns we seek reasonable assurance from responsible public officials or citizens that the evacuees will be accepted. Before granting indefinite leave permits, we also make sure that evacuees have some means of support, and we require that they keep us informed of any change of address.

Our biggest problem today is to find ways and means of relocating thousands of families which include children and young people whose alien parents desire to remain in America. There are nearly 22,000 children under

19 years of age among the 74,000 people now living in the centers, not including Tule Lake. Those 22,000 children were born in this country. Those who are old enough to go to school have gone to American schools, and they are still going to American schools, where they have been taught the principles of liberty, justice, and equality for which our country stands.

The War Relocation Authority is firmly committed to the principle that American children should not be penalized for accidents of ancestry. The people of America, loyal to the traditions that have made our country great, will never agree that the solution of the problem is to deport these children to a strange land that many of them have never known. They will never agree that the solution is to keep them confined behind barbed wire fences.

Our job is to get them away from the relocation centers, into normal communities where they can develop into normal men and women. This relocation process cannot be accomplished, however, until we have opened the door for their parents to regain the means of self-support that they lost when they were evacuated. There are many fathers and mothers among them who speak the English language with difficulty, and who are fearful of what the future holds for them outside the centers. The problem of relocating them is not a simple one

There are many other children, of course, who have grown beyond school age, and thousands of the young men are now fighting, or training to fight for the same principles and ideals that other American boys are fighting to defend on battlefields around the world. Many of these American soldiers of Japanese ancestry have parents who are still living in relocation centers. Let me read you a portion of a letter written by an alien father to his son in the service.

He wrote: "Think not too cheaply of your life; live it as you can in the service of your country -- for what good is a lifeless soldier? Be ever careful, cautious, but never begrudge your life for your country -- be ever willing to die for her if need be. Then, and then only you have given your all, done your best, can I say that my son lived well."

Several thousand young American volunteers of Japanese descent, recruited from the American mainland and Hawaii, are now undergoing vigorous training to prepare them for battle against our Axis enemies. The officers who command them have repeatedly praised them for earnest and intelligent devotion to duty. In Italy, in the battle for Cassino and elsewhere, the fighting men of the 100th Infantry Battalion, composed of Americans of Japanese descent, have won the praise of their commanders for their valor in battle. Casualty lists, reported by the War Department, reveal that the battalion has suffered losses, in dead, wounded, and missing in action, exceeding 40 per cent of the entire personnel. The Secretary of War has commended the unit for achieving "a creditable record of fighting efficiency."

Recently I read an editorial in a western newspaper which attacked the loyalty of all Americans of Japanese ancestry, while admitting that the nisei soldiers were making "a superficial showing of loyalty." It might be an enlightening experience for the writer of that editorial to visit some of the hospitals in the East and Middle-West where American boys of Japanese descent are recuperating from wounds received in Italy while fighting for the country that gives him the freedom to express his views. He might try to explain just what he meant by "superficial loyalty" to Yosh Omiya who lost his eyes when the American Fifth Army was fighting its way across the Volturno River. Yosh would not be able to read the editorial. Yosh will never see again.

I want to quote from a letter written by an American Army officer who was sent home among the wounded after seeing action with our Japanese American soldiers in Italy. You may have read it in the February 14 issue of Time magazine. This officer wrote in part:

"There are a lot of people in these United States who have nothing but a one-track mind. In some of the articles of your Letters to the Editors (Time, Jan. 17) I saw some of these people in a true light.

"I just came from Italy where I was assigned to the Japanese 100th Infantry Battalion. I never in my life saw any more of a true American than they are...

"Ask anyone who has seen them in action against the Jerry (to) tell you about them. They'll tell you when they have them on their flanks they are sure of security in that section..."

There have been many other letters in the same vein from American officers and men who have fought side by side with our American soldiers of Japanese ancestry.

Many sitations for service beyond the call of duty have been awarded to the nisei fighters. For example, Staff Sergeant Kasuo Kozaki, a noncommissioned officer of Japanese descent, has won the Silver Star for gallantry in action. On December 28, the War Department announced awards of the Purple Heart to 58 members of the 100th Infantry Battalion. There will be many more citations and awards worn by these boys when they come home again.

I know that many of you are familiar with the record of Sergeant Ben Kuroki who has twice been awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross, in addition to the Air Medal with four oak-leaf clusters, for his fighting exploits in the air over Nazi territory. In speaking before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, on February 4, Sergeant Kuroki had this to say: "In my own case, I have almost won the battle against intolerance; I have many close friends, in the Army now -- my best friends, as I am theirs -- where two years ago I had none. But I have by no means completely won that battle. Especially now, after the widespread publicity given the recent atrocity stories, I find prejudice once again directed against me, and neither my uniform nor the medals which are visible proof of what I have been through, have been able to stop it. I don't know for sure that it is safe for me to walk the streets of my own country."

It makes me sad to think that conditions could be found in America to prompt such a statement from a man who has participated in thirty bombing missions over Germany. I wonder what attitude the professional critics of all Japanese Americans will take toward Mr. and Mrs. Shirmizu of the Colorado River Relocation Center whose son, Sergeant James Shiramizu, died from wounds received in Italy a few weeks ago. Sergeant Shiramizu also left a young wife and a two-year-old son who are living in the center. I cannot believe that many real Americans would advocate deporting this family after the close of the war. Most of these boys I have been mentioning are volunteers. For nearly two years after Pearl Harbor, Americans of Japanese descent were not inducted through Selective Service until January 21, of this year, when the War Department announced that plans had been completed to receive them through the general Selective Service System. In explaining the order, the War Department said that "the excellent showing" made by the Japanese American combat team now in training, and "the outstanding record" achieved by the 100th Infantry Battalion in Italy were major factors for taking greater numbers of nisei into the armed forces.

Our records show that, up to the fourth of March, 107 boys have been accepted for Army service from the relocation centers. These inductees are credited, for the most part, to the Selective Service boards in the West Coast communities where they were living before the evacuation.

Despite the record of patriotic devotion achieved by nisei soldiers in the American Army, there are still a great many people in this section of the country and elsewhere who persist in believing that all persons of Japanese ancestry are basically disloyal to the United States. Because of the emotions aroused by the Pearl Harbor attack and the Pacific war, it has become extremely easy--and, unfortunately, quite popular in some areas--to attack all Japanese-Americans indiscriminately. The nisei boys and girls, along with their alien parents and their third-generation children, have become fair game for special interest groups who would like to deprive them permanently of their rightful place in our national life. The extremists participating in this campaign go so far as to advocate wholesale deportation; the more "moderate" element will apparently be satisfied if all people of Japanese descent are kept out of the Pacific coastal area.

We in the War Relocation Authority are fully aware that the forces advocating deportation or permanent exclusion of this minority group are energetic and resourceful. We know that many of the participants are tightly organized and that they have ample funds at their disposal. They have already made it quite clear that they will sieze every opportunity to stir up popular fears and resentments against the entire group of Japanese descent in this country.

Much of the campaign is centered around attacks on the War Relocation Authority. The Hearst press, for example, has used almost every conceivable device to create the impression that WRA is incompetent, lax in its administration, and excessively sympathetic toward the evacuees. Naturally we cannot agree with these charges. In the last analysis, I sincerely doubt whether the Hearst press and the other opposition forces are much concerned about our comparatively small organization. The real target, in my judgment, is the evacuees. Attacks aimed at WRA are merely an indirect method of fomenting antagonisms against the people in relocation centers.

One of the most popular lines of attack is the charge that people in relocation centers are being provided with luxurious foods and that they are eating at government expense far better than the average American family. In these days, when all of us are tightening our belts just a little and going without some of our favorite peacetime dishes, such an allegation obviously has tremendous emotional possibilities. It hits the average citizen in a highly vulnerable spot and has stimulated many people who are normally quite mild-mannered into almost incoherent hatred and anger. The only trouble with this charge is that it is completely without foundation. Gradually, as a result of eye-witness news stories coming out of relocation centers, more and more people are coming to realize this fact, and the charge is losing much of its former potency. But I feel sure we in WRA have not heard the last of it yet, much as we should like to.

Another line of approach is to disseminate the idea that WRA's leave procedures are lax and inadequate, and that we are deliberately or heedlessly turning potential spies and saboteurs loose upon the Nation. This is one of the most deadly of all the opposition charges since it appeals to one of the most elemental of human emotions--the emotion of fear. But like the food charge, it is utterly untrue. Actually, as I indicated earlier, we have gone to great lengths in our efforts to safeguard the national security and we have taken every feasible precaution in granting leave permits under the relocation program.

Sitll another charge is perhaps the most popular of all. This is the allegation that WRA is pampering and coddling the people at relocation centers. Now, those are extremely vague terms, and I don't suppose we ever will be completely successful in nailing down this charge. As long as disgruntled former employees of WRA who were discharged for incompetence continue to pour out their resentments publicly, the accusation of "social-mindedness" will probably go on appearing with monotonous regularity in the public prints. It is interesting to note, however, that a member of the Japanese Diet was recently quoted in a propaganda broadcast as complaining that American internees in the Far East are being treated "too generously."

There is still another assertion of the race baiters that needs some attention--the assertion that Japanese-Americans returning to the West Coast, when the military necessity for exclusion has ended, will be mobbed and forced to leave. The District Attorney of Los Angeles County, for example, is reported to have said that he has received letters from three organizations informing him that the members have "pledged to kill any Japanese who comes to California now or after the war." If we have come to the point where threats of murder against some of our own citizens are made as a means of discouraging their freedom of movement, then I think it is time we re-examine our national conscience.

Fundamentally, the campaign against Americans of Japanese ancestry is a campaign of hate. The forces leading this drive have deliberately set out to foster mass hatred, and in many parts of this State they have already reaped a bumper crop. One of their favorite devices is to identify the people in relocation centers as closely as possible with our real enemies across the Pacific. Basically, this strategy is a denial of the potency of American institutions. It assumes that merely because an individual is of Japanese extraction, he is somehow immune to the effect of our public school system and of all the other Americanizing influences that operate in a normal American community. Let me say emphatically that I have more faith than that in the strength of our American institutions. And I feel positive that they have been far more influential in molding the minds of the nisei than the transplanted institutions of Japan.

Now I want to read a quotation that may possibly have a familiar ring to a California audience:

"This organization places itself squarely on record as being absolutely opposed to the release of any Japanese, either alien or American born. We urge our Senators and Congressmen to use their influence with the national administration and the War Relocation Authority to discontinue this dangerous practice immediately, and forthwith to recall any and all Japanese who have heretofore been released for any purpose from the relocation centers... We strongly urge that all Japanese, both alien and American born, be kept in relocation centers in the interior of the United States, under the supervision and control of the Army, instead of civilian authorities, for the duration of the war."

This resolution, with not a word changed, has been endorsed by one West Coast organization after another. Not only does it ignore the constitutional questions involved in the measures advocated by it; if it were adopted into national policy, it would mean the return to civilian life and imprisonment of thousands of Japanese American boys who are fighting for democracy. It would mean the detention of many American citizens who are engaged on government assignments to gather information regarding our enemy across the Pacific. It would mean the loss of thousands of workers who are helping to produce food and materials for our fighting men.

Resolutions of a closely similar nature have been passed by many other organizations; Chambers of Commerce, posts of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, local unions of the American Federation of Labor. Almost without exception, they wholly disregard the legality of their proposals and the purposes for which the War Relocation Authority was created.

The stimulators of racial fanaticism in this section of the country have sometimes hampered the program of the War Relocation Authority, but we have always proceeded firm in the belief that the great majority of the

American people still cherish, undiminished, the principles of Justice and freedom that inspired the founding of our Nation. Our concern reaches far beyond protecting the rights of the people of Japanese ancestry. The rights of other minorities are equally at stake in what we do with these people. We cannot allow one minority to be sacrificed on the altar of wartime emotionalism without jeopardizing the rights of other minorities. The danger lies in setting a precedent that might later be extended to the denial of rights for other racial groups, religious minorities, and even political minorities. Our failure to meet the responsibility that has been placed upon us would go far toward destroying the constitutional safeguards that guarantee equal protection to all of us who live on American soil.

We are also deeply concerned about the welfare of thousands of Americans who are now prisoners of war in Japan. The quick attempt of the Japanese propagandists to offset the revelation of atrocities in the Philippines by charging us with mistreatment of Japanese aliens in America should be evidence enough that they are watching us. We dare not provide them with incidents which would assist them in justifying their brutality before the civilized world.

The most immediate concern for all of us is, of course, to win the war. We need to direct every ounce of our energy into fighting and conquering the evil forces in Japan and Germany that forced the war upon us. I do not hesitate to say that any newspaper, any organization, any individual that undertakes to deflect our attention away from the real enemies that threaten the future of our nation, by fomenting false issues and creating dissension among us, is un-American in spirit and in deed. These elements striving to identify American citizens with the Japanese enemy simply on the basis of a common racial origin are fomenting a false issue; they are creating dissension as regrettable as it is unnecessary.

When people in foreign lands read or hear about the utterances of some of our citizens and the resolutions passed by some of our prominent organizations on the Japanese minority question, one can scarcely blame them for wondering if we really mean what we say about the strength and integrity of our democracy. Make no mistake about it. Our conduct in such matters as treatment of the Japanese American minority is being watched in all parts of the globe. And we are seriously weakening our position on the battle front when we give voice to ill-advised utterances that make a mockery of our proudest traditions.

The War Relocation Authority in the execution of its responsibilities is working to preserve the principles of justice and equality guaranteed in the Constitution of our country. We are working to uphold the principles of human decency that distinguish civilization from barbarism. There are some people amohg us, more especially here in California and other parts of the West, whose main criticism of the War Relocation Authority is that we are striving to provide humane treatment for the people in our relocation centers, while Americans imprisoned by Japan are tortured, starved and reviled. They accuse us of pampering and coddling because we have not allowed the brutality of the Japanese enemy to influence our policies and program. I say to them: No, we have not taken Japan as a model--thank God!

We are working to the best of our ability to avoid conditions and incidents that might encourage the Japanese enemy to inflict more suffering on Americans imprisoned by them. We are looking to the future with an earnest hope that our efforts may greatly minimize the postwar problem of readjusting our Japanese American population into normal living. There is no need for the problem to be difficult if it is handled with intelligence and courage.

I have no apologies to make for the program of the War Relocation Authority. I believe it is a sound program and that we are conducting our operations in accord with the best principles of our American heritage. Despite the opposition, we have every intention of continuing on that basis.

16 Bearden Ave.
Asheville, N.C.
March, 29, 1944

Dear Mr. Saito,

I am one of the students at Biltmore College here in Asheville to whom you spoke some weeks ago. I just want to tell you how much we all enjoyed your talk, and I think that you are carrying on a very wonderful work. You said when you were here that we might correspond with some-one in a Relocation Center. I would like very much to do this, and would appreciate it very much if this could be possible.

Very sincerely yours,
Mary Frances Daniel

ASHEVILLE
MAR 31
1 11^30 PM
1944
N. C.

U.S. POSTAGE CARD
ONE CENT
1 1
JEFFERSON

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mr. Perry Saito
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25
N. Y.

Miss Phyllis Chapman
1020 Wood Street
Muskegon 20, Michigan

Methodist
21 years old. Preacher's daughter

Mr. & Mrs. Richard O. Krause
R. Niles Road Box 41
St. Joseph Mich.

Norma Jean 12
Richard 9
Linda 5

(Lauretta 23.
adopted –
Red hair.)

The Forerunner subscription

Raymond McReynolds
1646 Gallagher St.
Louisville, 10, KY

"I should like to have a
young Japanese woman for
a pen pal. My name is
(Miss) Rosella Madsen
age 25
Rodney, Iowa

Tom Taylor
111 West Krezdorn
Seguin, Texas.

10 years old

Mars Hill, North Carolina
April 11, 1944

Mr. Perry Saito
2929 Broadway
New York 27
New York

Dear Sir:

I would like for you to send me the name and address of some Japanese girls for our G.A. girls to write. They should be around twelve or thirteen years old.

You may send it to Alda Jean Clarke, Mars Hill, North Carolina. Thank you.

Sincerely,
Alda Jean Clarke

835 E. Madison St.
Lancaster, Pa.
April 24, 1944.

Dear Mr. Saito,

I heard you speak a week ago at St. James Church in Lancaster, Penna. I was very much interested and repeated almost word for word what you had said to my classes the following day.

I teach English in a high-school near Lancaster.

There are about a hundred of my students who are anxious to write and send boxes & contributions to children in Re-location centers.

They are very much enthused about it and I'm sure they shall be sincere in their efforts to help in any way they can.

Would you please send me some names and addresses of these children as soon as possible?

Very truly yours,
Mrs. John H. McMichael,
Columbia High School,
Columbia, Penna.

Please use High School address above.

July 13, 1944

Mrs. John H. McMichael
Columbia High School
Columbia, Penna.

Dear Mrs. McMichael:

Sometime ago you wrote Perry Saito that your high school students were interested in knowing their fellow Americans in relocation centers. Although the school semester is over, I am sending you the following names of persons who are eager to correspond with those on the "outside", in the hope that correspondence can be encouraged when the fall term begins. If you wish to have additional names, you might write to Miss Minnie C. Schmidt, Dorm 49-A, Hunt, Idaho--she is a high school teacher in a relocation center.

Mary Komachi, 39-1-E, Hunt, Idaho Age 13
Junka Kumasaka, 24-10-B, Hunt, Idaho Age 13
Florence Fugeno, 5-9-D, Hunt, Idaho Age 14
Hisako Asaoka, 5-3-B, Hunt, Idaho Age 15
Mieko Fujita, 30-10-E, Hunt, Idaho Age 14
Grace Osawa, 24-6-E, Hunt, Idaho Age 14
Masako Kaseguma, 5-7-E, Hunt, Idaho Age 15
Norma Tada, 24-3-E, Hunt, Idaho Age 14
Lillian Hayashi, 34-3-C, Hunt, Idaho Age 14

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer, Jr.

JF:SA

Girls

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

1. Mary Komachi, age 13.
39 - 1 - E Hunt Idaho.

2. Junko Kumasaka, age 13.
24 - 10 - B, Hunt, Idaho.

3. Florence Fugeno, age 14.
5 - 9 - D, Hunt, Idaho.

4. Hisako Asaoka, age 15.
5 - 3 - B, Hunt, Idaho.

5. Micko Fujita, age 14.
30 - 10 - E, Hunt, Idaho.

6. Grace Osawa age 14.
24 - 6 - E, Hunt, Idaho.

7. Masako Kaseguma, age 15 ✓
5 - 7 - E, Hunt, Idaho

8. Norma Tada, age 14.
24 - 3 - E, Hunt, Idaho.

9. Lillian Hayashi, age 14
34 - 3 - C, Hunt, Idaho

FOR VICTORY
BUY
UNITED STATES
WAR
BONDS
AND
STAMPS

Miss Catherine Haughey age
140 W. Jefferson St. 19
Paulsboro, N.J.

Miss Mary Robie
43 Rosemere St.
Rye, N.Y. 18 1/2

Miss Eileen Brudie Fusako
73 Dartmouth St. Uyemura
Williston Park, L.I., N.Y. 16

Irene Nagy
272 W. Washington St. Alice Uba
Paulsboro, N.J. 17
16

Al Hockett
207 - 17th Ave. Joe Hamada
East Moline, Ill. 16

Alton Pickett
Stewartsville, Mo. in early 20's.

I would like to correspond with a Japanese-American Student in a Relocation Center

Name	Address	Age
Kaeko Harrell	American Youth Hostel Northfield, Mass	19
Elaine Gambino (would appreciate info for my office)	16 Beacon Boston 8	24
Wesley Frost	AYH, Northfield Mass	18

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

NEW ENGLAND FORERUNNER CONFERENCE

JACKSONVILLE, VERMONT

Date	Morning Program	Afternoon Program	Evening Program
FRIDAY August 4th	* See directions for transportation from Greenfield, Mass. & Brattleboro, Vt.	Arrival of Delegates 2:00 - 6:00 P.M. REGISTRATION RECREATION for those who come early in the afternoon	Supper 6:00 P.M. Masonic Hall 7:30 - 9:00 P.M. Opening Session Key-note Talk Margaret Ann Osborn 9:00 - 11:00 P.M. Folk - dancing Community Hall
	9:30 A.M. - 12:00	2:00 - 5:30 P.M.	7:30 P.M. - 9:00 PM
SATURDAY August 5th	Speaker John M. Swomley, Jr. Followed by: DISCUSSION GROUPS Dinner - 12:30 PM Masonic Hall	Recreational Program TOWN HILL Whitingham, Vt. Swimming, Boating Sadawga Lake 5:30 - 7:00 OUT - DOOR PICNIC	Speaker John M. Swomley, Jr. Followed by: Discussion Period 9:00 - 10:30 Folk - dancing Whitingham Community Hall
	10:00 A.M. - 11:00		2:00 P.M. - 3:00 P.M.
SUNDAY August 6th	GROUP DISCUSSION led by Margaret Ann Osborn	SERVICE of WORSHIP Speaker Carl H. Voss Closing Dinner 12:30 Masonic Hall	**Final Session** Reports of the Discussion Groups Next Practical steps for our local communities.

* Transportation Information

For all those coming from a distance, it is necessary to come to either Greenfield, Mass. or to Brattleboro, Vt. at which points arrangements have been made to meet trains and buses.

BE SURE TO WRITE ------ CARL H. VOSS ------ JACKSONVILLE, VERMONT

telling him of the time you expect to get to either of these points. It may be necessary to wait at the Railroad stations at either of the above points until the car arrives, so be sure to inquire at the ticket office window in case you arrive earlier than indicated in your reply. It is 50 miles round trip from both these places to Jacksonville so it is IMPERATIVE that we know arrival time.

SEE GENERAL ANNOUNCEMENT FOR COSTS AND OTHER DETAILS.

E NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 19, 1944.

RELOCATION HOUSE SET FOR JAPANESE

Brooklyn Hostel to Open on May 10 for Evacuees Being Transferred From West

The first hostel in the metropolitan area for the relocation of Japanese-American evacuees seeking permanent homes and jobs here will open in Brooklyn on May 10, it was announced yesterday by George Rundquist, executive secretary of the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese-Americans organized by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

Establishment of the lodging house, which will give only temporary residence to the evacuees now being moved out of West Coast military areas, Mr. Rundquist said, is a joint project of the Brethren Service Committee, the service agency of the Church of the Brethren and the American Baptist Home Mission Society. He added that negotiations were under way for acquisition of the Alpha Chi Rho fraternity house, a three-story and basement structure at 168 Clinton Street, Brooklyn.

The hostel will be patterned after homes operated in Chicago, Cleveland, Des Moines, Minneapolis and Cincinnati. It will be run by the Rev. Ralph Smeltzer, a minister of the Church of the Brethren, and Mrs. Smeltzer, both of whom directed the Chicago hostel.

Travel-weary evacuees, many of whom have little funds, Mr. Rundquist said, will be housed at a minimum rate of a dollar a day for food and board. Here too, he added, they will have an opportunity to meet some of the 700 evacuees who have already found homes and jobs here.

Mr. Rundquist said that the War Relocation Authority had endorsed the hostel plan.

The formation of an interfaith committee in Brooklyn to foster its work is also under consideration. Catholic and Jewish representatives are expected to join with the Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation and the Salvation Army in aiding the project.

Protests Jap Hostel Close to Navy Yard

Washington, D. C.—(AP)—Representative Costello (Dem., Calif.) protested to the house Friday that on May 10 the war relocation authority plans to open a three story hotel building in Brooklyn to house 800 Japanese Americans — "within the shadow of the Brooklyn navy yard."

A WRA spokesman said a hostel was being established several blocks from the navy yard under auspices of several church groups.

The hostel, he said, would provide only temporary accommodations until the evacuees, each of whom, he asserted, had undergone a thorough loyalty check before being released, could find permanent quarters.

May 3, 1944

Mr. Saito,

after hearing you speak at our high school assembly I was very interested in corresponding with some boys and girls in a relacation center. If it is possible that I may have the addresses of a boy and a girl about the ages of 15 or 16. If so it will be very much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Pat Hoyt

May 5, 1944

Dear Friend:

I am enclosing in this letter a list of names of persons who wish to correspond with those in relocation centers. Since resettlement among youth of high school age is limited, we feel this is one way in which contact with those on the "outside" can be maintained and friendships developed.

Please direct the list to teachers or youth workers who are in a position to encourage such correspondence.

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

Reeseville, Wisconsin
May 10, 1944

Dear Mr. Saito,

I was one of the young people who were in Mayville last week-end for the M.Y.F. Rally. I enjoyed your talks immensely. Since then I have read the pamphlet "Outcasts" and also several articles on the same subject in different magazines we have at home.

There are still some questions that haven't been answered in any of these articles. Would you answer them for me?

They are:

(1) Are there churches in the Relocation Centers and do the young people have some kind of society such as our M.Y.F.?

(2) Are there schools in the Centers? If so, what kind of subjects are taught?

(3) Are the people in the centers allowed to write to friends outside the camps?

(4) Are people allowed to write to the people in the camps.

(5) Do the people have any kind of recreation? Do they get together and play games or have sing-songs and such?

I would be very grateful to have these questions answered as I am very much interested in the Relocation Centers.

Sincerely,
Shirley Kuhlman

Mrs. Walter W. Witt
1413 W. 18th
Sioux City 17, Ia
Minister's wife - 33

Miss Phyllis Tryon
Smithland, Iowa
R. R. 1.

Age 16.

Jesus said—"Behold, I stand at the door, and knock." Rev. 3:20.

A-C NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

I called to see you today, but you were not at home. I will call again. If there is sickness or sorrow, or any other reason why you would like to have me call, please let me know at once.

I invite you to worship in your church, and to bring others. I not only covet the opportunity to serve you in the pulpit, but ask your prayers so that together we may be able to make the church a real live force in our community.

Faithfully yours,

Rev B Sanford Clark
Pastor
P-O Box 92
DATE The Heights, Mich.

Dorothy Sawin
Oto, Iowa
Age 15

Bonnie Sawin
Oto, Iowa

Age 19.

Large family - (Jr. dept.)

Mrs. CLAUD W. SATTERLEE
209 East Ash Street

~~Pastor~~
Methodist Church MASON, MICHIGAN

May 20, 1944

CALEB FOOTE

GLENN SMILEY

Recently we learned that Secretary Ickes' statement on California's attitude toward the Japanese Americans might be construed as a trial balloon which, in effect, is an open invitation to California people to insist that Japanese Americans be permitted to return.

We had hoped, as a result of a letter from Margaret Rohrer, that she might be free to go to the San Joaquin Valley for a month of intensive work in trying to get public opinion changed and in trying to get one or two sample situations where people would request the return of Japanese Americans, would have houses and jobs available for them, etc.

Undoubtedly you have been aware of all this, and are already at work. However, I thought I would write you to suggest that possibly you could stimulate our members and others to write Secretary Ickes and the WRA officials, encouraging them to permit Japanese Americans to return to California. Perhaps some of our local groups will take the initiative in pointing out that they have a job or house available in the event of such return.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

JMS:MVC

John M. Swomley, Jr.

P.S. This paragraph is from a recent letter from Margaret Rohrer:

> I have just talked to Herbert Nicholson who has recently seen John J. McCloy, assistant secretary of War and Mr. Dillon S. Myer, director of the War Relocation Authority. I believe Nicholson saw George Rundquist before he left the east after these conferences, and you are probably familiar with the feeling that this is the time to try to effect a change in restoring civil rights to Nisei and Issei--particularly having some return to the coast. It would seem important to get letters from California, Oregon and Washington to McCloy and Myer suggesting that some evacuees be allowed to return now, and that this be done and the policy changed if possible before the national political conventions.

May 20, 1944

Mary Farquharson
4033 University Way
Seattle, Wash.

Dear Mary:

Recently we learned that Secretary Ickes' statement on California's attitude toward the Japanese Americans might be construed as a trial balloon which, in effect, is an open invitation to California people to insist that Japanese Americans be permitted to return.

This is supported by a letter from Margaret Rohrer, who reports she has just talked to Herbert Nicholson who has recently seen John J. McCloy, assistant secretary of War and Mr. Dillon S. Myer, director of the War Relocation Authority. She says we are probably familiar with the feeling that this is the time to try to effect a change in restoring civil rights to Nisei and Issei--particularly having some return to the coast. It would seem important to get letters from California, Oregon and Washington to McCloy and Myer suggesting that some evacuees be allowed to return now, and that this be done and the policy changed if possible before the national political conventions.

We had hoped that Margaret might be free to go to the San Joaquin Valley for a month of intensive work in trying to get public opinion changed and in trying to get one or two sample situations where people would request the return of Japanese Americans, would have houses and jobs available for them, etc.

Undoubtedly you have been aware of all this, and are already at work. However, I thought I would write you to suggest that possibly you could stimulate our members and others to write Secretary Ickes and the WRA officials, encouraging them to permit Japanese Americans to return to California and Washington and Oregon. Perhaps some of our local groups will take the initiative in pointing out that they have a job or house available in the event of such return.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

JMS:MVC

John M. Swomley, Jr.

Earich Rd., R. D. 3,
Athens, Ohio,
May 29, 1944.

Mr. Perry Saito
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.

Dear Perry,

Our Bible School (First Christian Church) has a number of class papers for various ages, which we shall be glad to send to one of the Relocation Centers. Some of these are rather old. But they have stories, Bible lessons, etc., which would be of interest to your people. Our family has some National Geographics which we would send too. Will you please tell me where to send these papers?

Sincerely,
M.T. Vermillion.

Lancaster, Pa.
May 20-1944.

Fellowship of Reconciliation
New-York.

Dear Sir,

Will you be kind enough to give us information in regards to Young Japanese-Americans with whom the Young people of First Reformed Church could correspond. Inclosed you will find names, ages, and interests of the ones interested in corresponding with them.

Jay Eberole Age 17
311 N. Lime St. Student
Music, sports, Y.M.C.A.

Mrs. Leroy Kutz Age 22
633 Manor St.
Music Teacher.

William Grossman Age 17
Lanc. R.D. #3 Student.
College. Chemistry.

Leroy Kutz Age 22
633 Manor St.
Seminary Student. Would like someone also in Seminary.

Mrs. Anne Miller. Age 24
835 E. Madison St.
Working. Husband in service.

Miss. Geraldine Nolan. Age 18
27 Clark St., School girl
Music - Sports.

Miss. Violet Price. Age 20
224 Pine St.. Steno.
Music. Nurses Aid. Nature.

Robert Smith age 19
526 West James. Co. Op. House
Pre-Seminary Student.
Music. Sports.

Very truly yours.

June Anderson.
307 Ruby St.
Lancaster, Pa.

Miss Betty Herrold age 24
733 College Ave.
College Graduate. Chemist.

May 26, 1944

SHIZU:

Note for your information and as possible item in Equality:

(Quotation from letter by Caleb Foote)

Storm warnings flying: Japanese Americans will probably return to West Coast, yet from 4000 to 6000 Negroes are now living in houses controlled by Japanese Americans in Fillmore district of this city. What will happen to these Negroes, who have no other place to move to, when Japanese-Americans return? I have been hitting this question hard in recent talks, both in this district and to the ministers, with apparently little realization as yet as to how serious this question may become. I am to lead a discussion on this for two hours before the Methodist ministers of the region next week, hope they will do something.

Loyal Japs Return Asked

Methodist Conference Resolution Asks Move as Soon as Possible

A resolution to restore to loyal Japanese the right to return to evacuated areas as soon as the military situation makes such a move feasible was adopted unanimously yesterday at the closing sessions of the Southern California-Arizona Methodist Conference at Pasadena.

The resolution declared that "democratic justice will be best served by granting freedom of movement to loyal Japanese anywhere in the United States on the same basis as other Americans and aliens of other countries."

Violates Rights

"We urge the people to exemplify the way of Christ by welcoming to our communities, our schools, our churches and our homes these victims of organized discrimination and wartime hysteria," the resolution continued. "To continue to delay the justice due this minority of American citizens and loyal aliens is contrary to every principle of fairness and indirectly violates the basic rights guaranteed by the Constitution."

Copies of the resolution were ordered sent to Secretary of War Stimson.

Repudiate War

The conference also adopted a resolution introduced by Rev. Bob Shuler repudiating war as

Note, As this is not true. Ted Evans

Thief Steals Bible at Church Conference

A thief who apparently never read Exodus xx, 15, the Eighth Commandment, last night was hunted by Pasadena police.

Erwin McNeill of San Francisco told them an $11.50 Bible had been stolen from his bookstall at the Southern California-Arizona Methodist Conference at Pasadena. He said a similar Bible was stolen at last year's conference at Santa Barbara.

---

a Christian process for the solution of the world's problems.

A third resolution adopted petitioned the governments of the United States and Great Britain to distribute, through the International Red Cross, food and clothing to starving peoples of Europe.

During a special noonday ceremony, Dr. Tully C. Knoles, president of the College of the Pacific and prominent California Methodist clergyman, was the honored guest. Bishop James Chamberlain Baker paid high praise to Dr. Knoles for his contributions to the church and for his advancement of religious education during his 25 years as head of the college.

Bestows Degree

Dr. Knoles recalled how he received his first student assignment as a member of the conference in 1895 and said he "doubted whether there was a single Methodist church before which he had failed to hitch his horse in the early days."

In turn, he bestowed the honorary degree of doctor of divinity of the College of the Pacific on Dr. James L. Lyons, retiring

Turn to Page 3, Column 1

EY CHANGES

CORRESPONDENTS FOR RELOCATION CENTERS
May, 1944
all students at Ohio University

1. Polly Johnson 708 Walnut St. Nelsonville, Ohio Age 21
2. Miss Honey Kuniewicz Boyd Hall, Athens, Ohio " 19
   Would like to correspond with a boy who is a student
3. Marjorie Owen 1447 Osborne Terrace, Hillside 5, New Jersey,
   Would like to write to a 19-21 year old girl interested in sociology.
4. Jeanne Evenson 15611 Delaware Ave. Lakewood 7, Ohio Age 20
5. Dorothy Blattberg 5341 N. Camac St, Philadelphia, Pa. Age 20
   Interested in sociology
6. Janet Baron, 42 W. Washington St. Athens, Ohio
   Write to girl of 19
7. Miss Muriel Fondi, Delt House, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, Age 19
8. Barbara Danford, 110 N. Congress St. Athens, Ohio Age 20
9. Ruth Alice Wright, 15 N. May Avenue, Athens, Ohio
   Intersted in Medical Technology, nursing, and Science in general.
   (President of Wesley Foundation by the way)
10. Miss Virgina Nancy Burhaus, School address: 20 University Terrace, Athens, Ohio, Home address: 120 Aurora St. Hudson, Ohio Age 20.
    will write either man or woman her age.
11. Georgiana Baker, 130 Erskine Ave. Youngstown, Ohio Age 20.
    prefers to correspond with a boy.
12. Miss Libby Cline, 20 University Terrace, Athens, Ohio. After May 20:
    181 Western Ave, Mansfield, Ohio. Age 21, would like to write to a boy.
13. Patricia Cullen, 322 Mill St. New Lexington, Ohio. Age 21.
    Would like to write Catholic boy or girl if possible, and with ~~college~~
    ~~14~~ college training if possible.
14. Miss Belva Jean Kuchenbacker, 395 East 260th Street, Euclid 17, Ohio.
    Age 19, boy and girl, college students preferably.
15. Miss Betty Pierpoint, Pennsville Route, Ohio. Age 21
    Correspond with a girl.
16. Miss Adah Ruth Sutton, Athens, Route 3, Ohio Age 21
17. Virginia Voorhees, 41 Park Place, Athens, Ohio Age 19
18. Miss Marilyn Reeley, 6 N. High St. Athens, Ohio. Age 20
19. Frances Kolar, 70 University Terrace, Athens, Ohio Age 20
    Correspond with boy.
20. Jean Stewart, Box 42 Summersville, West Virginia, Age 19
    Correspond with boy or girl
21. Miss Wanda Cole, 111 N. Lancaster St. Athens, Ohio Age 20.
    Correspond with boy or girl
22. Shirley Hopkins, 1315 Manor Park Ave, Lakewood 7, Ohio Age 20
    Correspond with boy or girl.
23. Hilda Phillips, 346 Spring St. Wooster, Ohio Age 20
    Correspond with boy or girl.
24. Miss Emma G. Hickox, 386 Perkinswood, S.E., Warren, Ohio Age ~~18~~ 19
    Sociology major.
25. Gwendolwyn Jeanne Abel, Box 450, Athens, Ohio. Age 18, Sociology major
26. Carolyn Emblidge, Lindley Hall, Athens, Ohio, Age 18.
27. Ruth Schneider, 50 East State St. Athens, Ohio. Age 19

F.O.R. FACTS & FIGURES

Volume II, No. 5 June 1944
Glenn E. Smiley, 1837 North Berendo Street, Los Angeles 27, California

We have constantly maintained that this is not a war solely against fascism and we were gratified to read in the Saturday Evening Post that we were correct. Forrest Davis in an article in the May 13th issue said "Growing out of a misconception of the nature of the war being waged by the United States, these attacks have been pressed in the main by citizens who see the struggle as overwhelmingly ideological----solely a war on Fascism. By a curious irony, many of these critics applaud Russia's patriotic war while denying us the right to advance our national interest in whatever quarter is most advantagous."

There are certain aspects of the war in the Pacific that look like a race war and no "unconditional surrender" on the part of Japanese to the allies will avert a Third World War. People on the West Coast should begin to turn their eyes in this direction and true patriots will be striving to avert this catastrophe. One of the greatest things we could do is to remove racist tendencies and aspects on our west coast. Probably this can best be accomplished by the removal of the ban against Japanese Americans on the west coast.

We called attention in the last Facts and Figures to Secretary Icke Ickes's statement as a possible trial balloon looking toward the return of certain Japanese American to our area. Subsequent events have proven this prediction to be correct and there is now a considerable movement on foot to accomplish this return. Considerable relocation to the west coast is now in progress and we hear from even unfriendly sources that hundreds of Japanese have been returned. There is a great need at the present moment for you to follow up the campaign inaugerated in the last Facts and Figures calling upon Stimson, Ickes, and Roosevelt for relocation on the west coast, by a more tangible expression of our good will and determination by writing now to Dillon Meyers, head of the W.R.A. in Washington, promising jobs to returning evacuees and temporary or permanent places for them to stay.

There seems to be particular need for houses for students and work for them to do while attending west coast colleges. Our housing situation in Los Angeles and other Southern California states makes this particular type of friendly help more imperative. This is our opportunity for service in order to help avoid, even though it be in a small way, the resentments and suspicions which are the occasions for world world three. Now is our opportunity for action in the field, not only of alleviating human suffering but breaking down barriers between the groups within our own nation.

....

Kirby Page's book, "Living Abundantly" is dedicated to some leaders and all of the members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. It is a storehouse of wonderful materials, showing the growth of a ideal from the earliest times. F.O.R. people would do well to have a copy around.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMITTEE

One of the most urgent concerns at the moment seems to be the task of securing appropriation for the F.E.P.C. (Fair Employment Practices Committee) and the support of a bill for a permanent F.E.P.C. Concerned F.O.R. people will want to write the president, congressmen and particularly senaters about these matters. The appropriation bill has been passed by the house and is being considered by the senate for the next week and you should write your letters now.

The objective of the National Council for Permanent F.E.P.C. is (1) to promote in every way possible the establishment of equal opportunity for employment, to secure hiring with due regard to the already existing skills and experience of the applicant, equality of wages for the same work, and the full right of up-grading employees within industries regardless of race, creed, color or origin. (2) To bring about the establishment of a permanent Federal Fair Employment Practice Committee. (3) To carry on an educational campaign, nationally and locally, to further the Council's objectives.

SUMMER FELLOWSHIP CAMPS

Registration for Children, High School and Family Camps are coming along splendidly and you will have to hurry if you and yours want to attend any of these three. The Junior High School registration is not up to expectation although the counselors of this particular camp seem to be the most complete to date. Look about you for that Junior High School young person who ought to attend Fellowship Camp.

Helpers in the Children's Camp to date include Lulu Kuhns, Helen Beardsley, Gloria Kershner and Dick Dinning. Junior High counselors include, George Maurer, John Redford, Genevieve Nowlin, Edith Martins and Bill Forthman. The High School Camp counselors will be David Alcola, Dr. E. P. Ryland, Erna Harris and Mr. and Mrs. Silverthorn, Gerald Darrow and John Hicks.

SEND IMMEDIATELY TO 1837 N. BERENDO FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ABOUT CAMPS

LOS ANGELES METROPOLITAN DISTRICT

At the recent organizational conference of the Metropolitan District held May 28th, Mrs. Bea Newby was appointed temporary chairman to call, after consultation with representatives of various groups, the next meeting which probably will be the last of July or the first of August. Before that time an executive committee will be formed, each group in Los Angeles, Hollywood, North Hollywood, Glendale, Whittier, Huntington Park and Santa Monica and West Los Angeles being asked to send two representatives each. Watch for further notes about this important meeting.

The trial of Glenn Smiley, secretary, was continued by Judge Hall to July 10th at 10:00 a.m. for a complete hearing.

PHONE 363

LEWIS E. MAGSIG
PASTOR

THE METHODIST CHURCH
PENTWATER CIRCUIT
PENTWATER, MICH.

June 14, 1944

Mr. Perry Saito
740 Rush St
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:

I am very interested in your relocation centers and would like very much to have a correspondent.

I am a young ministers wife - No Children. I am interested in writing to someone who will be most interesting, so that I will be able to use their correspondence to interest our youth Fellowship and also our women in our W.S.C.S.

Thank you very much.

Mrs. Lewis Magsig
Pentwater, Mich.

I think this is readable

	Name -	Address -	age
1.	Helen Ratzlaff - (Miss)	322 E. Genesee St. - Flint 5, Mich.	23
2.	Virginia Nunn - (Miss)	401 E. Genesee St. - Flint 5, Mich.	18
3.	Beatrice Bowen - (Miss)	R. 2 Gladwin, Mich.	- 17
4.	Selma Hehrli - (Miss)	638 W. Baltimore St. - Flint 5, Mich.	16
5.	Doris Petrick - (Miss)	329 W. Eldridge St. - Flint 5, Mich.	16
6.	Delores Petrick - (Miss)	329 W. Eldridge St. - Flint 5, Mich.	16
7.	Carol McClintock - (Miss)	Box 101 Columbiaville, Mich.	- 15
8.	Faith Dakin - (Miss)	501 E. Genesee St. - Flint 5, Mich.	13
9.	Margaret Hehrli - (Miss)	638 W. Baltimore St. - Flint 5, Mich.	12
10.	Donna Stead - (Miss)	359 E. Harran St. - Flint 5, Mich.	12
11.	Evelyn Branstner - (Miss)	322 E. Moore St. - Flint 5, Mich.	12
12.	Dorothy Hehrli - (Miss)	638 W. Baltimore St. - Flint 5, Mich.	11
13.	Hope Dakin - (Miss)	501 E. Genesee St. - Flint 5, Mich.	10

(over)

name - address - age

14. Doris Spencer - 216 W. Genesee St. - 15
(Miss) Flint 5, Mich.

Boys

1. Walter Ratzlaff - 322 E. Genesee St. - 16
Flint 5, Mich.

2. Walter Buhler - 907. Woodbridge St. - 15
Flint 4, Mich.

3. Jim Sherwood - 606 E. Pasadena Ave. - 14
Flint 5, Mich.

4. Harold Branstner - 2305 Chevrolet ave. - 14.
Flint 4, Mich.

5. Fred Buhler - 907 Woodbridge St. - 11
Flint 4, Mich.

6. Richard Place - 217 W. Genesee St. - 10.
Flint 5, Mich.

7. Mrs. Glen F. Phillips - 361 Damon St. - 20
Flint 5, Mich.
Note: Would like a wife of a serviceman if possible.

For prompt referral to both John & Nevin.

San Francisco, Calif.,
June 1, 1944

Confidential

Report on conference on WEST COAST JAPANESE RELOCATION, San Francisco, May 30th.

Present: Mr. Cozzens, WRA Regional Director; Mr. Frain of WRA legal staff; Dean Hoyt of the U. of Calif.; Ruth Kingman of Fair Play Committee; Joseph Conard and Bill Stevenson of AFSC; Merrill Gadles and Caleb Foote.

* *
* AN IMMEDIATE NEED! *
* Letters to Secry. Stimson (especially *
* from West Coast) urging relocation on *
* West coast now. *
* *

REASON FOR THIS CONFERENCE was to get feeling of West Coast WRA about immediate relocation on West Coast, find out what they were planning, exchange ideas. For obvious reasons WRA's ideas on this must be confidential. Cozzens, West Coast director, is a "native son," pretty hard-headed, knows California well.

CONSIDERABE RELOCATION TO WEST COAST is now in progress. Cozzens says that army refuses to let them have figures, but that "hundreds" of evacuees, "far more than we realize" are now being allowed by the army to return here. There are even Japanese living in Salinas, worst town in the state on the subject.

* For immediate action Cozzens suggests getting as many individual Japanese-Americans as possible to write General Emmons in San Francisco requesting permission to return to the West Coast. Persons requesting such permission should have a good reason to go: that they own farm or house to live in, can get job, etc. There is no use anyone writing who is not assured of both housing and job. Cozzens believes Western defense command will grant increasing numbers of these passes.

THIS IS THE PSYCHOLOGICAL MOMENT, all those at conference felt, for pressure on Secsstary Stimson to remove ban in toto.

WRA POLICY WHEN BAN IS LIFTED was outlined by Cozzens. (These statements were admittedly tentative, reflecting his own opinions.) WRA does not want to have a mass, unplanned migration back to West Coast. Wishes to use leave clearance policy now being used in East and midwest with one change: that WRA no longer require community acceptance.

RETURNING JAPANESE AMERICANS UNDER THIS PLAN would have to obtain both job and housing before coming to west coast. WRA would pay their tickets, ship their stuff, provide incidental cash and legal help. They will not help in obtaining housing or employment.

REASON FOR THIS is that WRA, from West Coast political necessity, wants to be able to answer West Coast critics by saying that they are returning to California only those evacuees whom other Californians wish to employ. Cozzens is sure that uncontrolled return would give economic pressure groups wide opening, feels his plan would minimize that.

THIS POLICY, HOWEVER, IS ONLY TEMPORARY. After the first 10,000 or so have been relocated, Cozzens feels we would be over the political hump and let down the bars considerably. As pressure relaxes, it could be made easier and easier for Japanese-Americans to return.

COZZENS OPPOSES HOSTELS in opening stages of relocation here. Feels that a hostel (which AFSC here and in So. Calif. have been planning) would be an ideal target for opposition, would undermine central idea of returning only those individuals who have jobs promised ahead of time. Later, as pressure relaxes, hostel would be a good thing, would help later arrivals get jobs.

Jobs for FOR to plan to do in connection with this program seem clear

(1) Put the pressure on Stimson to get the ban lifted.

(2) Find qualified Japanese-Americans who will write General Emmons now and try to get permission to come back now. (Cozzens says outside pressure to help individuals get this permission will do no good.)

(3) Students -- we need to find qualified students who will write Emmons now requesting permission to enroll at some West Coast college for the next semester. Student should write to the college of his choice as well as Emmons so college will be informed. Everyone at conference felt that the National Student Relocation Council should keep hands off this, as both army and WRA wish to avoid impression that Eastern organizations are foisting Japanese-Americans on West Coast.

(4) We need to help get employers in California, Oregon, and Washington who will agree to employ Japanese-Americans so that those who wish to come back will have specific jobs. It seems to me we should get employers both locally here on the West Coast and by getting Japanese-Americans in the East or in Centers to write to their former employers and friends out here to see if they could get a job with them again.

(5) We must find housing for the pioneers in relocation. The housing situation is in a real tangle, especially in Los Angeles and San Francisco. Not only we need to find housing for the niseis and isseis, but we must help the people whom returning Japanese-Americans will displace (especially Negroes in the cities) to make a readjustment.

THE PROBLEMS ABOVE ARE SO VAST, especially #4 and #5, that I feel it urgent that FOR employ some one full time in California to work on this now. Margaret Rohrer would be ideal. Cannot she be released from Denver for a few months to work on this? AFSC is also trying to get someone, but there is more than room enough for two!! How about it, John and Margaret?

What we have done so far is this: (1) AFSC is contacting Tom Bodine to suggest students (on a personal basis) to apply now for admission to Western Colleges. (2) Both AFSC and FOR here are going to canvas their meberships to get the ball rolling digging up jobs. (3) so far we are sstumped on the housing problem.

We feel that this is our opportunity for West Coast relocation, and ask your full support on all five points above.

In fellowship,
Caleb s-l (activized
Caleb Foote

To: John Swomley ✓
Nevin Sayre ✓
Margaret Rohrer,
Mary Farquharson
Orval Etter
Glenn Smiley (Are youstill out of jail, Glenn?)

June 28, 1944

Mr. Grant Noda
Earlham, Box 201
Indiana

Dear Grant Noda:

Thank you for your letter. I sent Mark Kamiya a copy of the release on the possibility of Japanese Americans returning to the West Coast, as you suggested. The picture is certainly changing rapidly and I was surprised to learn the other day that a number of nisei are attending institutes and summer camps on the West Coast this summer. You may also be interested in knowing that our Rocky Mountain States secretary, Margaret Rohrer, is back in California , to find housing and jobs for nisei and to pave the way for the return of large numbers of persons.

Any nisei who is now enrolled in a college and who is interested in continuing his education in the Pacific Coast should write General Emmons, Western Defense Command, Presidio, California, requesting permission to enroll at some specific college. He should also write the college and it would be well to let us know in advance of his plans so that our contacts will be activized for supporting his enrollment.

I am eager to know if you and your friends are interested in going back to California--the nisei I have spoken to are angry and seem to want to shake the dust of California from their feet forever. Too, their relocation experiences have been favorable and for the duration, at least, they want to remain in the East.

Sincerely yours,

Shizu Asahi
Office Secretary, Race Relations Dept.

Earlham Indiana
June 26, 1944

Fellowship of Reconciliation
Race Relations Department
2929 Broadway
New York City 25, New York.

Dear Friend:

Thank you for the bulletin entitled "Japanese Americans May Return to the West Coast." Will you please let me know what qualifications are necessary for a student to be "prepared" to enroll in a West Coast college? What proceedure should a qualified student follow?

Mark Kamiya, c/o Bege acre Dairy Farm, Ithaca, New York would also be interested in the above. Will you please write to him?

Ob
Sh

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,
Grant Noda

JOSEPH B. HUNTER
WAR RELOCATION CENTER
McGEHEE, ARKANSAS

June 23, 1944

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York City 25, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Swomley:

I am grateful for your note of June 25 and for the insert which lists four items which contain encouraging promises to people of Japanese descent who are living in these relocation centers. I have had some indication that the Army might presently announce the opening of the West Coast area for the return of the Japanese people again. Your letter encourages that hope.

I do not feel free to advise many evacuees to write General Emmons at this time. I shall suggest that course to a few who will keep in confidence the information which I am obliged to treat confidentially at this time. I am sure that WRA and the Department of the Interior are working with the War Department in an effort to open the West again, but the unscrambling of this complicated error is not too easy a task.

I am grateful to you and your associates for your fine work on behalf of peace, justice, and the rights of our people. I wish it were possible to lend you more financial and moral support. At any rate, I admire your leadership and am grateful for your labors.

Sincerely,

Joseph B. Hunter
Joseph B. Hunter

10625 Esther Avenue
Los Angeles 34, Calif.
June 24, 1944

wrote to Caleb + M.R.

Dear Mr. Swomley,

Your special release concerning the return of Japanese Americans to the coast was good news to us. We should be very happy to have a girl who wishes to attend college here live with us. We are close to the University of California at Los Angeles.

If you are not handling this phase of the program, will you please send this on to the appropriate group.

My wife and I worked for a year at Tule Lake Relocation Center and are anxious to continue to help our Japanese American friends.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur G. Ramey

June 29, 1944

Mr. Arthur G. Ramey
10625 Esther Avenue
Los Angeles 34, California

Dear Mr. Ramey:

Thank you for your response to ourmemorandum relating to the return of Japanese Americans to the Pacific Coast. I am passing on your invitation to have a college girl live with you to Margaret Rohrer, who is on temporary leave from her job as Rocky Mountain Secretary and is now in California towork on finding jobs and housing. As you may know, Margaret is a Californian and knows the situation intimately.

Sincerely yours,

Shizu Asahi
Office Secretary, Race Relations
Department

FRIENDS OF THE AMERICAN WAY
1360 WEST COLORADO STREET • PASADENA 2, CALIFORNIA

REPORT ON DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

150 letters, lately sent to the War Department by individuals and families in and about Pasadena, promise temporary homes, aid in finding employment, and a spirit of genuine friendship when the Government permits Japanese-Americans to return to the West Coast.

These letters promise 50 jobs and 125 homes, temporary or permanent, to our former neighbors. A small informal group, trying an interesting social experiment, sampled the sentiment in one important California community; 150 letters were the response. Goodwill, inarticulate and underground, is thus rising to the surface. The plan was simple and should succeed in other communities.

But --- everywhere there is community feeling to be mended, vicious legislation to be defeated, many urgent jobs calling for attention from real friends of the real America. What is your community doing?

The Pasadena group welcomes a chance to work and share experiences with others who would help preserve the democracy at home for which we fight abroad. We are writing you in the hope that you may enlist in this enterprise. We will gladly furnish suggestions if you will communicate with

FRIENDS OF THE AMERICAN WAY

By Mary T. MacNair
(Mrs. Jerome W. MacNair)
for the Committee

JUSTICE DELAYED IS JUSTICE DENIED—GLADSTONE

SCRAPS FROM THE MAIL BAG

"I am a student at P.J.C. and believe I express the sentiment of many of the students when I say we would be more than willing to have our fellow-students of Japanese ancestry again in our midst. We are sending our school paper out to them each week; we carry on a personal correspondence and keep the life-lines of friendship open and now feel we can help our friends in their readjustment and reintegration into a normal pattern of life."

- - - - - -

"My husband, a public accountant, is very busy and could plan his work so that a former evacuee who has had training in accounting could have full or part time work."

- - - - - -

"I shall be glad to provide living quarters in my home for any of the __________ family of Poston, Arizona, and for any of the ______________ family, also of Poston, while they seek employment. This letter is written by one from whose home have gone two men into the service. I should be ashamed to face them on their return had I not fought here for those same rights for which they are fighting away from home."

- - - - - -

"By profession I am a gardener and we need the Japanese gardeners back to help us this very minute. We gardeners who are left are meeting the shortage the best we can but are met daily with frantic pleas for help. Most home-owners would be willing to hire a loyal citizen of Japanese ancestry."

- - - - - -

"We shall be glad to entertain Mr. and Mrs. __________ of Manzanar in our home while they are seeking employment. We will then turn the house over to them, as it belongs to their oldest son, now relocated in Chicago."

- - - - - -

"It has been our intention for some time to take into our home, Mr. and Mrs. ______, formerly of Pasadena. This is an elderly couple, but the lady is still capable of doing dress-making and has many former customers longing for her return. She could work in our home and there would be no problems either financial or from our neighbors."

- - - - - -

"I shall be happy to assist them with my friendship and active good will to become reestablished. I shall be glad to help them find employment by any means within my power, expecially by helping my friends and neighbors to realize the value of their services and also to express appreciation of their loyalty to our land which is also theirs."

- - - - - -

"It is our responsibility to be willing to demonstrate our convictions through our way of life... We would like to do our part by having a young Japanese girl live with us and work for us while attending school."

- - - - - -

"As a group of neighbors we would like to offer hospitality to individuals or families of Japanese ancestry and will do all we can to facilitate their adjustment. We feel we represent the feeling of other families in this area."

- - - - - -

"I am interested to provide home and shelter, food and employment for one family, and would welcome Japanese friends and neighbors. They are an asset to a community. I have found them honest, industrious, and dependable."

- - - - - -

"I should like to go on record as being willing and eager to employ from 20 to 25 former Japanese Pacific Coast residents in my factory."

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
2929 Broadway
New York City 25

SPECIAL RELEASE from
Race Relations Department
June 19, 1944

JAPANESE AMERICANS MAY RETURN TO COAST

Confidential information from some of our most able F.O.R. people in California brings us to the following conclusions on which there should be immediate action. This action should be taken without publicity or public announcement.

1. The Army has already permitted some Japanese Americans to return to California.

2. Others who have assurance of housing and jobs may possibly get permission to return. If only those evacuees are returned whom other Californians wish to employ, it will be difficult for West Coast critics to begin a campaign. If you know Japanese Americans who are interested in returning and have housing and jobs in California, they should write General Emmons, Western Defense Command in San Francisco, requesting such permission. W.R.A. would probably pay their tickets, ship their personal effects, provide incidental cash and legal help. Outside pressure on General Emmons to help individuals get this permission will do no good.

   If you know Japanese Americans who had jobs prior to relocation, and who would like to resume them, they might be encouraged to write their former employers and friends on the Coast to see if they could be employed with them again.

3. This is the psychological moment when letters should be written to Secretary Stimson asking him to remove the ban on Japanese Americans in toto.

4. If you know qualified Japanese American students who are prepared to seek enrollment at some West Coast college for the next semester, communicate with us immediately about this.

****
****
******
****
**

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
2929 Broadway
New York City 25

June 19, 1944

Dear Friend:

We are sending the enclosed to you in the hope that you may take action with reference to point 2 and 4. The information we have is authoritative and we hope you will help in the necessary action.

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
2929 Broadway
New York City 25

June 19, 1944

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Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

Sent 6 correspondence names 10-24-44

July 13, 1944

Miss Jean Harrell
920 Hall Street
Eaton Rapids, Michigan

Dear Jean Harrell:

I am exceedingly sorry to be so tardy in answering your request to our staff member, Perry Saito. At his suggestion, I am sending you a copy of our booklet, OUTCASTS, which will answer your questions about Japanese Americans. Although this will be too late for your forensic oration, I hope you and your friends will study it in preparation for your fall project.

Another booklet which we are recommending is "What About Our Japanese Americans", written by Carey McWilliams, an authority on minority group problems. You can secure it by writing the Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

Due to vacation, we have not heard from our contacts regarding the names of persons who wish to correspond with those on the "Outside", but we shall keep trying.

Best wishes to you,

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer, Jr.
Race Relations Department

JF*SA

Shigeo, Can & will you take care of this for me. Also send me a newer list of 20 of books in Com. The old list is enclosed.

920 Hall Street
Eaton Rapids, Mich.
June 11, 1944

Dear Mr. Sito

Several of the members of our Fellowship heard your address at Central Methodist Church last night. We are all very interested in this problem and are going to make it our special project for next year. We are going to have a special fund for this type of work. Would you send us information as to how we can be of the most service.

Also some of our group wish to correspond with young people of their age who are in re-location centers. There are ~~three~~ four girls seventeen years old and two fifteen. If you would send the addresses to me I would see that they received them

Also I am interested in the problem of re-location personnally. I am going to write an oration for the Forensic Club and have decided to make this my topic. Would you please send me some of your opinions as to the solution of this problem and some facts concerning it.

Interests, etc.

We would appreciate your help very much.

Sincerely,

Jean Harell

October 24, 1944

Miss Rhoda Wolford
1138 E. Broadway
Monmouth, Illinois

Dear Miss Wolford:

Last summer you gave your name to our staff member, Kenji Okuda, and indicated that you would like to have some names of intermediates in relocation centers with whom your young people might correspond.

Kenji has just visited several relocation centers and finds that the young people there are eager to have contact with their fellow Americans on the "outside". I am therefore sending you a list of names of high school students in Amache, Colorado, in case you would like to encourage a correspondence project. All of these people are 9th graders.

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

October 24, 1944

Miss Dorothie French
604 W. 3d Street
Cameron, Missouri

Dear Dorothie French:

Last summer you gave your name to our staff member, Kenji Okuda, and indicated your interest in corresponding with an American of Japanese descent in a relocation center.

Kenji has just visited several relocation centers and finds that the students there are eager to build friendships through correspondence. I am therefore sending you the following name in the hopes that a meaningful relationship will result.

Sue Ogata
8 E - 9 C
Amache, Colorado

Sue is an 11th year student at the Amache high school.

Best wishes to you,

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS:SA

Ret to John

~~Kesten~~
~~A.J.~~
note

August 8, 1944

KENJI OKUDA

Dear Kenji:

Many thanks for letting me have the copy of the questionnaire and material which is necessary to fill out in order to reenter the Western Defense Command.

I assume that you have written the person who sent you this material pointing out why you have decided not to reenter the Western Defense Command at this time. Otherwise at a future date someone may question your motives for not entering when forms, etc. were sent to you.

Unless you instruct me otherwise, I shall be glad to keep this material on hand here at the office.

Sincerely,

JMS:MVC

John M. Swomley, Jr.

CLASSI-
FICATION

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY RECORD

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

FAM. ID. NO.

CERT. OF EX. NO.

NAME (LAST)	(JAP. FIRST)	(AM. FIRST)	(MAIDEN)	SEX	DATE OF BIRTH

PLACE OF BIRTH	CITIZENSHIP	ALIEN REG. NO.	ADDRESS (DEC. 1, 1941)

HT.	WT.	IDENTIFYING MARKS, SCARS AND ABNORMALITIES

	DATES	
	FROM	TO
ASSEMBLY CENTER		
RELOCATION CENTER		
PRESENT ADDRESS		

SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT
(SIGNED IN PRESENCE OF FINGERPRINTER)

STATEMENT OF FINGERPRINT TECHNICIAN

THE FINGERPRINTS OF THE PERSON WHOSE SIGNATURE APPEARS ABOVE WERE TAKEN ON THIS CARD BY ME.

SIGNATURE OF TECHNICIAN

DATE

POSITION

PLACE

(DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE)

Right Hand

1. Thumb	2. Index finger	3. Middle finger	4. Ring finger	5. Little finger

Left Hand

6. Thumb	7. Index finger	8. Middle finger	9. Ring finger	10. Little finger

Note amputations in proper space

FORM CAD E-3

(DO NOT FOLD THIS CARD)

(Make No Entries Below)

REMARKS

HEADQUARTERS WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND
OFFICE OF THE COMMANDING GENERAL
PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

201 - Okuda, Kenji - CAD   20 July 1944

Mr. Kenji Okuda
2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York

Dear Sir:

The Commanding General has directed me to acknowledge your letter of 13 July 1944 in which you request permission to return to the evacuated areas of the Western Defense Command in order to enroll at the University of Washington.

Inclosed are application forms for residence within the evacuated areas. Upon proper completion and return of these forms to this headquarters, attention Civil Affairs Division, consideration will be given your application for residence permit.

Very truly yours,

Chas. A. Middleton
CHAS. A. MIDDLETON
Major, AUS
Actg. Asst. Adjutant General

1 Incl.
1 Set of Individual Application Forms w/instructions.

Dear John —
These are the forms —

Form CAD E-2—1226—Presidio of SF (LGH) 5-1-44—2M

FAM.
ID. NO.
DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

TO: The Commanding General, Western Defense Command
Attention: Civil Affairs Division,
Presidio of San Francisco, California

FAMILY APPLICATION

Instructions. This form will be completed and submitted with the "Individual Application (s) to Establish Residence within Military Area No. 1 or the California Portion of Military Area No. 2, Western Defense Command" (Form CAD E-1) for each family group, or for each person applying alone.

The following person or family group is applying to establish residence within Military Area No. 1 or the California portion of Military Area No. 2, Western Defense Command.

PRINT OR TYPEWRITE

	Name	Relationship	Sex	Date of Birth	Place of Birth
A		Applicant Family Head			
B					
C					
D					
E					
F					
G					
H					
I					
J					

Date: ....
Place: ....

Signature of adult acting as applicant family head: ....

Form CAD-E-1

TO: The Commanding General, Western Defense Command
Attention: Civil Affairs Division,
Presidio of San Francisco, California

INDIVIDUAL APPLICATION TO ESTABLISH RESIDENCE WITHIN MILITARY AREA NO. 1 OR THE CALIFORNIA PORTION OF MILITARY AREA NO. 2, WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND

Each applicant will complete and sign this form. Each person 12 years and older will sign his own Application. A parent or guardian may sign the Application of a child under the age of 12. If more space is needed for completion of any item, use separate sheets of paper and attach them to copies of this form. In addition, the following will be submitted for each applicant:
a. Two identical positive prints of a recent identification photograph (size 1½" x 1½"), with signature written on bottom face thereof.
b. One copy of "Family Application" (Form CAD E-2), even though a single person is applying, will be completed by the applicant family head and submitted together with forms and photographs for family member applicants. c. One copy of a completed "Individual Identity Record" card (Form CAD E-3) with full set of fingerprints taken by an authorized technician. d. One copy of the 1½" x 1¾" Form CAD E-4 with right index fingerprint taken by an authorized technician.

FOLLOW ATTACHED "INSTRUCTIONS TO APPLICANTS" CAREFULLY IN COMPLETING FORMS.

All these documents will be transmitted together to the Commanding General, Western Defense Command, Attention: Civil Affairs Division, Presidio of San Francisco, California. Each person filing an Individual Application will be advised as soon as possible of the action taken.

Print or Typewrite

1. Information Concerning Applicant.

(last) (Jap. first) (Am. first) (maiden)

(a) Name: .... (b) Date of birth ....

(c) Place of birth: .... (d) Sex: .... (e) Race: .... (f) Citizenship: ....

(g) Marital status: (single, married, divorced, separated, widowed)

.... If married, give date and place of marriage:

....

(h) Address of proposed residence: ....

(i) Residence Addresses Since January 1, 1939
(give present address first, followed by previous addresses in consecutive order)

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE	
FAM. ID. NO.	
CLASSIFICATION	
ACTION	
CERT. OF EX. NO.	

Dates		Street and Number	City or town	State
From	To			

(j) Was your birth ever registered with any Japanese governmental agency for the purpose of establishing a claim to Japanese citizenship? .... If yes, have you applied for cancellation of such citizenship? ....

When? .... Where? ....

(k) Have you visited or lived in Japan? .... If yes, give following information:

Dates in Japan		Name & relationship of person with whom you resided	Type of school attended and years of attendance
From	To		

(l) Organizations of which you are, or have been, a member:

Name of Organization	Dates of membership	Offices held	Place

(m) Churches or religions of which you are, or have been, an adherent: ....

(n) Have you attended a Japanese Language School in the United States? .... If yes, give dates of attendance, name and place of school:

....

(o) Are any funds or property being held for you in Japan? .... If yes, give following information:

Nature of funds or property	Date established for your credit	Institution handling transaction	Approximate value in Japanese Yen

ever applied for repatriation or expatriation to Japan? ....

(OVER)

2. Information Concerning Spouse of Applicant

(last) (Jap. first) (Am. first) (maiden)

(a) Name: .... (b) Date of birth: ....

(c) Place of birth: .... (d) Sex:........................ (e) Race: .... (f) Citizenship:..............

(g) **Residence Addresses Since January 1, 1939**

Dates		Street and Number	City or town	State
From	To			

3. Information Concerning Family Members in the Armed Forces of the United States
(including applicant, spouse, or relatives of applicant or spouse)

(a) Name: .... (b) Relationship to applicant: ....

(c) Race: .... (d) Citizenship:.................. (e) Date entered Service: ....

(f) Branch of Armed Forces (Army, Navy, Marine Corps or Coast Guard): ....

(g) Serial No.: .... (h) Present rank:... (i) Give present station; if outside U. S., APO No. will be sufficient: ....

(j) **Residence Addresses Since January 1, 1939**

Dates		Street and Number	City or town	State
From	To			

4. Information Concerning Parents, Children, Brothers and Sisters of Applicant

Name	Relationship	Living?	Date and place of birth	Citizenship	Race	Present address

5. Information Concerning Parents, Brothers and Sisters of Applicant's Spouse

Name	Relationship	Living?	Date and place of birth	Citizenship	Race	Present address

6. In this space state as concisely as possible the basis for making this application.

7. Statement of Applicant: I have read, or had read to me, the questions and answers given on this form, and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the answers are complete and true. In filing this Individual Application, I understand that it does not constitute any authority for entrance or residence within the prohibited areas of the Western Defense Command.

Date: .... Place: .... Signature: ....

8. Statement of Director of War Relocation Project (to be used if applicant is a resident of such a Project): The Applicant has been cleared for Indefinite Leave by the War Relocation Authority.

Date: .... Project: .... Signature: ....

INSTRUCTIONS FOR APPLICANTS

(Application by Persons of Japanese Ancestry to Reside Within Evacuated Areas of Western Defense Command)

The accurate completion of the inclosed forms, in accordance with these instructions, will speed action on your application. If any question does not apply to a particular applicant, enter the words "Does not apply" or "None", after the item. Avoid leaving blank spaces. If there is not sufficient room on the form to complete your answer, attach an additional sheet to the form setting forth the information. Print or typewrite your answers.

I. INDIVIDUAL APPLICATION TO ESTABLISH RESIDENCE WITHIN MILITARY AREA NO. 1 OR THE CALIFORNIA PORTION OF MILITARY AREA NO. 2, WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND. (Form CAD E-1). Following are detailed instructions for the completion of each item on this form, numbered and lettered to correspond with application.

1. INFORMATION CONCERNING APPLICANT.

(a) Name. Enter last or family name first, then Japanese first or given name, then American first or given name, and finally, if a married woman, the maiden name, in parenthesis. For example: Abe, Mitsuo Mary (Watanabe).

(b) Date of birth. Month, date and year.

(c) Place of birth. City and State. If foreign-born, name of foreign country.

(d) Sex. Enter "M" for male or "F" for female.

(e) Race. If ancestry entirely Japanese, write word "Japanese". If ancestry mixed, full mixture, as for example: $\frac{1}{2}$ Japanese - $\frac{1}{2}$ Chinese or $\frac{1}{4}$ Japanese - 3/4 Korean or $\frac{1}{2}$ Japanese - $\frac{1}{2}$ Caucasian.

(f) Citizenship. Name country of which applicant is a legal citizen. If dual citizenship claimed, specify countries.

(g) Marital Status. Enter either "single", "married", "divorced", "separated" or "widowed". If married, enter date and place of marriage. For example: December 5, 1938 at Oakland, California.

(h) Address of Proposed Residence. This means the address at which you intend to reside if your application is granted. For example: 125 Hale St., Modesto, Calif.

(i) Residence Addresses since January 1, 1939. This includes Assembly Centers and War Relocation Projects. Enter your present address on the first line and previous addresses back to January 1, 1939, on the following lines. Include street and number, city and state.

(j) (k) (l) (m) (n) (o) (p). Self-explanatory.

2. INFORMATION CONCERNING SPOUSE OF APPLICANT.

If applicant is married, the information in items (a) (b) (c) (d) (e) (f) and (g) must be given concerning the spouse in the same manner as the INFORMATION CONCERNING APPLICANT, in the first part of this application. This information must be given whether the spouse is filing an application or not.

3. INFORMATION CONCERNING FAMILY MEMBERS IN THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES.

Note: If more than one member of the family in the armed forces, make separate sheet for such additional members and attach to application. Include only information concerning parents, husband or wife, sons or daughters, brothers or sisters.

(a) Name. Give names - not initials.

(b) Relationship to Applicant. Enter only father, mother, husband, wife, sister or brother.

(c) Race. Enter race as in 1 (e).

(d) Citizenship. Enter country of legal citizenship.

(e) Date Entered Service. Show month and year.

(f) Branch of Armed Forces. Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, WAC, Waves or Spars.

(g) Serial Number. If serial number not known, write "Do not know".

(h) Present Rank. For example: Sgt., Pvt., 1st Lt., S 1/c, Warrant Officer, etc.

(i) Present Station. Enter the mailing address of the member of the armed forces.

(j) Residence Addresses since January 1, 1939. This means the residence addresses of the member of the armed forces and is to be filled out in the same manner as 1 (i).

4. INFORMATION CONCERNING PARENTS, CHILDREN, BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF APPLICANT.

Column Headed:

Name. Enter names - not initials.

Relationship (to Applicant). Father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter.

Living. Answer yes or no.

Date and place of Birth. Enter month, year, city and state, or name of foreign country.

Citizenship. Enter country of legal citizenship.

Race. Enter degree of Japanese ancestry, using the letter "J" for Japanese. For example: J or $\frac{1}{2}$ J or $\frac{1}{4}$ J. If there is no Japanese ancestry, enter "no J".

Present Address. Include foreign addresses, if known.

5. INFORMATION CONCERNING PARENTS, CHILDREN, BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF APPLICANT'S SPOUSE. If applicant is married, fill out in the same manner as 4. If not married, write, "Does not apply".

6. BASIS FOR MAKING APPLICATION.. Self-explanatory.

7. STATEMENT OF APPLICANT. Enter date, place and signature. In the case of applications of children under the age of twelve years, parent or guardian will sign the child's name on the line marked signature, and write his own name immediately below.

8. STATEMENT OF DIRECTOR OF WAR RELOCATION PROJECT. This is only to be signed, by the Project Director, if the applicant is residing in a War Relocation Project.

II. FAMILY APPLICATION. (Form CAD E-2). Follow instructions appearing at the top of this form carefully. One copy of this form must be submitted for each family group submitting their applications together, and only the name of the members of the family group who are filing individual applications (Form CAD E-1) will be included thereon. Do not include names of members of the family group not filing application. An individual applying alone is considered a family head and must submit one copy of this form completed, entering his name and other information called for on line A thereof.

III. INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY RECORD. (Form CAD E-3). One copy of this form must be completed for each applicant, fourteen years of age, or older. If applicant is between twelve and fourteen years, this form may be completed at your option. The extra copy is to be used only if the first copy is spoiled or the prints are not clear. The fingerprints must be taken by a fingerprint technician. Such technicians can be found at local law enforcement agencies, such as sheriffs' offices and police stations.

IV. RIGHT INDEX FINGERPRINT. (Form CAD E-4). One copy of this form must be completed for each applicant fourteen years of age or older. If applicant is between twelve and fourteen years, this form may be completed at your option. The extra copy is to be used only if the first copy is spoiled or the prints are not clear. The applicant will write his name on the space indicated on the back of the form. Have this fingerprint taken by the fingerprint technician who takes the fingerprint on INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY RECORD. Be sure that the fingerprint on this form appears directly under the words, "Right Index Fingerprint", appearing thereon.

V. Two recent identification photographs (close ups, size $1\frac{1}{2}$" x $1\frac{1}{2}$", identical duplicates) for each applicant, fourteen years of age or older, with signature written on bottom face of photograph, must accompany each application. If applicant is between twelve and fourteen years, photographs may be submitted at your option. (NOTE: PHOTOGRAPHS LARGER THAN $1\frac{1}{2}$" SQUARE CANNOT BE ACCEPTED).

V. MAILING. Mail completed forms and photographs, and address inquiries to:

Commanding General, Western Defense Command
Attention: Civil Affairs Division
Presidio of San Francisco, California

HEADQUARTERS WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND
CIVIL AFFAIRS DIVISION
PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Dubois School
Springfield, Ill.
October 30, 1944

My dear Mr. Saito,

After hearing your enlightening talk before our Social Science Club I presented some of the facts before my eighth grade class. The interest was great and many expressed a desire to correspond with the boys and girls in the camps you mentioned. Enclosed you will find a list of those who would like to hear from some of them.

Through such activities as this we may hope that the on-coming generations will be more understanding and tolerant than our generation has been.

Sincerely yours,
Florence L. Davis

PUPILS OF THE 8th GRADE, DUBOIS SCHOOL, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

NAME	STREET ADDRESS	AGE
John Angle	130 South Douglas Avenue	13
Loren Humphrey	1409 West Edwards Street	13
Bob Slack	1332 West Edwards	13
Bob Erickson	133 North Glenwood	13
Bob Bramlet	1509 West Jackson	13
Stuart Buerkett	810½ South Douglas	13
Ray Hurt	1636 West Capitol	13
Frances Bogden	1629 West Monroe	13
Helen Fifer	1649 West Capitol	13
Adolph Nutant	555 Feldkamp	13
Marlene Linder	1307 West Reynolds	13
Lila Hodde	325 South Park	12
Don Gerber	621 South Lincoln Ave.	13
Joyce Van Meter	1231 West Governor	13
Marilyn Luker	841 S. Columbia	13
Robert Kruckeberg	545 S. Feldkamp	12
Barbara Johnson	300 South MacArthur Blvd.	13
Ann Wannamaugher	924½ West Monroe	13
Bob Ellaby	868 S. Park	13
Jack Garvin	401 South Lincoln	13
Nancy Motley	1642 West Capitol	13
Joyce Preval	1551 West Monroe	13
Shirley Zinsmeister	547 South Park	13
Dorothy Jean Tarr	120 South State	13
Robert Houston	1617 West Capitol	14
Bessie Lou Jones	1317 West Miller	14
Jackie Schnepp	120 South English	13

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

A Fellowship that refuses to participate in any war and seeks to demonstrate that love is the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship.

2929 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 25, NEW YORK

Telephone: UNiversity 4-2670

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440 East 13th Avenue
Denver 3, Colorado

Warren Nelson.......................*Rural*
Prairie du Sac, Wisconsin

November 3, 1944

Sometime ago you gave your name to our staff member, Perry Saito, and indicated your interest in corresponding with an American of Japanese descent in a relocation center.

The young people in the various centers are eager to have contact with their fellow Americans on the "outside" and would appreciate having an opportunity to build friendships through correspondence. I am therefore sending you the following name of a person to whom you may write; I hope you will enjoy exchanging information and ideas.

Best wishes to you,

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

NATIONAL COUNCIL

Composed of Executive Committee and the following:

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Annette Richards.......*Swarthmore, Pa.*
Paul Roberts.............*Denver, Colo*
Olcutt Sanders...*Luquillo, Puerto Rico*
Trevor Sandness....*Minneapolis, Minn.*
Walter W. Sikes............*Berea, Ky.*
J. Holmes Smith......*New York, N. Y.*
Donovan E. Smucker..*Wadsworth, Ohio*
Howard Spragg...........*Chicago, Ill.*
Hattie E. Stowe.............*Berea, Ky.*
Arthur L. Swift, Jr.....*Berkeley, Calif.*
Evan W. Thomas......*New York, N. Y.*
Theodore D. Walser....*New York, N. Y.*
Ronald V. Wells.....*Bridgeport, Conn.*
Dan L. West.............*Goshen, Ind.*
Norman J. Whitney.....*Syracuse, N. Y.*
Dan Wilson...........*Whittier, Calif.*

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Heart Mountain, Wyo.
Nov. 10, 1944

NOV 15 1944

Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Recently, Kenji Okuda spoke before our Social Science classes. He mentioned that several high school students would like to correspond with our students. The following sheet lists the names of those who are interested in corresponding. The numbers refer to blocks, barracks and rooms. Letters can be addressed thus:

Miss Marie Umeki
12 - 7 - C
Heart Mt., Wyo.

Yours Truly,
Jean Morton

To Perry
11/27/42

Lillian Hijikata	6-23-EX
Lilly Namba	27-17-D
Kikuye Inouye	25-21-E
Mary Fukui	6-12-B
Mineko Hangai	14-11-B
Sadako Ebihara	14-7-B
Ruth Mori	6-22-C
Mary Mouri	28-9-E
Betty Imokawa	23-21-D
Midori Sakamoto	23-21-D
Yuki Uno	27-17-B
Mabel Gorai	27-19-D
Lillian Nishi	6-14-E
Riyoko Hayashi	15-7-D
Nancy Kimura	29-16-C
Esther Takagi	2-1-B
Kinue Mayehara	12-16-C
Helen Iwanaka	12-4-D
Bettie Oda	28-3-C
Yaeko Hattori	20-22-B
George Deguchi	27-12-B
Shoji Kubo	21-4-B
Tonney Yamane	1-4-B
Fred Horio	24-6-B
Ben Matsumoto	15-20-E
Miyo Shiba	14-21-B
Mary Minami	25-21-C
Amy Sakurai	21-22-E
Toshi Shimizu	25-3-D
Hiro Kawachi	24-5-B
Kayoshi Masuoka	12-23-E
Ruthie Higa	1-8-E
Hideko Makiyama	9-7-D
Louise Inouye	9-8-B
Yuki Mayehara	12-16-C
Barbara Fujikawa	29-19-C
Kimiko Yumibe	27-16-A
Shigeko Kawashima	27-13-B
Jennie Umemoto	8-11-A
Tomiko Sueo	14-1-A
Terry Inouye	24-10-B
Helen Yamamoto	2-19-C
Miwako Hatashita	8-12-D
Mary Otomo	2-6-C
Ritsu Yanagi	17-12-B
Akiko Kakiba	17-4-B
Florence Nakamoto	24-14 C
Hirako Mori	17-17-D

November 15, 1944

Miss Jean Morton
Heart Mountain Relocation Center
Heart Mountain, Wyoming

Dear Miss Morton:

Thank you for the list of high school students in Heart Mountain who are interested in corresponding with young people in other high schools. Before I forward the list on to Kenji Okuda, would it be possible for you to tell me in what class these folk are enrolled. We usually try to match these names with people of the same age and grade.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer, Jr.
Race Relations Department

JF:SA

These young people would like to correspond with youth in Relocation Centers.

Name	Address	Age or Intere
Dean Burnell	Bradford Ill.	16 - both
Deon Slack	Farmington, Ill.	13 - either
Jayne Dysart	Henry, Ill	16 - both
JoAnn Latimer	Canton, Ill.	14 - both
Veldalow Bost	Dana, Ill.	14 - both both
Pat Birkett	Washington, Ill.	16. Preferably a girl
Robert Myers.	Tremont Ill	15 either
Mary Bradly	Roanoke, Ill	14 girl
DUANE SAYLOR	Peoria, Illinois	15, either
" Denese Francois	Roanoke, Ill.	15 "
~~Phil [illegible]~~	Peoria Ill 12 Banker	
Albert Cronkrite	Henry Illinois	15 - both
Jean Quimby	Mackinaw, Ill.	17 boy
Henry C Bankie, Jr.	Wyoming, Illinois	18
Lois E. Ray	Delavan, Illinois	16 boy
~~John [illegible]~~	~~Kansas City~~	15 girl or boy
~~Peggy Wallace~~	~~Roanoke, Ill.~~	~~16 both~~
Eunice Hennebelle	~~Roanoke, Ill~~	~~16 both~~
Betty Ellen Beyer	Tremont, Ill.	15 either
Merle Johnson	Chillicothe	17 both
Charles Sonta	Sparland, Ill.	16 either
Kenneth Roth	Tremont, Ill	15 girl
Dene Victoria Burnell	Varna, Illinois Box 57	17 both

November 20, 1944

Mr. Gerry Erickson
1614 Altoona Avenue
Eau Claire, Wisconsin

Dear Gerry Erickson:

Your letter to Perry Saito has been forwarded to us for reply since the names of young people in relocation centers who are eager to correspond are turned into this office.

You may write to the following--he is a senior in high school at Heart Mountain, Wyoming.

James Tsuneishi
2-7-D
Heart Mountain, Wyoming

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

1614 Altoona Avenue
Eau Claire, Wisconsin
Nov. 7, 1944

Rev. Saito

A friend has just given me your address, so I thought I would write. I would like to write to a boy in a relocation camp. I am a junior in high school. I am sixteen years of age. I have brown hair & gray-green eyes.

I would appreciate it very much if you would send me a address of a boy in a relocation.

Thank you Very Much

Sincerely
Gerry Erickson
1614 Altoona Avenue
Eau Claire, Wisconsin

11-17-44.
Please take care of this, will you, Shigeo?
Perry.

ILLINOIS WESLEYAN VESPERS

October 15,1944

Theme: "Here am I, Lord; send me."

ORGAN PRELUDE:
CALL TO WORSHIP:
RESPONSIVE READING:
Leader: Blessed are they that have eyes to see.
All: THEY SHALL FIND GOD EVERYWHERE
THEY SHALL SEE HIM WHERE OTHERS SEE STONES.
Leader: Blessed are they that have understanding hearts
All: TO THEM SHALL BE MULTIPLIED KINGDOMS OF DELIGHT.
Leader: Blessed are the song-ful of soul.
All: THEY CARRY LIGHT AND JOY TO SHADOWED LIVES.
Leader: Blessed are they who know the power of Love.
All: THEY DWELL IN GOD FOR GOD IS LOVE.
Leader: Blessed are the dead
All: FOR THEY ARE WITH GOD
Leader: Blessed are the living
All: FOR THEY CAN STILL SERVE GOD.
Leader: Blessed are the faithful strong.
All: FOR THEY ARE THE RIGHT HAND OF GOD.
Leader: Blessed are they that dwell in peace.
All: IF THEY FORGET NOT GOD.
Leader: Blessed are they who work for the right.
All: THEY SHALL SAVE THEIR SOULS FOR GOD IS WITH THEM.
Leader: Blessed are they who, through tribulation, have come to perfect trust.
All: THEIRS IS THE PEACE THAT PASSETH UNDERSTANDING.
Leader: Blessed are the souls all bare before God.
All: HE SHALL CLOTHE THEM WITH HIS PEACE AND LOVE.

SCRIPTURE LESSON: Luke 10:25 -
40 DIALOGUE:
PRAYER:
HYMN: "Dear Lord and Father of mankind,
Forgive our feverish ways;
Reclothe us in our rightful mind,
In purer lives Thy service find.
In deeper reverence, praise.

Breathe through the heats of our desire
Thy coolness and Thy balm;
Let sense be dumb, let flesh retire;
Speak through the earthquake, wind, and fire.
O still small voice of calm!"

BENEDICTION:
Leader: The Lord bless thee, and keep thee;
Congregation: The Lord make his face to shine upon thee and be gracious unto thee.
All: The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.
ORGAN RESPONSE:
POSTLUDE:

(This service was prepared by Perry Saito. Morse Saito was "the Voice.")

November 20, 1944

Miss Joyce Leone Burwell
Bradford, Illinois

Dear Joyce Burwell:

Thank you for your letter telling us that you would like to correspond with a girl in a relocation center. I am sorry we do not have any names of young people in the 7th grade; the following is the name of a girl in the 9th grade. If you find that correspondence with her is not satisfactory, you might ask her for the name of a girl in the 7th grade. There is no reason, however, why you would not find a great deal in common.

Karumo Hamahashi
9 E - 5 - D
Amache, Colorado

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS:SA

Bradford, Ill.
November 10, 44

NOV 16 1944

Dear Mr. Swomley,

A few days ago, my brother, Dean Burwell, received a letter from you, telling him a name of a boy in a relocation camp.

I would also like to write to some girl my own age. I'm 13 years old. I will give you my address at the end of my letter.

I heard Perry Saito, too. He told us much about the people in relocation camps.

I was interested in his talk. I wish we could do more for the people in relocation camps.

Thank You, I will appreciate it very much if you would send me the name of a girl in a relocation camp.

Your true friend,
Miss Joyce Leone Burwell

R.F.D. Bradford,
Ills.

P.S. I'm in the 7th grade.

November 29, 1944

Miss Florence L. Davis
Dubois School
Springfield, Illinois

Dear Miss Davis:

Our staff member, Perry Saito, forwarded to us sometime ago a list of names of your 8th grade students who are interested in corresponding with those in relocation centers. Unfortunately, we do not have the names of any 8th grade pupils with whom your group might correspond; we do have a list of 9th graders which we shall be glad to send you if you think they would not be too old for your class. They would be about 13 or 14 years of age.

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

Heart Mountain, Wyo
Nov. 20, 1944

James Farmer, Jr.
Race Relations Dept.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your inquiry of the age & grade of the students desiring to carry on correspondence I shall have to be rather vague. They should be Juniors and Seniors with ages from 15-18. I do not have the list & cannot check.

Jean Morton

DEC 7 1944

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
2929 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 25, NEW YORK

Sent list
12/8

November 29, 1944

Miss Florence L. Davis
Dubois School
Springfield, Illinois

Dear Miss Davis:

Our staff member, Perry Saito, forwarded to us sometime ago a list of names of your 8th grade students who are interested in corresponding with those in relocation centers. Unfortunately, we do not have the names of any 8th grade pupils with whom your group might correspond; we do have a list of 9th graders which we shall be glad to send you if you think they would not be too old for your class. They would be about 13 or 14 years of age.

Sincerely yours,

John Swomley
John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

My 8th grade students would be glad to correspond with the 9th graders you mention. There is very little defference in their ages and this group is unusually intelligent. Sincerely.

Florence L. Davis

HEART MOUNTAIN
NOV 20
1 PM
1944
WYO.

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New york city

---

x – gave to Rhoda Worford

9th grade

Yoshiye Yamaga 7F-11-B
(ME) Yoshiko Hatanaka 8G-3C
Tom Yamamoto 11G-7-E
Joe Maruyama 1K-9-A
David Yamaguchi 10E-12B
x Bob Shimosaka 12K-Recreation Hall
x GEORGE HATAMIYA 6G-5B
~~BEN TANI 9L-6E~~
x ARTHUR MIYASHIMA 6H-3B
x lawrence Nakamura 7G7E
x HOWARD IKI 12G-5-E ~~STINKER~~ !!
Lila Hanamoto 12G-4B
Jean Muramoto 10H-4D
Lucy Kishi 9H-7E
MARY SHOJI - 9H-9E
Marion Yoshiwara - 9E-8B
x Satomi Saito 8K-7E
x Fumi Higuchi 8K-12-E
✓ x Yasumo Hamahashi 9E-5-D
x Helen Horibe 6F-11-E
x Lily Uyeda 6F-5-D
x Motoye Hamatani 10H 7-D
x Jeanne Nakamura 9K 1-C navy duty
x Kazuko Kawasaki 6H-11-A
x Grace Yasumura 7H-5C Hawkins

Name	Address	Age(or Interes)	
Iva L. Vaskell	Lewistown Ill.	14	
David Packard	Toulon Illinois	15	
Robert Patton	Toulon, Ill.	15	boy or girl
Marjorie Schultz	Magnolia Ill	16	
Rodney Schultz	Magnolia Ill	15	
Clarabell Mullis	1108 Webster Peoria, Ill.	13	
Evelyn De Bolt	Deer Creek, Ill. Box 78	17	both
Rose Anne Schroeder	Tonica, Ill. R. 1	16	both
Kenny Brown	Wyoming Ill	17	both
Marilyn De Graff	140 High St. Peoria 5 Ill.	15	both
Leroy Drake	R R D Delavan Ill	17	both
Doris Irene Hayden	Box 394 Delavan, Illinois	17	both
Virginia Gillespie	Wyoming, Ill.	17	girl
Doris Leadley	" "	16	"
Wilma Harms	Rutland, Ill.	17	
Phyllis Watton	513 Kellogg Peoria, Ill.	15	both
Marjorie Friedrich	Manito, Illinois	17	~~both~~ Boy
Mary O'Hara	Glasford Illinois	17	~~both~~ ~~Boy~~
B A Nottinger	Peoria Ill 129 Summit Blvd.	4	~~girl~~
Joyce Nelson	302 McKinley ave Bartonville Ill	15	both
Loraine Smith	104 Benedict St. Chillicothe Ill	17	~~both~~
~~Jean Evans~~	~~6+2 South Fourth Street~~ Pekin, Ill	~~16~~	~~both~~
~~Mary Edwards~~	304 McKinley Bartonville	15	~~both~~
Credwyn Mahannah	307 McKinley ave Bartonville 7, Ill.	15	both
Bonnie Lou Scott	Washington, Ill	17	~~both~~
~~David H Jones~~	Toulon Ill	16	both
Harold Hiltabrand	Lostant, Ill	18	both
Virginia Holland	601 Peoria St. Washington, Ill.	14	both

12 Granada, Colo.

Name	Address
Kiyoko Washizu	9K-1-B
Shigeyo Washino	7K-2-B
Fusako Uyemura	10E-10D
Yukie Uda	6G-5D
Kiyoko Tokunaga	12F-3B
Toshiko Takeuchi	7G-2B.
Atsue Taketa	8E-1-D.
Ernie (Dave) Miyashima	6H-3-B
Margaret Otani	11F-9-C
Fumiko Sugamura	11G-6E
Shiro Takemoto	12H-12E
Joe Hamade	11-H-5-C
Lillian Kuwahara	6E-10-B
June Kumasaki	12H-2E
Mae Kawamoto	8F-11E
Jim Kawada	12G-4C
Jack Hatanaka	8E-3-E
Mits Sunada	12H-4E
Calvert Kitazumi	11E6C
Mary Matoba	11F-10-A
Shizue Menda	6F-7B
Min Ito	12F-3E

12 5

Lils Saito	11G-8-C
Chiyo Sakurai	11G-11-A
Yuri Yamamoto	7E-4F
Michiko Yoshimi	13K-6D
Grace Yoshioka	6G-9C
Edna Fujihara	8F-4-D
Audrey Nakako	11F-4F
George Yonemura	11E-3D
Tad Sasa	10E-13C
Kiyoko Sugimoto	11-H-5-E
Aiko Ogata	10E-3-F
Virgie Okamura	11F-5F
Roy Oda	7K-7-C
Tom Oshita	7G-8E
Florence Nagasugi	6G-12-a
Ray Nakatogawa	9E.11E
Frank Horikawa	7H-10-F
Martha Murakami	6H-6F
Fumi Morita	12H-6-B
Molly Fujihara	8F-4-D
Shigeko Hamaoka	7G-11-B

Ray Uratsuka 7F-8-B

Shinobu Kunimoto 8F-6C

NAHIVE KINOSHITA 7F-8F

Girls ~~ttt~~ - Poston, Arizona

Name	Address	Age	Class	Interest
1. Betty Takizawa	220-7-D	16	Junior	Sports, Music
2. Tayeko Kitamura	220-4-D	16	"	
3. Miyeko Abe	220-9-D	16	"	
4. Sadie Okamoto	227-11-D	15	"	Music
5. Sally Nakai Barbara Jean	213-7-B		"	
6. Sadako Furuiki Peggy Houston	208- D			
7. Chiyeko Sakai Jane Stewart	220-6-B		"	
8. Doris Sakasegawa Mary Moore	213-12-A		"	
9. Ruth Ogawa Marjorie Pearce	222-6-A		"	
10. Esther Yamamoto Shirley Seegfried	219-8-D		"	
11. Barbara Anne Nakai Rita [illegible]	213-7-B		"	
12. Masae Furuike Downing	208-6-D		"	
13. Bettie Hamamoto	208-8-C	16	"	
14. Marjorie Yanagisako Rachel	229-6-B		"	
15. Yachiyo Arase	208-11-A		"	
16. Yuriko Hironaka	229-5-D		"	
17. Teruko Hironaka	229-5-C		"	
18. Itsuko Taniguchi	220-4-A		"	
19. Toshi Ichikawa	219-5-B	15	"	
20. Tamiko Yamamoto	216-6-C		"	Sports + Music
21. Alyce Kuwabara	229-12-B		"	
22. Frances Kamitani	209-9-A		"	
23. Toshi Endo	215-8-D		"	
24. Cherry Iwakiri	214-3-B		"	
25. Kinuye Kadani	211-8-B		"	
26. Harumi Morimune	213-10-A		"	

Boys

All - Poston, Arizona

Name	Address	Age	Class	Interest
1. Jack Oda	209-2-B	18	Senior	Analyzing atoms
2. Haruo Yuki	215-3-A	18	"	
3. Norio Kokka	213-12-B	17	"	Counting stars
4. Lefty Kiyohara	227-9-A	17	"	Drawing
5. George Soda	213-2-B	17	"	
6. Joe Naganuma	227-3-C	17	Junior	
7. George Fujita	220-9-A	17	"	
8. William Fujitsubo	221-12-A	15	"	
9. Jim Kojima	211-8-A	15	"	
10. Benny Masatani Tommy Wilson	211-11-D	16	"	
11. Tad Fujii	215-12-A	16	"	
12. Ted Akahori	222-3-A	16	"	

Amache, Colorado

12th grade

✓ Namiko Ota	6E-2-D
✓ Shigeko Mae Sakamoto	8E-3D
✓ Ethel Shiotsu	11F-4-D
Jean Yamasaki	10H-5E
✓ Mary Yamamoto	11G-7E
Fred Mayeda	11E-2E
"Lodge" Kimura	6G-12-A
✓ Chiye Minami	9H-1B
✓ Eunice Kumagai	9L-6B
✓ Yoshie Ikeda	9L-12-C
✓ MARY KAWASHIMA	9H-11-E
Smokey Kimura	~~28~~ 9H-6C

Sue Ogata
8E-9C
Amache, Colorado

11th grade

Lily Sakaeda
11K-6A
Amache, Colorado

Betty Hasegawa
7G-4E
Amache, Colorado

Betty Komatsubara
7F-4-C
Amache, Colo.

Florence Kuritake
8E-12D
Amache, Colo.

Florence Makita
9H-4B (age 16 boy or girl)
Amache

Girls

Poston, Arizona

Name	Address	Age	Class	Interests
1. Chizuko kitamura Wellwitz	220-4-D	17	Senior	
2. Fumi Fujita Bartellotta	220-6-A	17	"	
3. Betty Oku [illegible](v)	220-7-B	17	"	Dress designing and illustrating
4. Yuriko Yamamoto Marshall	221-10-C	17	"	
5. Tazuko Watari	221-6-D	16	"	
6. Ritz Hatashita	226-11-C	17	"	
7. Setsuko Hada	214-5-C	17	"	
8. Fujie Fukutomi	207-3-D	17	"	
9. Frances Iida Beatty	208-13-B	17	"	
10. Elsa Ito x	227-8-A	15	Sophmore	
11. Emiko Doi x	227-10-C	15	"	
12. Mitsuye Menda	229-5-B			
13. x Mary Yamashita	219-3-A	17	Senior	Nursing
14. Terry Asami	216-10-C	17	"	Nursing
15. Nancy Endo	220-1-C			

V Jean Harrell

answered 2/19

Jean Harrell
920 S. Hall Street
Eaton Rapids, Mich.

January 27, 1945

Dear Mr. Farmer,

On October 24, 1944 you me the addresses of six Japanese-Americans from the Poston, Arizona, Relocation camp. Since then several other members of our group (The Methodist Youth Fellowship) have become interested in this and wish to have Japanese-American "pen pals."

They are one girl, 17

years old and two boys, one 17, the other 18.

I'm sure we would appreciate some more addresses.

Sincerely
Jean Harrell

12^{3}
Takako Fukuda - Koen Ranch Granada, Colo
Jane Nagai - 9E-5-B Amache, Colo
Haruko Miyano - 8E-7B Amache, Colo.
Susie Minakata 8E-7-D Amache, Colo
Akiye Akiyama 8G-1B Amache
Reiko Shimada 7H-3-D Amache, Colo.
12^{4} Misao Sugiura 10E-4-D Amache, Colo.
Yoshiko Baba 7E-8-D Amache, Colo
Sue Ogata 8E-9C Amache, Colo.
Mae Kato 11E-9B Amache, Colo.
Haruko Kubo 9E-2D Amache, Colo.
Janet Tsubochi 12F-2B Amache, Colo
Ayame Kunimoto 8F-6C Amache, Colo.
Mary Morikawa 11F-3D Amache Colo.
TAIRA MATSUSHITA 8E-3B AMACHE, COLO
Harue Nomura 6E-2E Amache, Colo
Lucy Nakano 6G-2F Amache, Colorado
YOSHI ODA 6F-1B AMACHE, COLO
William Kohaya 9L-6-D Amache, Colo
Mary Kusumoto 12F-1F Amache Colo
Helen Miyahara 9L-2-B Amache, Colo.
Lily Inouye - 7E - 9E - Amache Colo.
Norma Hamamoto 12F-9A, Amache, Colo.

12^4

Aster Fujikawa	6E-9-E	Amache, Colo.
Benomi Hamatani	10H-7C	" "
Amy Ando - - - - -	8F-9B-	Amache, Colo.
Mieko Akutagawa	12F-11E	Amache, Colo

Forerunner and correspondence

✓ James Tsuneishi	2-7-D	Heart Mountain WRA Center, ~~Cody~~ Heart Mountain Branch, Cody, Wyoming.
✓ Fred Sugiyama	22-16-E	"
✓ Frank Takaki	9-13-C	"
Joseph Fukuda	8-13-C	"
Koji Tomikawa	29-22-C	"

All are high school seniors. Please keep them in mind, if local group is started, for representation at Denver conference, if any is called for Forerunners. I'll talk over matter of group with Vernon Ross and try to get sponsor for group.

Excerpts from a letter written to Rev. Robert Inglis, Plymouth Congregational Church, Oakland, Calif. by Benjiman H. Bull, attorney and member of the American Legion in Madison, Wisconsin.

Dear Mr. Inglis:

For a number of years since the World War the American Legion local post has entertained the German and Austrian soldiers who came to this country and became American citizens. The last party we held was about six weeks ago. With the lapse of time it was interesting to note that one of these men was being run for Justice of the Peace in a neighboring suburb, by his neighbors; another man who was an ace in Richthofen's Squadron was head of a research laboratory here shuttling back and forth between Madison and Washington; another was holding a high position with a concern which makes hospital laboratory equipment; another fellow had carried on as a good German sausage maker. He good-humoredly told us how he had heard reports of his being in a concentration camp, all of which was news to him, and especially in view of the fact that he was exercising his full liberty of action and was a member in good standing with the local volunteer department. I mention this latter because it shows that some of the old rumors had begun to rise but that this man had good sense enough to come to our meeting and joke about them.

As you know, we have several Japanese families in Madison. Mr. Henry Toki, operating a truck garden, has been here in Wisconsin for thirty-six years. He has given to us four very fine American citizens. The oldest boy is now in the United States army. The oldest girl was a few years ago given recognition by the State of Wisconsin for her 4-H Club work, the award which she received being presented to her at Chicago. The second girl is completing her Senior year at the University of Wisconsin and has just been presented with a Phi Beta Kappa and is being graduated of course, with honors. The fourth child is in one of our best high Schools. She told us with considerable pride how she had taken part in some exercises at the West High, part of which was a Victory Tap Dance.

At the last meeting with the German-Austrian Veterans our Mayor called our attention to the fact that the elder Miss Toki, who works in our public library had found some difficulty in adjusting herself to the times and the Mayor made it a point to go over and see her to give her some encouragement and told her to stick right on the job. This caused several of the Legionaires to give consideration to the need of extending the same kind of spirit of comradship to these fellow Americans as we extended to the naturalized Americans of the German and Austrian armies. The matter was discussed by several of us, the most interested persons being a County Judge, two Aldermen, and the Commander of the American Legion.

The easy thing to do in view of the son in the United States army was to present the service flag and this was taken up at the executive committee of the American Legion and officially sponsered. The oldest daughter was contacted by the Commander of the Legion and she discussed the matter with her parents and it was very satidfactory to them; so at the appointed hour the official committee of the American Legion together with a Legionaire who had been specifically designated by the Mayor to represent him called upon Mr. and Mrs. Toki and their family. Quite a little party had been gathered for the occassion consisting of Professor Finch of the University, Miss Kelsey, long a member of the Unitarian Church of this city, the County Agent, a well established grocer, a farmer whose sons were members of the American Legion and four or five other people. The service flag was presented to Mr. and Mrs. Toki with the appropriate speeches, to which the oldest daughter responded for her parents. Thereafter the young ladies served tea in the most delightful manner, the table being decorated with red, white and blue candles. Later a letter was addressed to each member of the Committee thanking them for the service.

Since that time various members of the Committee have been in touch with members of the family and they have reassurance of the cooperation of this Committee of the Legion should any problem arise.

I think, however, that Mr. and Mrs. Toki are well established in this community. The children are well liked and I think by this time that there is no problem for this particular family.

Miss Toki advised us that there were two very definite things came out of this presentation; first it gave to Mr. and Mrs. Toki a sense of security which was evidenced by the fact that she said that her Mother had laughed for the first time since the beginning of the war and that they really felt very much better. Secondly, she said that her brother had written her that he had been quite lonely in the army, but that when he heard the American Legion had presented the service flag he felt very proud and much better.

JAPANESE-AMERICANS TO BE RESETTLED

A special committee to assist the churches and represent them in resettlement of Japanese-Americans who are now in the relocation centers is being set up under the Commission on Aliens and Prisoners of War. The War Relocation Authority is resettling individuals and small groups in the communities where employment is guaranteed and where the people of the community are prepared to receive the Japanese and facilitate their making a living and participating normally in community life.

For the present, most of the resettlement will be in the terribory between the Western and the Eastern Military Areas. That is roughly, between the Rocky Mountains and the Appalacians. It is not intended that large groups shall be settled in any one county or state.

The War Relocation Authority is especially eager to resettle the younger generation between the ages of eighteen and thirty. Those who will be released from the relocation centers will all have been carefully investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and recommended by the War Relocation Authority as being beyond suspicion in their loyalty to America and as having the capacity to fulfil the requirements of the employment offered. They are all well adjusted to American life and, of course, speak English fluently. Requests are already being received from numerous cities for those with various professional qualifications as well as for agricultural and other types of labor.

It is assumed that in many communities it will be the people in the churches who will be most concerned to assist the War Relocation Authority in carrying out this task.

Inquiries should be directed to the Secretary for Japanese Resettlement, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

MAR 27 1944

RESETTLEMENT BULLETIN

John

March 1944 **NEW YORK** **Vol. II. No. 3.**

REPORTS FROM THE RESETTLEMENT FRONT

It is reported that about twenty thousand evacuees have been relocated throughout the Midwest and East. Resettlement is one year old and there are indications that young people are calling their parents to join them.

The biggest change in the picture, of course, was the transfer of the War Relocation Authority to the Department of the Interior in February. Statements by Secretary Ickes and Director Myer are found in this issue. What this transfer means for the future remains to be seen, but for the present there is no change in the resettlement program.

The month of February witnessed one of the most dramatic episodes on the resettlement front. The State Legislature of Colorado was the scene of that drama. Governor Vivian, influenced by pressure groups and newspaper publicity reporting that Japanese farmers were buying up land in that state, called a special session to pass a constitutional amendment designed to keep Japanese aliens from purchasing even one foot of soil in the state. Colorado, our readers will recall, accepted a number of voluntary evacuees until the voluntary evacuation was stopped.

At first, the members of the House appeared willing to pass the amendment. Then three representatives arose to challenge it. One was blind, the second a Negro, and the third had a brother in a Japanese Prisoner of War camp. House and gallery were packed and tense.

Then Dean Paul Roberts of St. John's Cathedral sounded a sober warning: "Fascism starts in an innocent way, with public opinion mobilized against a small group unable to fight back." But the decisive word was uttered by a young veteran of World War II, honorably discharged from the army as a sergeant. He was at Will Rogers Field, Oklahoma, when he was called. Still in uniform, Representative Wayne Hill, 26, spoke briefly and simply. "I am cautioned" he said, "that I will be sorry. I am just as willing to die a political death as I am to die in battle to preserve American freedom." The amendment was killed.

There was another sergeant pleading for tolerance on the home front at about the same time. Much decorated Sgt. Ben Kuroki, just back after a year's service in Europe as a bomber gunner, spoke at the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco. When Kuroki, who participated in most dangerous missions, appealed for a battle against intolerance, it was an inspiration to those who stood by loyal Japanese Americans and for their resettlement.

The revelation of Japanese army atrocities brought out many reactions from the evacuees, both resettled and in the camps. They visited the Red Cross Blood Banks in groups and individually. Camp residents adopted resolutions opposed to the militarists

No outbreak of violence has been reported in areas of resettlement.

Draft of Japanese Americans is affecting the resettlement front. Many are leaving hard won positions. Plans for family resettlement are being altered in some cases. Still on the whole reactions have been favorable both among the Japanese Americans and the public towards the reinstituting of Selective Service for the Nisei. The movement for resettlement, however, is gathering momentum with the arrival of spring.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

TRANSFERRED TO DEPT OF INTERIOR

WASHINGTON, D.C. - February 17, 1944.

The following statements were issued to the press in Washington, relating to the transfer of the War Relocation Authority to the Department of the Interior.

Statement by Secretary Ickes

"The President has directed that the War Relocation Authority be transferred to the Department of the Interior. I am glad to welcome the Director and staff of the War Relocation Authority into this Department. The Authority was established nearly two years ago as a result of the Army's evacuation of West Coast residents of Japanese ancestry. Since that time, the Authority has worked closely with this Department. Five relocation centers are situated on Interior Department land, one center was directly administrated by this Department until January 1, 1944. As a consequence, I know something of the problems with which the War Relocation Authority has been confronted and have come to appreciate the effectiveness with which these problems have been dealt.

"War Relocation Authority has been confronted with the difficult task of caring for a minority group of enemy ancestry in time of war. To handle this problem with proper regard for the national security and in accord with sound principles of American democracy, the Authority has developed a three-fold program --- 1. Maintenance of all evacuees who require support in properly administered relocation centers; 2. Segregation of evacuees whose sympathies do not lie with the United States into a special segregation center; and 3. Relocation of loyal evacuees as rapidly as possible in normal, productive, American life. This program will be continued and I hope will be made even more effective in the Department of the Interior.

"In carrying out my responsibilities under the order, I intend to keep in mind the need of recognition of the rights of United States citizens regardless of ancestry, the internal security of the United States during war time and the international implications which are involved, and particularly the effect of this program on the treatment of war prisoners and civilians in Japanese hands.

"The Department of the Interior will, I am sure, be able to make an effective contribution to the relocation program. I should be reluctant, however, to assume the responsibilities involved in bringing the War Relocation Authority into the Department of the Interior if I did not know the ability and devotion of the staff of the War Relocation Authority and were not assured that Dillon Myer and the organization he has built up and directed were coming under my direction as a unit."

Statement by Dillon S. Myer

In commenting today on the transfer of the War Relocation Authority to the Department of the Interior, WRA Director Dillon S. Myer said ---

"The War Relocation Authority was created by the President almost two years ago to perform a necessary wartime task, aimed at preserving our American democratic principles and at the same time protecting the national security. The program which we have developed to meet the needs of 110,000 American residents, two-thirds of them citizens by right of birth, has had the endorsement of the Congress as well as the executive branch of the government. Our primary objective is to see that it is carried out in the most effective manner. We welcome the resources and facilities which will be available in the Department of the Interior to help us do our job and do it better.

"I know that Secretary Ickes and I can depend upon the continued loyalty of the WRA staff and a continuation of the good relations between residents of the centers and the staff which have been enjoyed in the past."

JEROME TO BE CLOSED

WASHINGTON, D.C. - February 22, 1944.

Plans of the War Relocation Authority for the closing of the Jerome Relocation Center near Jerome, Arkansas, were announced today by Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes.

"It has been the intention to close a center as soon as the relocation program progressed far enough to make space available in other centers to accommodate the people who will have to be moved," Mr. Ickes said. "The 18,000 persons who have left the centers under the relocation program now make it possible to absorb the residents of one of the centers without undue crowding."

Secretary Ickes pointed out that the Jerome Center was the last to be established, so development of physical facilities had not progressed as far as at some of the others; its population, 6,554 as of February 1, is one of the smallest; and existence of the Rohwer Relocation Center only 35 miles away with a capacity of nearly 2,000 additional persons as a result of relocation, would reduce the total amount of transportation involved and minimize the difficulties of moving.

The relocation program from Jerome as from the eight other relocation centers will be continued during the spring months and residents will be given all possible assistance in finding opportunities to reestablish themselves in communities outside the evacuated zone. The Jerome residents who have not relocated as individuals or families before the first of June, according to Secretary Ickes, will be moved to other relocation centers, including Rohwer, located nearby; Granada, in Colorado; Heart Mountain, in Wyoming; and possibly others if more space is needed.

Evacuee residents of the Jerome Center, under WRA guidance, have carried on many different types of activity in an effort to make the community as near self-sufficient as possible. During the 1943 farming season, according to Project Director E. B. Whitaker, they produced vegetables and other food crops on 718 acres of land, harvesting a total of 1,170,564 pounds of crops; shipped 15,000 pounds of corn and sweet potatoes to other centers; cleared 200 acres of new land and several hundred acres more of partially cleared land, and slaughtered 1,215 head of hogs raised from feeders, for their own use. In the seven months period between July of last year and February 1 of this year, they have produced 281,900 board feet of lumber and cut 6,006 cords of firewood.

The new Supervisor of the Chicago area office of the War Relocation Authority is Mr. Vernon Kennedy. His address is 226 West Jackson Blvd., Chicago 6, Illinois.

Letters to the Committee on Resettlement

HENRY STREET VISITING NURSE SERVICE
New York, N.Y.

"I am happy to write you concerning the work of Miss Chitose Aihara, who joined our staff in July, 1943. I believe that many people wondered at such a move on the part of our organization, when feeling toward the people of a country with whom we are at war is so strong. The successful public health nurse must gain the respect of the families she visits almost the very moment the door is opened to her. Those who are familiar with this work know that the nurse who loves and understands people, and possesses the necessary professional preparation for the work, will be welcomed regardless of her race, creed, or color. Miss Aihara's personal application and letters of reference convinced our Committee on Appointments that she would be only a credit to our staff. She has more than fulfilled our expectations.

"Miss Aihara has been well accepted in the community by patients, their families, and workers in related fields. Her supervisor says in a recent report concerning her adjustment to the work, 'Her kindliness, understanding, ability to meet the patients' known needs, and her 'light touch', make her a welcome guest. She works well with her co-workers, and is respected and liked by them. She is indeed one of the group. The insurance agent covering Miss Aihara's health area has stated that his clients have repeatedly expressed their great satisfaction with her help. Her appearance, her quiet, pleasant, professional manner, and her sincerity of purpose, make her a credit to the organization.'

"Miss Aihara is constantly trying to improve her public health nursing skills. She has her B.S. degree in Public Health Nursing from the University of California, and is now making plans to take work on an advanced level toward her master's degree at Columbia University.

"We feel most fortunate that Miss Aihara is a member of our staff.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) DOROTHY RUSBY
Personnel Assistant."

THE UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY
Indianapolis, Indiana.

"One of our missionaries, Dr. Donald H. Baker, D.C.C.M. Mondombe, via Coquilhatville, Congo Belge, Africa, requests that we send you check from his account for $5.00. You will find the same enclosed. If you care to send receipt to Doctor Baker in care of this office we will forward it to him with our next salary statement.

Very truly,

The United Christian Missionary Society.
Treasurer."

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Washington, D. C.

"The people of Japanese descent in relocation centers were shocked by the revelation of atrocities against American and Filipino soldiers. Expressions of indignation immediately came from the editors of relocation center newspapers and from the Councils of evacuee residents of the centers. The presence of nearly 10,000 Americans of Japanese descent in the United States Army, a great majority of them volunteers, speaks even more eloquently of the fact that the thousands of loyal Americans of Japanese descent and their non-citizen parents have no sympathy with the ideologies of militarist Japan.

Sincerely,

(Signed) D. S. Myer.
Director.

~~A~~ Japanese American Looks at His Problem

"The problem of the Japanese American is, I learned to my surprise, only a small part of the whole minority problem in the United States," declared Tek Sakurai, delegate to the World's Student Planning Conference held last month in Wooster College, Ohio, in a report given to the NEWS-COURIER.

The Wooster Conference was held under the joint sponsorship of several church organizations "in order that it may plan for a world of tomorrow which would be a better one to live in," said Sakurai. Five hundred delegates from various seminaries, colleges and even the relocation centers were present.

Sakurai said that the greatest of the problems faced by the delegates was that of the minorities, of which the evacuee problem was a small one.

That portion of Sakurai's report which treats of his reaction to the evacuee problem follows:

"Because of my long hibernation in the center, I found that I had forgotten much of the problems of the other races and groups -- the negro, the sharecroppers, the migratory workers, the tenant farmers, the Mexicans, the Indians, the Jews. All of these are more significant in the order of need.

"It could be seen that even though the problem of the Japanese American was acute, there were far more opportunities from every quarter for us to grasp. There were more people and more agencies of recognized standing to aid us. There were more people with excellent records and capabilities in fields to start from.

"The advantages that the Japanese Americans held over other minority groups were evident. Yet, the delegates wanted to know more about them and be in a better position to help further.

"I began to feel guilty of the fact that I had treated our particular problem so intently, blindly, and without sharing in the total problems which exist in the world today. After all, taking all things into consideration, we are not as great a problem as we think we are." - Gila NEWS-COURIER, February 15, 1944.

JAPANESE CANADIANS TODAY

G. E. Trueman, Placement Officer of the British Columbia Security Commission, Toronto, has made available the information which follows, contained in a statement signed by church leaders.

Evacuation

Following the attack on Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941, the Canadian Government decided to remove all persons of Japanese stock to a point at least 100 miles from the west coast of British Columbia. Evacuation was practically completed by October 31, 1942.

Numbers

According to the best available information, there were in British Columbia at the end of December 1941, 22,317 persons of Japanese racial origin. Of these, 8,960 were males over 16 years of age; 6,060 were females over 16, and the balance, 7,300, were children under 16. In addition to those living in British Columbia there were approximately 1,000 scattered among the other provinces of the Dominion. The total amounts to around .02% of the population of the Dominion.

Citizenship

Of the above 9,538 were Japanese Nationals; 6,589 were naturalized British subjects; 6,381 were Canadian born. Thus of the whole, 12,970, or 54.2%, were Canadian citizens. The apparently large number of Japanese Nationals, however, gives quite a wrong impression since many of them had lived in Canada most of their lives, their children and all their property were here, and in every important way they had identified themselves with Canadian interests.

Projects

Relocation Settlements in Interior British Columbia	11,964
Sugar Beet Projects	3,988
Self Supporting Projects	1,161
Approved Employment	1,137
Road Camp Projects	986
Industrial Projects	431
Repatriated, Interned, Hospitalized, etc.	1,482

The Government Plan

It is hoped that this enforced evacuation of the Japanese from the West Coast, rendered inevitable by the war situation, may be found to hold within itself the ultimate solution of the Canadian-Japanese Problem. That problem has existed not because of the character of the British Columbia residents of Japanese origin but because of the fact that they found themselves segregated in colonies; as a result their contacts became more or less ingrown; their language schools and dual citizenships perpetuated relationship with Japan and to that extent retarded assimilation to Canadian language, culture, and ideals. It is only by being scattered in such small units throughout the provinces that the formation of colonies will be precluded, and that these people will find their true place in Canadian life. It is hoped that placements in the provinces may be as families, where at all possible, and, in accordance with the occupational skills of those engaged.

Loyalty

As has been said the majority of our Canadian Japanese are either Canadian born or naturalized citizens. Over one-half of the total Japanese population are Church members or Church adherents; they receive our school education; they speak our language; they sing our songs; they salute our flag. The vast majority of them are already outstandingly loyal; many of them have volunteered for our fighting forces. Hundreds would do so if they thought they would be accepted.

The statement from which the above excerpts have been taken was signed by the following: H.H. Bingham, Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec; George Dorey, United Church of Canada; Edward H. Johnson, Presbyterian Church in Canada; W.W. Judd, Church of England in Canada; Alfred E. McQuillan, St. Michael's Roman Catholic Cathedral, Toronto.

Jean Note + Return to SW

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RESETTLEMENT BULLETIN

APR 1944

Putting Democracy into Living Practice

"That's Cincinnati, Ohio!" ------ Mrs. Raymond Booth, Executive Secretary Citizens' Committee

The Committee now numbers 36 representative citizens from the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish groups, also Nisei, Issei and the Negro group, under the Chairmanship of the Rev. Nelson Burroughs of Christ Church.

First and foremost, of course, was the housing problem to be tackled. For several months beginning July 1, I spent every week-day afternoon excepting Saturday, interviewing newcomers in search of a house or apartment, or room and board. We found them all living quarters somehow by contacting real estate agencies, answering ads and by announcing our need to the churches, synagogues, etc., through church bulletins and announcements, and Mr. Pearce Atkins' monthly letter to the churches.

We now have quite a sizable list of truly interested and cooperating real estate agencies as well as individual apartment owners to whom we may safely refer incoming people for assistance. Individuals on the Committee also take more and more responsibility in this direction.

During the early months when so many more were coming in, often unannounced, and the Hostel was full to overflowing, hospitality for over night and often longer was offered by many Cincinnatians. Many people opened their homes at the suggestion of someone from our Citizens' Committee and we have several standing offers to finance a few days hospitality at the Y.M.C.A. or Y.W.C.A. from people with no guest room space to offer.

We have no Japanese living in slum or undesirable areas. Consistently we have persisted when housing was tight because of scarcity, until we have found homes no one need be ashamed to live in -- maybe humble sometimes, but respectable plus as to locality. A few have purchased homes already.

In many cases one or two rent a larger house or apartment than they really need just in order to sub-rent to younger people coming out alone and much in need of a "homey" atmosphere rather than a lonely room somewhere. This we encourage and appreciate very much.

More than 40 per cent of our people here are members of family groups and as such, tend to settle into community and church life at once and are more readily acceptable to the general public. When a family is moving into a new neighborhood, we inform the ministers and the school authorities (if there are school-age children) and representatives of the Council of Church Women (key-women, they are called) in that area, also Jewish or Catholic neighbors likely to be interested and neighborly, and so insure an immediate friendly reception.

A small, carefully chosen counselling committee, mostly Nisei, stands ready to advise or make suggestions to evacuees who may need such assistance, especially those who may be away from parental discipline and control for the first time.

As family groups began to arrive in July and August with school age children, Mr. Courter, Superintendent of Schools, was given the names, ages and home addresses of pupils starting to school in September. He, in turn, took full responsibility for contacting school principals and teachers ahead of the opening of school. The result of his work and the fine response of his teachers and principals has been a most happy and natural relationship between Caucasian and Japanese American school children which has, in turn, brought about a greater degree of sympathetic understanding between parents.

Miss Wright, Principal of Clifton Public School, was recently added to our Committee because of her very fine work with the seven youngsters in her care. Five of them are children of Capt. and Mrs. Walter Tsukamoto. Mrs. Tsukamoto is a member of the Citizen's Committee and a hostess in the Clifton P.T.A.

At Miss Wright's request, the Captain visited the school on his last visit home from Camp Savage where he is stationed and spoke to the kiddies in each room where his children were. The little Caucasian pupils were terribly thrilled to be visited by a real, live Army Captain in uniform, to say nothing of the delight of his own offspring!

Other schools, high schools, and university circles are equally friendly. There are about 35 students at the University of Cincinnati and some half dozen high school students in various high schools and a few in business colleges. In all cases a friendly atmosphere prevails.

The Citizen's Committee secures the church affiliation or preference of relocatees coming in and this information, together with addresses, is handed to Dr. Pearce Atkins of the Church Council, who, in turn, channels it out to the proper church leaders and officials. Quite a large percentage of the resettlers are attending church and participating actively in the work of the church and young people's groups. Many have joined the church of their choice in recent months and have been well received.

Many churches and young people's groups invited Nisei to Hallowe'en, Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Year, Valentine and St. Patrick's Day parties, as well as extending invitations to ordinary parties in between. Every week we are sending out from one to six, as requested, to speak in churches or to Young People's societies, or simply to fellowship with groups, informally. Our "speakers' bureau" is made up of 40 to 50 selected young people who speak, sing, lead informal discussion groups, or just accept invitations to dinner or to "come along and let's get acquainted" socials. The draft broke up a grand quartet which was much in demand all winter. The Citizen's Committee calls them together now and then to compare notes. On March 15, they gathered at the Hostel for an evening with Robert Segal, publicity consultant, to consider the problems of a minority group and their contacts, opportunities, responsibilities, etc. At his suggestion, we plan to conduct a series of such meetings when we shall invite someone who can tell us of his or her work with some other group -- thus looking "outside themselves" and losing a lot of self-consciousness and inferiority feeling by becoming interested in others' problems and so begin to put down real roots by gradually assuming some community responsibility through the gradual development of a real community interest.

The "Contact" group (Nisei and Caucasian young people) originated at the Y.W.C.A. and has been very effective in creating good will and understanding. Sometimes they meet at the Y.W. or go roller skating together, or on hikes, etc. Recently the group was invited for Sunday afternoon and supper to the river cottage of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Briol, members of the Citizen's Committee. Although it is 20 miles out and the worst ice storm of the winter held sway, more than 20 appeared at the cottage. This group is growing in numbers and is making itself felt among younger Cincinnatians.

Among the many socials and church parties to which the newcomers are invited, the two big parties at Christ Church under Doctor Burroughs' supervision stand out for the 300 or more Nisei and Citizen's Committee members who attended them.

Jewish groups also plan to open up their temple parlors for this same purpose soon, perhaps jointly with a non-Jewish group in a true community spirit. As one Jewish Sisterhood leader herself suggested - ". . where Jew and non-Jew, Catholic, Protestant Nisei, Issei and Caucasian Americans meet and fellowship together simply as neighbors." The Catholic Women's Association and their P.T.A. leaders are very eager to take a more active part in this work of community integration. Some non-Catholic Nisei families are sending their kiddies to Catholic day schools simply because of the seemingly complete lack of discrimination among the other pupils and their parents. Their relationship in the schools has been quite happy.

There is to be a display or exhibit of camp craft work in May, sponsored by the Council of Church Women, showing some of the very lovely carvings, lapel ornaments and other bits of fine artistic work done in leisure time in the various camps, often by people who never before had time even to attempt such artistic self expression.

Several Cincinnatians regularly send tickets to the symphony concerts, etc., to the Brintons, our Hostel directors, for the use of the Nisei who are staying there. These are most appreciatively received and taken advantage of.

It is most gratifying to see the way our relocatees tend to take advantage of the many cultural opportunities Cincinnati has to offer, opera, symphony concerts, ballets, lectures, art exhibits, etc., even when the prices of admission may seem almost prohibitive. This is indicative of the type of person settling in Cincinnati.

Not only have we nearly 400 Nisei settled here, but some 30 or 35 Issei -- very fine and kindly spirited older people whose courtesy and refinement endear them quickly to all who meet them. Occasionally they get together for a quiet social time of "visiting" such as old folks love.

The Council of Church Women appointed a committee, chaired by Miss Blanche Tudor, who meet with me as they or I desire, to discuss our community, the problems and possibilities for Nisei, and to plan ahead in our work with relocatees. Recently, the president, Mrs. Russell Hopkins, appointed for each Sunday for two months ahead several women, representing different denominations, to attend the regular Sunday afternoon teas at the Hostel and so become acquainted and become the "link" between the Hostel, the relocatees, and her own church group and neighbors.

In all denominations, including Catholic, Jew and Negro, the women's organizations have asked for someone to come and explain the whole relocation problem and to make practical suggestions of what their group might do. Young people's groups and ministerial associations also call for speakers.

Business and professional women's groups, Kiwanis clubs, etc., are doing the same and, as the ex-evacuees become known and loved and appreciated, they become, themselves, their own ambassadors of goodwill and open up for those yet to come out of camp, doors of opportunity and channels of understanding better than any or all of us can ever hope to do.

Mr. Chalmers Hadley, Chief Librarian of the Cincinnati Public Library, sent out letters to all evacuees here offering the facilities of the library and extending a cordial welcome to this community.

In answering an ad for "a room to rent", I found that the lady was advertising the room belonging to her two soldier sons -- one somewhere in the South Pacific and the other one soon to be shipped out. She did not want to disturb their books or pennants and other treasures, but wished them to remain where the lads had always kept them.

When I mentioned the Japanese name of the lad I was calling for, I heard her catch her breath and for a long moment there was silence on the line and then her voice, softer but firmer, came to me and I saw in my mind's eye, my own mother's face as she said, "Well, send the lad along, I'm sure my soldier sons, if they knew, would want their mother to put into living practice, the democracy they may have to give their young lives fighting for."

Our James is exceptionally happy in this Catholic family where the kid sister of the two soldier boys adores him and the parents always speak of him as our "third son". James proudly brings them along to the Hostel to Sunday tea and other special occasions and he, in turn, although not a Catholic, occasionally attends mass as one of the family group.

One soldier came home unannounced on furlough, and the two lads occupied the same double bed and palled around together.

Day by day new ones are coming into our midst courageously determined, after eighteen months and more on the shelf, to start life over again "on the outside" as they endeavor to put their roots down among us and become, once more, an integral part of the American scene, making their own unique and valuable contribution to the American way of living.

Dr. Mark A. Dawber, Executive Secretary, Home Missions Council of North America, will speak on "The Japanese", as a part of a Radio Series on "The Church and America's People". Tune in on WJZ and stations of the Blue Network, 12:00 - 12:15 p.m., May 8, 1944.

The New York Relocation Hostel will be ready to accept applications for temporary residence, May 10th. Address communications to: Mr. Ralph Smeltzer, Director, 168 Clinton St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Indianapolis, Indiana

by Mrs. Howard J. Baumgartel
Chairman Committee on Housing and Integration
for Japanese American Evacuees.

Early last spring the Director of the W.R.A. office here asked me (I was on this Advisory Council) if the Council of Church Women would set up a Housing and Integration Committee, which we did. There has been an excellent response by pastors and churches and many of our new friends have been integrated into church life.

The Committee on Housing and Integration has met trains, arranged for both temporary and permanent housing, where possible, and has called on these new friends.' The whole group, together with local church people, have been entertained at a party in the Y.W.C.A. building. We also had a supper meeting for the married couples. All the Nisei entertained us at a delightful Christmas party at the Y.W.C.A.

We have worked with the W.R.A. office in regard to employment opportunities. Despite conservatism in the Midwest, we have not had one unpleasant or unfortunate circumstance, so far as we know, as they have come here to live. Unfortunately, we cannot compete, so far as wages and housing go, with larger cities, with the result that many of our fine resettlers have moved on from here.

We have worked through the Superintendent of Schools to have the children of resettlers properly received, and a fine spirit has been shown here.

A few families are coming in, and the prospect for more is good, so far as Indianapolis people receiving them is concerned. I hope the W.R.A. office here will work more on this.

Mr. James Sugioka has come to be in our city. He is filling speaking engagements and meeting the resettlers and has made a very fine impression.

(Address of writer: 127 East 33rd St.,
Indianapolis, Ind.)

Cleveland, Ohio

by Rev. Shunji Forrest Nishi
Field Counsellor
Cleveland Church Federation.

The influx of Americans of Japanese ancestry into Cleveland and the surrounding vicinity has increased sharply in the last few weeks so that there are now over 900 new citizens in Cleveland of Japanese ancestry. Although Cleveland presents difficulties for family resettlement, primarily because of the local housing situation, it is interesting, and perhaps significant, to note that there are approximately 130 family units (including couples without children) now residing in this area. The acute housing situation is a very difficult hurdle for prospective residents of Cleveland to overcome, but the surprising adjustments which these families have made is testimony that it can be done, even if not entirely satisfactorily.

A sub-committee of the Cleveland Civic Committee on Resettlement, the Cleveland Church Federation Committee on Resettlement, composed of old-time residents of Cleveland as well as more recently arrived ones of Japanese ancestry and under the chairmanship of the Rev. Dr. Harold F. Carr, of Lakewood Methodist Church, is planning to devote much of its attention to the question of family resettlement. The plan is to encourage interested churches and church groups to sponsor at least one family, finding adequate housing for them, finding suitable employment for the employable members of the family, assisting them to become integral, contributing parts of the church as well as the ongoing life of the community. Any patronizing attitude or attempts at exploitation will be definitely discouraged.

It is hoped that in carrying out this project, there will be more coordination between the Centers and the Committee than in the past, so that the necessary information about both the families and the local churches and their plans may be relayed back and forth as expeditiously as possible. Apart from the difficulty in finding housing, Cleveland offers many opportunities to either individuals or family groups planning to make this city their home. The churches, as well as other groups, have come more than half way and stand ready to take Japanese

Americans into their fellowship and family on a democratic basis if only they will take the few necessary steps forward.

The office of the Field Counsellor of the Church Federation has been instrumental in finding sponsors in the Cleveland area for paroled aliens. Frank T. Urushibata, formerly of the Manzanar Project, was able to come to Cleveland when the Rev. Earl G. Guthrie of Trinity Cathedral consented to act as his sponsor. Prior to his leaving, Mr. Urushibata was engaged in horticultural work in Pasadena, California, the city made famous by its annual Tournament of Roses and the classic Rose Bowl games.

After his arrival in Cleveland Mr. Urushibata lived at the local Hostel operated by the Baptist Home Mission Society while he looked for suitable employment which he found in Parma, a suburb of Cleveland, working as a gardener and caretaker of a small farm. Here he can utilize his vast experience along horticultural lines.

At an age when most men would be thinking of retiring, Mr. Urushibata is starting life anew in a strange, but friendly community and by his own admission as well as the testimony of his sponsor seems happily settled. He is looking forward to a time when he can indulge more in some horticultural hobbies and a special hobby of his, gold fish breeding. Interested also in learning English, he is anxious to settle in a community where he will be forced to use English and thus become more fluent in it.

The Y.M.C.A. has interested itself in the total program of the resettlement of Japanese Americans, but there is at least one Clevelander of Japanese origin who has interested himself vitally in the work of the Y.M.C.A. Formerly of Ketchikan, Alaska, and the University of Washington, Abe Hagiwara with his wife, Esther, left the Minidoka center early in May, 1943, to become the Boys' Work Secretary of the Downtown Branch of the Cleveland Y.M.C.A.

He has met with extraordinary success and in his club work he deals with boys of 44 different nationality origins. Boys of Italian, German, English, Greek, Croation, Hungarian, Chinese, and other nationality backgrounds meet, plan, play, and argue together -- as boys, and not as representatives of different groups.

Recently at the Cleveland pre-induction physical examination center, an officer was heard to remark that half of "Chinatown" was being drafted when he saw a group of 25 Oriental faces in the office. He may have been surprised to learn later that all but two were Americans of Japanese ancestry taking preliminary steps to do their bit for Uncle Sam.

Group activities, while they probably do not reach all the Japanese Americans in Cleveland, are, on the other hand, planned to touch all who wish to participate. At the International Institute a group of Nisei meet on alternate Thursdays. They are not fixed, rigid groups and its make-up varies from time to time. Many Nisei who find themselves with time on their hands, wanting to meet friends, come to these socials to find and make friends and to take part in games, dancing, and refreshments. These groups will be broken down later to more stable, interest-centered groups whose membership will be open not only to Nisei but others interested.

At the request of the Field Counsellor, the Business Girls' Department of the Downtown Y.W.C.A. started a mixed group of about 30 Caucasian-American and Japanese-American young men and women who meet together about once a month and call themselves the Saturday Night Co-ed Group. The first two meetings began with delicious dinners prepared by members of the group and led up to games, square and social dancing. For April the group has planned a combination hike and wiener roast at the Y.W.C.A. cabin.

A varied and ambitious program for the summer is being planned by the group to meet the varied interests of the different members. The success of this group has been very encouraging and it is hoped that similar groups can be started, enlisting the aid of churches, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. groups.

The Issei are not neglected in Cleveland. Under the leadership of the Rev. Kenge Tajima, there is a Japanese language service of worship on the second and fourth Sunday afternoons of the month at the Old Stone Church. On the alternate Sunday afternoons, there are social and business meetings at the International Institute under the chairmanship of Mr. Kinya Okajima. About 40 to 50 Issei -- over half of the Issei population of Cleveland -- regularly turn out for these gatherings.

Washington, D.C.

by F. Nelsen Schlegel

Temporary Chairman of the Washington Committee for the Relocation of Japanese Americans.

A delightful social event for Washington (D.C.) Nisei and their friends was held late in March at Fellowship House on Massachusetts Avenue. We believe there must have been more than 200 young people there to enjoy old fashioned square dancing and other good fun. Several service men attached to the Army Signal Corps were among those present.

The party was sponsored by the "Friendly Committee", which is part of the recently reorganized Washington Relocation Committee. Mrs. William Kerr, formerly a missionary of the Presbyterian Church in Korea, heads the "Friendly Committee", which is trying to arrange opportunities for young people to meet and know one another. Miss Marvel Maeda, John Kitasako and Ray Hashitani are taking an active part in this project.

Plans for the opening of a Washington hostel are being delayed by the great scarcity of suitable houses in this crowded city. But it is hoped that something will be found before long. At present there seems to be little difficulty in finding rooms for individuals and couples who are relocating here.

It may be interesting to know something of recent arrivals in the Nation's Capital, and of their occupations:

From Poston we have welcomed in recent weeks: Yoshiaki Ikeuchi and his son Teddy. Mr. Ikeuchi is translating for one of the government departments; Teddy is having a fine time in Eastern High School. Tadami Tachino and Fred Nitta are also here from Poston.

From Gila we have welcomed another translator, Hajina Fujishige; also Ayako Honda who works for the office of Indian Affairs.

John Kitasaka and Mr. and Mrs. Robert Iki are the latest arrivals in Washington from Heart Mountain. John works for the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service. Mrs. Iki has found work as employment clerk in Garfinkle's, Washington's outstanding department store.

Margaret Ohama recently joined her sister Viola, and has a temporary position at the Washington Community War Fund office. Coming also from Granada is John Hirooka. Suzy Onomiya became Mrs. Hirooka soon after John's arrival. Other former Granada residents in Washington are Bessie Matsuoka, who works for the War Labor Board, and Rose Matsumoto, who is a stenographer in the Office of Emergency Management.

Soon after Juichi Kamakawa arrived in Washington from Jerome he walked into Lerner's Department store and asked for a job. He is now Lerner's popular window display man. Mr. and Mrs. Barry Tsuda are here from Jerome, too, with their three children. Mr. Tsuda works in one of Washington's cooperative stores.

Only one recent arrival from Manzanar: Otome Saito, who is with the Fair Employment Practice Commission.

The War Relocation Office tells us there are lots of opportunities in Washington for young women who have good stenographic ability.

St. Paul, Minn.

by Miss Eloise M. Tanner
International Institute.

Our Committee feels that we should go into the resettlement of families and is calling a meeting in April with the hope that we will interest church groups in sponsoring a definite number of families for resettlement.

Our group activities so far have consisted of the party held in our club room, to collect toys for the children in camp, which took place just before Christmas, and a special party on New Year's, 1944. However, Miss Tazu Washino, a member of our staff, is going to assist me in organizing a regular club for the young people in the near future.

I think you will be interested in knowing that a member of our Committee, Mrs. Woodard Colby, is serving at the United States Employment Service of St. Paul as a volunteer, three days out of the week, working with problems of Japanese Americans. She began about two weeks ago, first taking the course the employment office gives to new professional staff members. This arrangement was made at the request of the Regional Director of the employment office, because Mrs. Steefel had done such an outstanding job in the

Minneapolis employment office. Mrs. Steefel is taking a three months' leave of absence with the idea that those seeking employment in Minneapolis could be referred to St. Paul. Because of the hostel and because of the fact that Minneapolis is a larger city, the majority of those resettling seem to want to go to that city; and the Resettlement Committee seem to feel that the time has come when more placements should be made in St. Paul.
(Address: 123 West 5th Street, St. Paul 2, Minn.)

Boston, Mass.

by Edward Ingraham, Chairman
Boston Hospitality Committee
for
Japanese American Resettlement

With reference to family resettlement, in a number of instances the parents have followed the young people and with the exception of one family which arrived about a week ago, satisfactory positions have been secured for them. When I say satisfactory I do not mean that the positions they have taken have always been just the kind they would like to have but, at any rate, they seem to be adjusting themselves to the new conditions.

In regard to group activities, a number of Nisei have entertained the Boston Hospitality Committee at a meeting where there were ten short speeches (five each on the part of Nisei and Caucasian speakers). This was a very interesting meeting and aroused considerable discussion among the 85 people present. This meeting was initiated by the Nisei themselves who acted as hosts.

Detroit, Mich.

by Rev. Shigeo Tanabe
Detroit Council of Churches

In our region family resettlement has made no headway at all. And when I speak of family resettlement I mean the relocation of our Issei people. Very few families have come here. And the prospect is not any too bright, for housing is so difficult. On the other hand, employment for the Issei is plentiful.

I cannot say that our group activities are any more interesting than activities carried on in other localities. However, we are experimenting with something which seems to be somewhat unique; that is we haven't heard of it being done consistently in other areas. I have in mind our "Friday Evening Fellowship" to which all races are welcome. We do not yet know what will come out of it but ours is the only inter-racial fellowship which meets regularly to discuss non-racial subjects. There was another group which was purely white-black in its make-up, but it no longer meets. At our Fellowship you will find whites, Jews, Negroes and, of course, Japanese Americans.
(Address: 404 Park Avenue Bldg., Detroit 26.)

Minister Installed

The Rev. Jitsuo Morikawa is a Postonite who has made good in Chicago and he has made good in a big way.

On Sunday, February 27, he was installed in holy ceremony as assistant pastor of the First Baptist Church of Chicago. Before a crowd of more than 100 churchgoers, he was installed by Dr. Eric L. Titus, pastor of the church.

It is said that this is the first time in the history of the Baptist church in America that a Japanese American has gained this position in a church in which the members are not of Japanese extraction.

Rev. Morikawa was minister of a Baptist Church in Los Angeles and is a graduate of the University of California and of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. He has lived in Chicago for several months and has been connected with the Church Federation of Chicago.

- Gila News-Courier, March 7, 1944.

Chinese American Speaks

"If you persecute the American-born Japanese in your nation now, perhaps you will then turn against the Chinese thirty years hence," Walter Ching, former Chinese American student at Utah State Agricultural College, told members of the Logan Club on February 29.

"I am not an apologist for the Japanese people--far from it," he continued, "My people have suffered most from Japanese activities. But I cannot condone United States persecution of American-born Japanese."

- Pacific Citizen, March 11, 1944.

Looking Ahead ---------------------------------- George E. Rundquist.

I am writing this Monday, April 10th, the day after Easter. Spring is in the air and with it comes renewed hope that by this time next year most of our friends, still in the Relocation Centers, will have been well established in the new communities on the "outside" to which so many are going.

The fine record of Americans of Japanese descent already serving our Nation in the armed forces has made a deep impression upon our hearts and minds. Our sense of justice and fair play has been strengthened and I believe that many more people have been encouraged to work actively for the full restoration of the civil rights of the loyal evacuees.

We look forward to the fulfillment of the President's promise that "We shall restore to the loyal evacuees the right to return to the evacuated areas as soon as the military situation will make such resteration feasible."* Recently published statements of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, "that the Japanese enemy is not coming to our shores"** and that the Pacific Coast is now a defense command, no longer a theatre of operations, are a promise of better days ahead.

Reports received in our office indicate that New York City and the Eastern Seaboard is the Mecca to which many of the evacuees are directing their attention. The Brethren Service Committee, sensing this trend, is opening a hostel in the Brooklyn section of New York City and several agencies in Philadelphia, cooperating with the Council of Churches are planning to open a hospitality house and center to accommodate evacuees coming to that city.

The latest figures on evacuees leaving the centers to go out on "indefinite leave" indicate that the expected "Spring exodus" has gotten underway.

* (September 14, 1943.) **(FORTUNE, April 1944, p. 118)

Important Publication

"The Concern of the Church" is the title of a booklet published by the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans. It assembles in twenty-two pages excerpts from official resolutions and statements of church assemblies and church-related groups on the treatment of Japanese Americans. It is expected that the new publication will be heralded as the authoritative voice of the Christian churches on the subject. Write to the Committee or the denominational headquarters for copies. Price, 5 cents per copy.

RESETTLEMENT BULLETIN, published monthly, George E. Rundquist, Editor,
by the
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RESETTLEMENT BULLETIN

June 1944 NEW YORK Vol. II. No. 5.

Resettlement occupied a good deal of space in the newspapers of the East during the past two months. Two incidents which drew the public's attention were the "ousting" of five evacuees from a farm in Great Meadows, New Jersey, and the controversy over the Japanese American Relocation Hostel in Brooklyn, New York. The net result on the balance sheet of resettlement seems to be a decidedly favorable progress in public relations on the one hand, and a considerable setback in the relocation centers on the other. Neither is surprising, though one is gratifying and the other depressing.

In the case of Great Meadows, the farmer concerned finally yielded to the threatening opposition of neighbors. But in the state at large there was more expression of indignation and criticism than approval of their unneighborly attitude. Two hundred Methodist ministers at the 87th Newark Annual Conference unanimously passed a resolution deploring the action of Warren County farmers, and "heartily endorsing the effort of the War Relocation Authority." Further, at a meeting on May 15th, attended by representatives of civic, religious and interracial groups, plans were adopted to organize a citizens' committee to aid resettlement in the state. The tentative name is the New Jersey Advisory Council for Japanese American Evacuees. The Reverend John H. Elliott of Maplewood, Regional Director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, heads the temporary executive committee.

Across the East River a small fraternity building on Clinton Street in Brooklyn became one of the most talked about spots in that borough. Opposition was expressed vigorously in many forms, yet the new hostel is now quietly carrying on its work. Friendly neighbors drop in to greet the new arrivals. Employment offers keep the telephone line busy. Flowers are sent in. The directors, the Reverend and Mrs. Ralph E. Smeltzer, enjoy most substantial backing, such as resettlement has seldom secured in any community. Notable among the supporters of the hostel is the Brooklyn Council for Social Planning which now has a committee on resettlement, with Associate Justice William F. Hagarty of the Appellate Court of New York, as chairman. The Brooklyn Eagle and other metropolitan papers stood firm on the principles of fair play and democratic treatment. Religious bodies have played an important part in upholding the same principles. Brooklyn's feeling is summarized in the statement of the Council's committee in these words:

> "The purpose of this committee is not to foster or propose a hostel in Clinton Street. It may be this decision will come later. Our purpose is much broader. A challenge has come to the people of Brooklyn. We in Brooklyn must not be guilty of the excesses that do occur in other parts of the country."

These developments taken as a whole are good news for the resettlement work, because they express the ideals and aims for which our nation is fighting and in which Japanese Americans, along with the rest of American citizens, are taking an increasingly large part. But the incidents when reported to the evacuees in the centers do not present a favorable picture. Fears will only be confirmed. There is need to emphasize in the relocation centers the tremendous reservoir of goodwill "outside", despite incidents that make newspaper headlines.

THE VOICE OF LABOR

To: All Regional Directors, Internation Representatives, and Local Union Presidents. January 21, 1944.

Some instances have been reported to this office of local union officers permitting, or encouraging discrimination in their plants against Americans of Japanese descent placed in the plants by the War Relocation Authority.

Such discrimination is a violation of the UAW-CIO constitutional provision prohibiting discrimination and of the President's executive Order No. 9346 of Fair Employment Practices.

The Japanese Americans who have been placed in plants by WRA have been thoroughly investigated by appropriate government agencies; they are American citizens and there is no question of their loyalty.

It is not the policy of our union or any of its divisions to defy such government orders. Neither is it our function to take over the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which is far better equipped to discover and apprehend persons disloyal to the government and working against the war effort.

It is the responsibility of every union officer, local or International, to uphold his oath of office by seeing to it that the constitutional clause prohibiting discrimination because of race, creed, or color is enforced.

I am depending on each of you to enforce this provision wherever and whenever such violations occur. You are assured of the aggressive cooperation of the International Union in doing so.

With best regards, I remain,

Fraternally yours,
R. J. Thomas (signed)
International President,
United Automobile, Aircraft Agricultural Implement
Workers of America (UAW-CIO).

THE UNION - Official Organ Central Labor Union and Railroad Brotherhoods.

Miss Yamasaki came to us direct from the Relocation Center at Tule Lake, Cal. She has been most efficient in her work -- capable and loyal.

She kept her books neatly, her office tidy. She was in a position of considerable responsibility because I, as editor, frequently was absent from the office. She used her own judgment, and it was good. She took an intense personal interest in the business and was anxious to learn and to help - often going far beyond normal expectations.

She took also a keen interest in the city and in current events. She was active in aiding other Nisei girls to find housing and to make friends. She was liberal in her views. She regularly attended her church and took an active part in it. She spoke frequently before various bodies and organizations in behalf of Americans of Japanese parentage, explaining their problems in reintegrating themselves into society far from their own homes. She will be hard to replace. She left our employ to be married to a young Nisei in the Army.

Sincerely,
Joseph K. Shepard (Signed)

A REPORT from JEROME

The Jerome Relocation Center is scheduled to be closed in June. The author of the article entitled "Putting Democracy into Living Practice" which appeared in the last issue of the Bulletin, Mrs. Gracia Booth, is visiting the camp. Her first-hand observation on the life of the people there follows:

"The folks here are facing the third move and in many cases the fourth move since they received their first order to report for evacuation two years ago or less. The younger ones are more or less interested in resettlement but not so many of the older ones are able to work up much enthusiasm about it. After nearly two years spent "on the shelf" it grows harder and harder, as you can readily understand, for them to get back into active work again--it is not laziness or a desire to sit down and let the government take care of them for the rest of their days, but the natural reaction of too long a period of enforced idleness in regard to having to exert themselves to make a living.

I have just completed a tour of the High School barracks and seen an exhibit of art and craft work that is truly amazing. For instance, I saw the loveliest ash trays and nut bowls and larger trays made by the boys out of tin cans salvaged from the trash heaps and polished and then cut and pounded and made into these exquisite little gifts. I am reading the life of George Washington Carver and find he did the same sort of thing--made splendid use of materials no one else saw any value in and threw away.

There are dozens of beautiful carved wooden articles ranging from lapel pins to large trays and even large pictures, shall I say, carved in relief--the Last Supper, Jesus in Gethsemane, the raising of Lazarus and some very poignant scenes of the evacuation and of life in camp. One of their favorite camp subjects is the long, long queue standing patiently outside the mess hall in snow or rain or dust storms, awaiting their turn for their meals. I have stood in those long lines many times with them and know how it feels.

Mr. Sugimoto, artist from Northern California, and one time a student in "Gay Paris", exhibited his wonderful works in an old barn-like barracks all last week. I spent two hours there on Sunday afternoon and came away inspired, as if I had been to church again. His lovely pastel water colors, etchings and lino-cuts done in France were wonderful and attracted more attention from the other center residents but I simply could not tear myself away from his graphic and almost horribly realistic oil paintings, a series of them, depicting the experiences of his people from the first order for evacuation right on through every experience in camp, almost, down to the present when they must yet again pick up their pitifully small belongings and face another move; another effort at home-making; another re-adjustment.

On the day the baseball season opened here the game was preceded by a beautiful display. 150 girls--aged about 6-10 or 12--who have been in a baton twirling class marched on to the field, dressed in red skirts, white blouses and blue hats--like majorettes. As the band played and the crowd stood and sang the Star Spangled Banner, the girls went through their formations with almost perfect precision, twirling their batons all the while. Then they formed the huge letters U.S.A. and last of all wound up in a mammoth "V" for Victory--Young America behind barbed wire!

Whenever I visit a home which has a son or two in the Service I'm sure to see his picture in uniform in a place of honor, with a flag and maybe a small bouquet nearby. The parents are exceedingly proud of these soldier lads.

"A Challenge to Democracy" tells the story of 110,000 displaced people and how the United States Government is handling their problem. It is a 20-minute sound movie, filmed in color and produced by the War Relocation Authority of the Department of Interior.

NEBRASKA

THE JAPANESE AMERICANS IN NEBRASKA

by Miss Willa Norris
Personal Counselor, Omaha Y.W.C.A.

Here in Omaha and other parts of Nebraska Japanese Americans are gradually making themselves a part of their communities. For the most part, the relocatees in Nebraska have been American citizens of Japanese descent. At the present time there are approximately 400 Japanese Americans in Nebraska (150 in Omaha) who have successfully relocated. Many of them are attending various schools within the state. The largest number of students in Nebraska will be found in Lincoln, where there are some forty-four boys and girls attending the University of Nebraska and fifty-two attending other training centers.

The Japanese Americans are doing their part in helping to alleviate the manpower shortage in many kinds of work--professional, clerical, sales, household, factory and agriculture. Some of the boys and girls have taken special training courses so as to qualify for skilled work in factories. It appears that there will be a demand for resettlement of families and individual workers in the farming communities in Nebraska, especially irrigated sections.

The War Relocation Authority office states, "It is interesting to notice that in many cases where a farmer employed an evacuee family last year on his farm that this year his neighbors are requesting Japanese American families for their farms. Many of the farm employers of the evacuees feel that even though they have not been acquainted with local agricultural methods they are very willing to learn, are industrious, possess the ability to recognize work which should be done on the farm and exercise the initiative to go ahead and complete it."

There are a number of Citizens' Committees that have been organized in towns in the Omaha District to help with problems which arise in relocating Japanese Americans. The problems (which are shared by all races) are mainly housing, social adjustment, and educational work. These committees are composed of representatives from various churches, welfare bureaus, labor organizations, schools, War Manpower Commission and other organizations. They have been active and very helpful in their endeavors. Through the Y.W.C.A. the social parties have been held monthly and have aided greatly in helping the evacuees become adjusted to life outside the Centers. The Caucasian and Nisei boys and girls work out the details of the party under the direction of a representative of the Y.W.C.A.

Generally speaking, Omaha has accepted this group of people very well. Different individuals have reported such remarks made to them by strangers as, "Glad that you people are here in Omaha."

(Writer's address:
17th & St. Mary's Ave.,
Omaha, Nebraska.)

EVANSTON, ILL.

EVANSTON IS STILL SAFE.

In the Middle West are thousands of people of Japanese ancestry, uprooted from their West Coast homes and compelled, by exigencies of war, to make new lives for themselves in strange communities. Two of these wanderers--one an American citizen, the other an American resident since the age of eight--recently leased the Evanston home of Dr. Frank M. McKibben of Northwestern University. Now they have returned the lease because some of the neighbors objected.

This area has generally been free of the race hatred fostered by West Coast demagogues--political and journalistic-- who have used war against the Japanese Empire as an excuse for persecuting a small, helpless minority within our borders. Midwesterners should be more inclined to support Secretary Ickes, who in a brave speech in San Francisco promised that the War Relocation Authority would not be "stampeded into undemocratic, bestial, inhuman action" or "converted into an instrument of revenge or racial war."

Americans of Japanese ancestry are fighting in the Pacific and in Italy, risking death and maiming in defense of all our people's rights and liberties. And Evanston, partly because of their sacrifice, will still be a safe and pleasant place to live.

From the CHICAGO SUN editorial page.
Saturday, April 15, 1944.

Where Will They Go?

CHILDREN'S VILLAGE
Manzanar.

There is a "family" in the Relocation Center with father and mother and sixty children. Well, the children are orphans. One of them is of Japanese-Chinese ancestry; a few of them of Japanese and European parentage. They were evacuated along with all others of Japanese blood.

Harry H. Matsumoto, who is the "father" to them, describes two sisters who are seeking a home where they can stay together and go to school and work as "school girls".

The older girl, age 16, 11th grade, average mark A -- attractive personality and pleasant disposition, assists staff (of the Village) in bathing, feeding, disciplining, providing recreation, making formulas, and general supervision of infants and young children. Sunday School teacher at a local Protestant church.

The younger girl, age 14, 9th grade, above average. A good girl, willing to help and cooperate with others. Attends a local Protestant church.

A Christian home is sought.

Address inquiries to the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

Youth Summer Conferences

There are going to be many openings, some of them with scholarships, for Japanese Americans at young people's conferences sponsored by various denominational agencies this summer.

Due to nation-wide interest in resettlement, the presence of evacuees is urgently sought by sponsoring groups. Interested individuals and directors of local committees for Japanese Americans are requested to communicate with the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans for further information.

It Happened in Cincinnati

A young Nisei couple ventured out to a band concert in Eden Park on a hot Sunday afternoon last September. No one spoke--a few smiled--many stared curiously, but not unkindly. They felt alien and embarrassed and alone. Then a white-haired man and woman separated themselves from the crowd and walked over to where the two young Americans with Japanese faces stood apart. Extending their hands they introduced themselves and asked these two young strangers and their little lad to sit with them. By the end of the concert a fierce thunderstorm had broken and the rain poured down in torrents. People ran to their parked cars or, to street cars or busses--calling to each other to "pile in", in the usual friendly American way. No one offered a ride or shelter to the two of Japanese ancestry. Then the older couple said, "We live just a block down the street--won't you come home with us to tea?" They had a lovely visit over the teacups and went home happier than for many weeks.

The next morning on opening the paper, the young people saw the pictured faces of their new friends and neighbors and there, beneath the picture, read the story of how the telegram from the War Department had come to them only at noon the day before, announcing the death of their two young sons, their only children, somewhere in the South Pacific.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

Resettled Japanese Americans in Kansas City, Mo., have a small steering committee among themselves. By their combined efforts, according to Miss Susie O. Sugimoto, they endeavor to -

1. take part in the common social undertakings of the community and to participate in activities in furthering the war effort.

2. strive toward assimilation of its members and otherresettlers by developing integration techniques and to promote better understanding through proper interpretation of our status, our thoughts, etc.

3. cooperate with other local organizations, such as religious, social, governmental and citizens' groups.

Those Who Know Say

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
Indianapolis, Indiana

The Y.W.C.A. has had the pleasure of working with a group of young Japanese Americans in several social events. A party, which was held early in the winter, was planned by a group of young Japanese Americans, Caucasians, and older representatives of church groups. The informality and friendliness of this party was a high light of the year. One minister observed, "This is one of the most constructive pieces of war work in the city, to my knowledge."

The young Japanese Americans who helped plan the party gave a return party at Christmas time for those who had joined them at the previous event and included as guests, employers and their families.

Some of the group have come as individuals to club meetings; a few did not find a place in the organization; others were assimilated quickly and became important members of clubs.

We feel that this group of young Americans can add "real flavor" to the Indianapolis community, and although the Y.W.C.A. has not moved as rapidly, perhaps, as it should in this area, we do stand ready to cooperate and encourage them and to promote understanding. The Y.W.C.A. has been pleased to have these contacts as an employer and also in social groups. We stand ready to continue the work in this area.

(Elizabeth Ann Blaisdell
General Secretary)

MABEL K. NYHART
Indianapolis, Indiana

We first had a Japanese American come to live with us nearly two years ago. Since that time we have learned to know others. The friendship and association of these people has been a beautiful experience. We have found them loyal as Americans, faithful as employees, and delightful as friends. Our own personal friends have been impressed by the way they have accepted the conditions which war has put upon them, and their deep desire to prove themselves just loyal Americans.

CASSIUS P. CURTIS
Indianapolis, Indiana

I have in my employ two Japanese men who are working in two large apartment houses. One is a native of Seattle, Washington, and has a wife and two children. The other was born in Japan. He has three children, and his wife is also a native of Seattle. The ability and loyalty of these two families are beyond reproach. I have been instrumental in bringing several families and individuals to this community. I have placed them with business associates of mine and also in homes, and have not had a single complaint. Most of them seek the church of their faith and attend regularly. Among them are Catholics, Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians. It is my opinion they will make excellent citizens among us.

Mrs. CARL PIEL, Jr.
Indianapolis, Indiana

Last September I heard Mrs. Elmer Shirrell of Chicago speak to a church group about the west coast evacuation of Americans of Japanese descent. I became interested in meeting some of these people new to our community, so I was taken up to the WRA office by a friend on the committee.

There, working as a secretary to the Relocation Officer, was the first person with a Japanese face I had ever seen. We talked and settled on a day for her and her husband to come out to our house for supper and the evening.

Since then, we have been together at least once a week and sometimes more often, and I can truthfully say she is now one of my dearest and closest friends.

For Your Information.

The National Interchurch Advisory Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Canadians has published a pamphlet entitled "Planning Resettlement of Japanese Canadians."

Churches in the News

MINNEAPOLIS CHURCH FEDERATION

Ministry to Resettlers

The resettlement of great numbers of Japanese American citizens has given the churches throughout the country an unusual opportunity for service. When it was discovered that here in the Twin Cities there were perhaps seven hundred of these new citizens and more coming right along, a challenge was presented to the Church Federation to make available an interdenominational approach in which these newcomers might, (a) receive a pastoral ministry to help them in their new adjustments, (b) to refer them to the various churches of the communities in which they live.

Accordingly a special committee has been set up and an office established here at the Federation. The staff is composed of denominational workers who have been sent here to work among the Nisei. A part time secretary is employed. This branch of our service is known as the United Christian Ministry to Resettlers.

We welcome these new workers to our fellowship: Miss Martha B. Akard, Rev. Francis M. Hayashi, Rev. Paul M. Nagano, Mr. Clifford T. Nakadegawa, Miss Virginia Swanson, and Miss Alice R. Kodama.

The Lutheran Hostel, the Sunday evening service for Nisei at Jackson Hall, and an occasional service for first generation Japanese, are all a part of the total picture of this work.

Funds for this will come through the various denominational headquarters.

(From the:
Federation Bulletin, April 1944.

Resolution adopted at the Annual Meeting of the

WASHINGTON STATE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES AND CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
Seattle, Washington
January 11, 1944.

Also adopted by the
SEATTLE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES AND CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
February 21, 1944

We recommend that loyal Americans of Japanese ancestry be permitted to return to their homes as soon as the military situation permits; furthermore, we pledge ourselves to do our best to cooperate in their integration back into the community. To ask some Americans of Japanese ancestry to serve in the Armed Forces and confine others, of unquestioned loyalty, to restricted areas seems wholly inconsistent.

IRVINGTON PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
Indianapolis, Indiana

Last summer we had three Japanese American girls with us. They were superior in their manners and intelligence. We found them just as we would have found three girls of American parentage, with the same interests and ambitions. They were nice to have about the home, helpful and considerate of my wife.

Since we live near Fort Harrison where many Japanese American soldiers were stationed, our house was a meeting place for these boys, whom we came to like very much. The girls were perfectly normal in their relations with these young men, which is a real test of character. Now two of these girls are in college and the third working in an office in the University of Michigan.

(Rev. John B. Ferguson)

APPRECIATION

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Baumgartel,

We hope you had an enjoyable and restful trip. It was very nice to receive your cards.

Things we could never have dared hoped for on our long, hectic train ride -- your meeting us at the station, the dinner, the wonderful ride through the city, your kindness -- for all these we thank you, though humble be our method. What you and Mrs. Herman did for us was certainly what decided for us that a train ticket back to Arizona was not the cheapest way out. We will be forever grateful to you.

We are doing our best here; we hope we are pleasing Mr. Schwitzer, for that is our purpose and our satisfaction. If we achieve that, we will be content and happy.

Sincerely and gratefully,
Paul Shiozaki
Jim Otani.

COUNSELLORS TO JAPANESE AMERICANS in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Miss Dorothy C. Enderis, Director,
Municipal Recreation and Adult Education,
Milwaukee Public Schools,
1111 North 10th St. (3)
Telephone: Marquette 4341.

Miss Maki Ichiyasu,
Y.W.C.A., 610 No. Jackson St. (2).
Telephone: Marquette 4946.

Miss Grace Kelly,
Place Dept. Milwaukee Vocational School,
1015 No. 6th St. (3).
Telephone: Marquette 1550.

Mr. Charles O'Neil,
Exec. Secy. St. Vincent dePaul Society,
1624 No. 7th St. (5)

Mr. Henry Sakemi,
Milwaukee Nisei Council,
1550 E. Capitol Drive (11).
Telephone: Church 2017-J.

The above names should be added under Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in the "Directory of Counsellors to Japanese Americans", recently published by the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans. (Not for sale to the public)

HOSTEL ADDRESSES

Cincinnati, Ohio - 2830 Winslow Avenue.
Minneapolis, Minn.- 127 Clifton Avenue.
Cleveland, Ohio - 2429 Prospect Avenue(15).
Des Moines, Iowa - 2150 Grand Avenue (12)
New York - 168 Clinton St.,Brooklyn 2, N.Y.
Detroit, Mich. - 130 East Grand Boulevard.
Philadelphia, Pa. - 3228 Chestnut Street.

RECOMMENDED READING

What About Our Japanese-Americans? - Price 10¢ per copy, plus postage.

Written by Carey McWilliams.

The Displaced Japanese-Americans. - Price 5¢ per copy, plus postage.

Being a reprint of an article which appeared in FORTUNE Magazine, April, 1944, under the title of "Issei, Nisei, Kibei".

For sale at this office

RESETTLEMENT BULLETIN, published monthly, George E. Rundquist, Editor,
by the
COMMITTEE ON RESETTLEMENT OF JAPANESE AMERICANS
Sponsored Jointly by
The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
The Home Missions Council of North America
in cooperation with
The Foreign Missions Conference of North America

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RESETTLEMENT BULLETIN

July 1944 NEW YORK Vol. II, No. 6.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The Young Men's Christian Associations and the Young Women's Christian Associations have successfully kept the channels open between the centers and the outside world. The following is a report of the Young Women's Christian Association for the past two years which should be of great interest to those concerned with the work of resettlement.

Y.W.C.A. Serves Evacuees

by Miss Clara Roe
Secretary for
The World Emergency War Victim Fund, Y. W. C. A.

The Y. W. C. A. has dealt with the problems of civilian evacuees in many parts of the world ever since the outbreak of the present war.

When, in our own country, the Japanese and Japanese Americans were evacuated from the Pacific Coast it was natural for the Y.W.C.A. to want to be helpful to them, for it realized in advance something of what would be involved in this great dislocation of families. Moreover many women and girls among the evacuees were Y.W.C.A. members; they were known and loved by their fellow members, and it was accepted as a matter of course that the Y.W.C.A. would find a way to go wherever they went. Staff members of the National Board of the Y.W.C.A. were promptly assigned to discover how the Y.W.C.A. could best serve the evacuees.

The Y.W.C.A. tries to meet the real needs of the women and girls in the centers through recreation, group activities, service work and preparation for resettlement.

The Y.W.C.A. has been able to serve the women and girls who reside in the Relocation Centers by keeping the channels open between the centers and the outside world. Between August 1942 and September 1943 national staff members of the Y.W.C.A. made 61 visits to Relocation Centers. In the same period 26 evacuees from 9 centers attended national Y.W.C.A. meetings outside. These meetings included leadership workshops, meetings to discuss the Christian basis of a new society, and a National Business and Professional Women's Council meeting. In addition to this, 76 delegates from 9 centers attended Y.W.C.A. summer conferences of business and professional women, Girl Reserves and students. Both girls and leaders attended these conferences and reports all testify that they made excellent contributions to the program of the conferences. The delegates themselves reported that the experience was valuable to them in strengthening both their faith, hope and courage and their sense of personal dignity and worth.

The inclusion of center Y.W.C.A.-s in neighborhood projects with nearby Associations has been encouraged, with the result that there has been considerable interchange between the centers and the community Y.W.C.A.-s in a number of states. Many leaders of nearby Y.W.C.A.-s have visited the centers and many joint meetings have been held. This interchange has proved an enriching experience to both parties to it.

Special projects to promote friendship and understanding between girls inside and outside the centers have been tried with success. A "letter-friend" project arranged for the Girl Reserves included 57 Girl Reserve groups in 21 states in correspondence with Japanese girls in 7 centers. A Christmas gift project included an even larger number of groups and states.

As the resettlement program progresses, much of the young leadership is leaving the centers, and the Y.W.C.A. program within the center naturally becomes more difficult to maintain. Nevertheless, active programs continue in most of the centers with a great deal of emphasis on resettlement. With the hope of encouraging resettlement, attendance of girls from the centers at Y.W.C.A. conferences in regions where they may possibly settle has been encouraged, thus giving them an opportunity to become acquainted with the section of our country in which they may make their future homes.

The Y.W.C.A. now finds its friends who were formerly in the centers living in all the large middle western and many of the eastern cities. Local Y.W.C.A.-s have been cooperative in helping with resettlement and Japanese-American girls are to be found at work in their offices, residences, and food service departments. Japanese men have also been employed in their maintenance departments. Girls have joined Y.W.C.A. clubs and are taking part in the work of the Association, serving on committees and in other volunteer capacities.

An especially valuable contribution of local Y.W.C.A.-s has been in helping to create community understanding; in some cases they have taken the lead in building a good cross-section citizens' committee to aid in resettlement. The Y.W.C.A. tries to open up social opportunity for young Nisei, to help them find jobs, homes and friends.

Recently neighborhood conferences including nearby community Y.W.C.A.-s have been held at the Relocation Centers. This gives Community Y.W.C.A. board and committee members an opportunity to get acquainted with even larger numbers of Japanese Americans. Representatives from the Relocation Centers have also attended special affairs at nearby Y.W.C.A.-s. These exchanges are valuable in building good relationships and in creating understanding.

This work in the Relocation Centers and in the communities selected for resettlement has grown out of the natural interest of the National Board in the problems of Japanese women and girls who have long been a part of the Y.W.C.A. For two years, working closely with the War Relocation Authority, with community and Student Y.W.C.A.-s and with other interested social agencies, a national Y.W.C.A. staff, both Caucasian and Japanese, has acted in an advisory capacity with direct leadership carried by resident evacuee women and girls. The National Board believes that its work in the centers is helping to prepare loyal Japanese for resettlement and that its work through local Y.W.C.A.-s is helping prepare communities for the reception of the new residents. The Y.W.C.A. believes that in helping Japanese American citizens and their families to take their places again in normal community life it is rendering significant service to this nation in the struggle to preserve the values long cherished as the American way of life.

THE COLORADO CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES

Whereas, the pending amendment to the Colorado constitution to restrict ownership of land by aliens is contrary to the ideals upon which the Christian church, and this country, were built:

Be it resolved, that the Colorado Congregational conference do condemn this amendment as un-Christian and urge that we work diligently for the amendment's defeat at the polls this fall.

- Resolution adopted by the Colorado Congregational Conference, in session at Fort Collins, Colorado, April 14-16. The mover of the resolution was Mr. Robert Colwoll, a layman of Denver. Not a single dissenting vote was cast.

✓For further information write to: Rev. Clark P. Garman, Colorado Council of Churches, 302 Trinity Bldg., Denver, Colorado.

This issue of the Bulletin contains several resolutions on resettlement adopted by Christian bodies. It is hoped that these statements will be of help to the readers of the Bulletin. - Editor.

The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. met in Chicago from May 25 to May 31. Chaplain E. C. Brink, who had returned from the front only two weeks before, addressed the Assembly at one of its sessions. He paid a tribute to both the Negro and the Japanese-American soldiers in Africa and Italy, based upon his own contacts and observations. On hearing this, the members of the Assembly interrupted his address spontaneously with hearty and prolonged applause. His reference to the high number of casualties in the Japanese-American unit in the fighting in Italy was made in a particularly impressive manner.

The General Assembly passed the following resolutions regarding people of Japanese descent in the United States:-

"Aliens and American citizens of Japanese descent are today the focus for both racial prejudice and the warlike spirit against national enemies. The precarious position of law abiding aliens and loyal American citizens of Japanese descent is exploited unwittingly and deliberately by some not of their number who make and believe unfounded charges against them. Especially to our fellow Christians among them who are at present in relocation camps or in the process of resettlement, we send the assurance of our trust in them, and our zeal for the full restoration and maintenance of them as heirs with us of the American tradition of civil liberties and rights.

"Be it resolved:-

"1. That the General Assembly commend the humane and effective effort of the War Relocation Authority in helping citizens of Japanese parentage regain a place in normal community life; that it affirm its hope that all who are eligible will become resettled as soon as possible; and that it urge as many churches and Presbyteries as possible to sponsor one or more of these families, undertaking what is necessary in helping them become established in a new community.

"2. That the General Assembly, noting the changed status of the West Coast from a theatre of operations base to a Service Command, commend the War Department for granting permits to Nisei soldiers to visit the West Coast and for granting other rights to persons of Japanese descent; and that the General Assembly affirm its support of steps taken in furtherance of the Government's announced policy of restoring in full to these evacuees their rights of domicile and other civil liberties when consonant with military security.

"3. That the General Assembly strongly approve the ministry which has been extended by the Board of National Missions, in cooperation with other Christian bodies, to our Japanese American brethren; that our churches be urged to do everything within their power to facilitate the resettlement of the Japanese Americans in such communities as they may choose and to receive them into the fellowship of our churches; and that the General Assembly express the strong conviction that, as soon as the exigencies of the military situation make it possible, the loyal evacuees be given the right to return to their former homes and be protected against any discrimination or persecution.

" That the Stated Clerk be empowered to transmit this recommendation to the War Relocation Authority in Washington, D. C."

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA

We heartily commend the War Relocation Authority; the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans sponsored by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Home Missions Council of North America in cooperation with the Foreign Missions Conference of North America; for their policy in setting up hostels, furnishing homes and employment for Japanese Americans now living in Relocation Centers. We deeply deplore the attitude of some of our citizens and public officials who by force and public utterances have curtailed the rights and privileges of American-born Japanese, which constitutes one of the gravest tests of democratic institutions in our history.

In the light of statements by the Secretaries of War and the Navy that the military necessity invoked two years ago no longer exists, we urge that at the earliest moment, loyal American citizens of Japanese ancestry have restored to them their full rights as citizens, and be allowed to exercise freedom in the choice of their residence and occupation, and that copies of this resolution be sent, by the Stated Clerk, to the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Interior.

- Resolution passed unanimously by the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America, meeting at Buck Hill Falls, Pa. June 3, 1944.

Newark Annual Conference of the Methodist Church

We are greatly disturbed by the intolerance displayed in several communities against American citizens of Japanese ancestry who seek only a normal opportunity to live and work to produce food for the entire nation.

We heartily endorse the efforts of the War Relocation Authority to resettle the people of Japanese ancestry who were evacuated from their homes on the West Coast of our country.

We believe, as the President has said, that "In vindication of the very ideals for which we are fighting this war, it is important to maintain a high standard of fair, considerate and equal treatment for the people of this minority as of all other minorities".

Therefore we, the members of the Newark Annual Conference of the Methodist Church do hereby memorialize the General Conference to call upon all preachers to create in their communities a public tolerance and friendliness toward Americans of Japanese descent; to urge all preachers to organize within their communities interracial or reconciliation committees composed of outstanding citizens who will study to find ways to lessen the tensions and spread understanding; and
to call upon the Government to remove the military restrictions which now discourage the return of these evacuees to their former homes on the West Coast of our country.

- A Memorial to the General Conference from the Newark Annual Conference of the Methodist Church, April 21, 1944.

- This resolution adopted also at and by the Northeast Jurisdictional Conference of the Methodist Church, June 10, 1944, at Ocean City, N.J.

THE METHODIST CHURCH

We commend the War Relocation Authority for its policy of finding homes and employment for the Japanese Americans now living in relocation centers. We urge the active participation of our Churches in this relocation, especially in the preparation of communities to welcome and assimilate these persons into American life.

We earnestly urge that at the earliest moment consistent with the public interest, loyal American citizens of Japanese ancestry have restored to them their full rights as citizens, especially the right to return to their former residences and occupations.

- Resolution passed by the General Conference of the Methodist Church, meeting at Kansas City, Missouri, May 4, 1944.

THE NORTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

Whereas, the Japanese of the Pacific Coast were, due to a war emergency, moved from their homes to relocation centers; and

Whereas, many of those removed were American citizens deprived of civil rights; and

Whereas, our President has said; "We shall restore to the loyal evacuees the right to return to the evacuated areas as soon as the military situation will make such restoration possible"; and

Whereas, some of the military restrictions have been removed from the Pacific Area; therefore, be it

Resolved, that we commend the War Relocation Authority of the Department of the Interior for its considerate and humane adjustment of a complex human problem in the evacuation of Japanese from the Pacific Coast. Furthermore, be it

Resolved, that the churches of our denomination recognize their responsibility to the Americans of Japanese origin as they are re-settled in our various communities, and that we welcome them into the Christian fellowship of our churches without discrimination. Furthermore, be it

Resolved, that the Americans of Japanese origin, whose loyalty has been established, be granted the right of movement to return to their homes. Furthermore, be it

Resolved, that we assert with conviction and practice with diligence the eternal truth, "God is no respector of persons," and face this human issue on the Christian principle rather than on a basis of pagan prejudice.

- Resolution passed by the Northern Baptist Convention meeting at Atlantic City, N. J., May 26, 1944.

NEW YORK CITY

by Toru Matsumoto

Japanese American organizations in New York have formed the "Resettlement Council", for the purpose of:

1. Cooperating with and advising the War Relocation Authority and other agencies concerned with resettlement.
2. Coordinating the work of Japanese American organizations on resettlement.
3. Promoting greater activity among Japanese Americans in aiding resettlement, and
4. Fostering activities which will help Japanese Americans to resume a normal American life.

Actively participating in this Council are:

Arts Council of Japanese Americans for Democracy.
Japanese American Committee for Democracy.
Japanese Buddhist Church
Japanese Christian Association.
Japanese Christian Institute.
Japanese Methodist Church.
Young People's Christian Federation of New York.

The Council held a dinner on May 27th to express appreciation to those who had aided the Japanese Americans, and heard a talk by Mr. Harold S. Fistere, new Area Supervisor of the W.R.A. Films entitled "Challenge to Democracy" and "Go for Broke" were shown following the dinner. Both these films are W.R.A. productions.

An ambitious program is being planned by the Council. A 32-page brochure giving factual information of the life of Japanese Americans and resettlement opportunities in New York, written both in English and Japanese, is one of the projects the Council is working on now. A picturesque screen for display is also contemplated.

The Chairman of the Council is Mr. Minoru Yamasaki, a noted architect, and the address of the Council is, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N.Y. (Temporarily)

CLEVELAND

by Shunji Forrest Nishi

Two hundred and twenty-four postcards were sent out to former Hostelers. To date there have been 207 responses. A sum of $275 has been received, and 6 people have donated 225 man-hours of time. The two living rooms, the library, the first and second floor halls (front and back), the dining room, the butler's pantry, kitchen, and the stair-well have been painted. There is a possibility that the Mothers' Club of the fraternity from whom the building is leased and the Hostel sub-committee of the Resettlement Committee may get together to get slip covers for the furniture. The place looks one hundred per cent better than it did before its new coat of paint.

PHILADELPHIA

A hostel which will comfortably accommodate twenty-five persons has been opened here under the sponsorship of a committee of private citizens, at 3228 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

Temporary residents at the hostel will be charged $1 a day for adults and 50 cents a day for children for room and meals for a maximum period of ten days. Individuals wishing to remain at the hostel after securing work will be charged $12 weekly.

Resettlers should make reservations by writing to Henry C. Patterson, Relocation Officer, 1105 Stephen Girard Building, 21 South 12 Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

The Young People's Christian Federation (Japanese Americans) of New York donated Sunday service offerings to the following causes last year:

1. American Red Cross
2. World Student Service Fund
3. New York Church Committee for Japanese Americans
4. Interracial Fellowship of Greater New York
5. 100 Neediest Cases of New York Times.

I See the "Outside"

by Kaz Ikebesu
Chairman, Y.M.C.A. Board,
Rohwer Relocation Center.

With the blind prejudices towards many minorities prevailing throughout the nation and many unfavorable as well as favorable reports on the attitude toward the Japanese people having been heard, I have had the opportunity to attend a Student Christian Association Conference at Fayetteville, Arkansas, and also was able to stay four extra days to meet the people of the community to find out how true the unfavorable atmosphere may be.

This trip has given me much more of a clear picture of the people's sentiments toward us and I would like to take this opportunity to share with you this experience and observations I have made on my way to and from Fayetteville.

As I entrained from McGehee, I have mingled in with the soldiers who were on their furlough. I have also stood next to a mother who had two sons in the armed forces and never for a moment during the ride to Little Rock have I encountered an unpleasant atmosphere toward me. From Little Rock to Ft. Smith I have again mixed in with the soldiers and shared pops and candies and cigarettes with them. They were really a grand group of boys. From Ft. Smith to Fayetteville I have made the acquaintance with a soldier who had just returned after staying sixteen month in the Alaskan front. He was very much interested in our lives in the center and has asked me to correspond with him and that he is hoping he may be able to visit us one of these days. On my return trip I had the opportunity to ride with some P.T.A. representatives who were attending the annual conference at Little Rock. It was a very pleasant ride. Never had I felt that I was an evacuee and they have expressed, as we parted, that may we soon be able to enjoy a free life again.

During my stay at Fayetteville, I had the privilege of staying at the home of one of the professors of the University of Arkansas and also at the home of the Presbyterian minister. I was immediately made a member of the family and the children began to call me Uncle Kaz. I have had the opportunity to meet and talk to, at the Presbyterian Church, college students

(continued on Page 8, Col. 1)

I See the "Inside"

by Ray Gibbons
Director, Council for Social Action,
of the Congregational Christian
Churches of the U.S.A.

Resettlement is proceeding at a slow rate since the more aggressive and younger Japanese Americans have found their way to new work or been drafted for military service. Some more effective plans are needed for further progress with the older people, the Issei (Japanese-born non-citizens) and the non-Christians. Toward that end I went to visit Granada, and came back with a few very vivid impressions. The first of these is the influence toward reversion to former habits and patterns of behavior.. The isolation and inconvenience of the camps tend, in the thinking of the older evacuees, toward a glorification of the "good old days" in the distant land of their birth. This general tendency of age to glorify the past is accentuated by the unnatural and uncertain circumstances of the present. It was easier to speak Japanese than English when the English-speaking environment was removed. It was difficult for the young people to keep up with the slang and customs of their own age. For any group to mark time while the rest of the world marches forward is a loss. The longer these people are off in the deserts the more difficult will be their adjustment to American society and the greater the social loss to the country.

The second impression was that, while the government seems to be doing a pretty good job of encouraging relocation, a much better job could be done by non-governmental groups. There is some suspicion that when a W.R.A. official suggests relocation he is promoting a program rather than helping a person. Whether rightly or wrongly he is suspected of bias. Perhaps part of this distrust is the feeling any person has toward the agency which provides his room and board and exercises authority over him. A third party which has no economic or political responsibility has the advantage of "disinterestedness". I was greatly pleased to find that the interest of Church groups was welcomed and appreciated.

The third impression follows the second closely. The same suspicion of bias which attaches to the "authority" also attaches to Caucasians. Caucasians talk about the problem; it is another thing to be the problem. For this reason it seemed to me the most effective relocation work could be done by evacuees who

(continued on Page 8, Col. 2)

(continued from Page 7, Col.1)

and adults, high school and elementary school pupils. I have also met with the Ministerial Alliance of Fayetteville, where one of the ministers moved that the Alliance send greetings to the ministers and people of Rohwer Relocation Center and that some day soon they may be relocated to enjoy the normal life again. An afternoon tea was held in my honor by the feature writer of the Northwest Arkansas Times. I had the privilege to meet and get acquainted with the notables of Fayetteville. Never in my life have I felt so important for what I was. And the cordiality extended me from everyone has most certainly been heartfelt. At the conference I have seen the colored and the white getting together to help solve the minority problem and how each can work out for the common cause. Nothing has impressed me more to see how powerful a Christian organization can be and the respect of the people of Fayetteville for their ministers. This is the picture I would like to have others actually see in action. I can well say for the part which I have traveled through and stayed that everyone I have met was considerate, understanding, kind, and sympathetic, and I hope many more of our leaders and others may be given the same opportunity to visit other localities and show the people of those communities what we are really like and I believe it will be a very good medium to erase from the mind of the people in the center the fears they have of the outside.

(continued from Page 7, Col.2)

were responsible to evacuees rather than by Caucasians or even those of Japanese descent who had relocated. The way to speed relocation is to have the leaders in the centers lead their own neighbors out of the camps. This they are capable of doing if subsidized by some outside agency like the Church.

Finally, I left with my mind set that all men of good will must work with all available forces to get these people out of the camps as rapidly as possible. There is no stopping point until the last man is out of the last center and the camps are permanently closed. God speed the day.

Planning Resettlement of Japanese Americans

This pamphlet of the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans has been revised and brought up to date. It features "Suggestions for action", responding to numerous requests.

Orders will be accepted: Price 3 cents per copy. Special rate for orders in quantity. Write to the address given in the box below.

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RESETTLEMENT BULLETIN

September 1944 NEW YORK Vol. II, No. 7.

RESETTLEMENT OF 100 FAMILIES THROUGH 100 LOCAL CHURCHES

As of August, 1944, nearly thirty thousand evacuees are reported to have left the Relocation Centers. This leaves in the camps about sixty thousand eligible for resettlement. In an effort to help this latter group, the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans, in cooperation with the Protestant Church Commission for Japanese Service, has undertaken a project called "Resettlement of 100 Families Through 100 Local Churches." It is the hope of the Committee that this will stimulate the interest of churches which have not yet had an opportunity to participate in the resettlement program. Both government and private agencies are ready to assist the churches.

Suggestions for the Local Church

1). It should be remembered that churches engaged in this project are cooperating with the Government in a program which has the cordial support of the Protestant Churches. Further, "The policies governing this resettlement have the approval of the War and Navy Departments. The program has been sanctioned by the Department of Justice as sound from the standpoint of national security and has been approved by the War Manpower Commission as a contribution to national manpower needs."

2). It is suggested that the minister or a committee interested in this project obtain full information on the background of the evacuation of the people of Japanese ancestry and on the Government's resettlement program before bringing the project to the attention of the general congregation. The Committee on Resettlement and the War Relocation Authority are in a position to supply this information.

3). The resettlement of a family might be a project for the whole church or one of the groups within the church, such as the Missionary Society, the Women's Club, or the Men's Club, which might wish to sponsor the project. In any event, there should be a committee within the church which would assume responsibility for carrying the project through to its completion, that is, until the family is well adjusted.

4). Although the Government will be ready to aid in opening up employment opportunities for the employable members of the evacuee family, jobs might be found through the membership of the church. (The Government pays railroad transportation and supplies a small amount of money to families needing such help.)

5). After the family is settled in its new home - allowing some time to recover from the excitement of resuming life "outside" - make an occasion of introducing the family to the members of the church and then, according to age levels and interests, endeavor to integrate them into the special groups or clubs in the church.

Interested churches should write to the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

THE CALIFORNIA ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

Sacramento, Calif., June 7, 1944

The following statement concerning Japanese-Americans was passed by a strong majority vote of lay and ministerial delegates:

In spite of more than two years of disrupting change in economic and home life a vast majority of both aliens and citizens of Japanese extraction have proved themselves staunchly loyal to the United States. It is the belief of fair-minded American people that this group should not longer be penalized because of their ancestry or for any other reason. To continue to delay the justice that is due this minority of American citizens and loyal aliens is contrary to every principle of fairness and in direct opposition to basic civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

In view of the above statement the California Annual Conference of the Methodist Church renews its pledge of confidence in all loyal Japanese-Americans and proposes to assist them in regaining their full rights as citizens of the United States.

We believe that democratic justice may best be served in the following manner:

A. By granting freedom of movement to loyal Japanese anywhere in the United States on the same basis as other Americans and aliens of other countries. This would include the right to return to the Pacific Coast. If this right is abridged by political, economic or racial pressure groups, we hold that such action is destructive both of essential democracy and Christian social relations.

B. By defeat of discriminatory legislation. For example:
(1) We are opposed to the disfranchisement of Japanese-American citizens, and attempts to make their life on the Pacific Coast and elsewhere in the United States an economic impossibility.
(2) We are opposed to the proposal to send all U.S. Japanese back to Japan after the war, to farm them out on Pacific islands, or to make them stay on isolated reservations in this country.
(3) We are opposed to the attempt to make property ownership difficult for Japanese-American citizens and impossible for their alien parents.

C. By realization of a strong, consistent domestic policy toward this and all minority groups, which would:
(1) Tend to balance war-time extremism and sectionalism now rampant.
(2) Help to convince our Pacific neighbor states that this country's conception of democracy includes the freedom of all people.

D. By increased co-operation with the War Relocation Authority to accelerate the program of resettlement in unrestricted areas.

E. By denunciation of the false principle of "protective custody" and aid in building public opinion which will repudiate the further use of such an un-American restraint against minority groups.

F. By fostering post-war planning for the rehabilitation of Americans of Japanese ancestry, to ensure them against prolonged unnecessary hardships.

G. By protesting instances of destruction, despoilation, and fraudulent acquisition of Japanese property in California.

THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE Evangelical Church

Executive Committee, Board of Missions, June 20, 1944

"Feeling deep concern over the mass evacuation of persons of Japanese ancestry, we welcome the statement of the President of the United States that: 'We shall restore to the loyal evacuees the right to return to the evacuated areas as soon as the military situation will make such restoration feasible.'

"We believe that whatever the initial 'military necessity' invoked two years ago, such necessity no longer exists. This belief has the support of statements by the Secretaries of War and the Navy, assuring the nation 'that the Japanese enemy is not coming to our shores'; of the Army's declaration that 'the Pacific Coast is now a defense command, no longer a theatre of operations', and its policy of relaxing civilian defense requirements; and the statement by Admiral Nimitz that 'Since the battle of Midway in June 1942, there has been no serious threat from the Japanese to the Pacific Coast or America's Pacific possessions.'

"We therefore petition the President of the United States and the military authorities to take responsibility for, and immediate steps to designate a procedure under which loyal evacuees who may wish to do so may freely return to the evacuated area for visits, business adjustments, and residence, and that citizens of the United States, who are of Japanese ancestry, be restored to their full rights and privileges of such citizenship."

The Southern California-Arizona Conference of the Methodist Church-- --July 27, 1944.

Concurring in the action of the California Conference of the Methodist Church, the Southern California-Arizona Conference of the Methodist Church declares that:

"Democratic justice will be best served by granting freedom of movement to loyal Japanese, anywhere in the United States, on the same basis as other Americans and aliens of other countries."

The Conference also urges:

"our people to exemplify the way of Christ by welcoming to our communities, our schools, our churches, and our homes, these victims of organized discrimination and war-time hysteria, and we call upon our members and friends throughout the Conference to make preparation for, and to write to Secretary Henry L. Stimson, offering to provide work and shelter for returning evacuees. Insofar as we are able we shall support such movements as are designed to aid evacuees in readjusting themselves to new coast conditions, and to insure for them the full protection of American law."

Chicago

The Chicago Advisory Committee for Evacuees observes that "Resettler outlook on relocation in this area has undergone a significant, though perhaps natural, change in the last five months. There is a definite and steady trend toward permanent residence in Chicago, at least in the thinking of more and more relocatees. This was not true in 1943.

"There is less talk about 'returning to the West Coast'; there is more shipment of furniture and belongings from California storage; there are more leases sought in contrast to the almost unanimous preference for month-to-month tenancy in '43; there is a more sober attitude toward 'post-war' jobs in Chicago; and, though the process is slow, whole family units are finding residence here.

"These observations are based on our experience in counseling and talking with over 3,000 resettlers who have called at our office at 1010 Security Building in the last 17 months."

(From the June 1944 Report)

Recently the Illinois Central Railroad recruited 58 workers to do track work. Shortly after they began working indications were received by the railroad that the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Workers, an AFL union, were opposed to the employment of persons of Japanese ancestry. The union did not threaten to strike but in a statement to the railroad indicated that many of their members would create a work stoppage if the resettlers were continued in employment. No decision had been reached by the railroad in regard to this labor situation when on July 28, the fifth day of their employment, the men were temporarily stopped from work at the request of the War Department pending individual clearance with the Provost Marshal General's office. Clearance not having been received within the expected time, the men were separated from employment. The workers were given their choice of a variety of jobs in the Chicago district or of returning to Heart Mountain. All but eleven accepted other employment.

..... APPRECIATION......

My dear Miss W.....

I cannot find sufficient words to tell you how deeply appreciative I am of your many splendid efforts to make me and my children really feel a part of the community. With all due respect and credit to the fine families and neighbors, and to the ever faithful churches, I can safely say that our acceptance here on an equal basis with other Americans is due in a large degree to your guidance of the channels of thinking of the teachers and children. I listened to you last night with a lump in my throat as you eloquently pleaded for tolerance and understanding in dealing with races other than one's own.

Needless to say it was an honor and a delight to have one of my daughters partake in last night's performance which was truly a masterpiece of diplomacy in handling a delicate problem.

I herewith tender my heart-felt thanks to you for all you have done. Its value cannot be measured in dollars and cents but the results show in every democratic act. Truly you have helped to make your school a working democracy. The moment I step out of its boundaries I again feel the bitterness of the world. For that reason I have decided to settle my family here for the duration instead of braving the possible hostility of a new and strange city. I would much prefer being allowed to stay here where we are happily settled.

God bless you, and may your faith in us be forever justified. We will not fail you.

Sincerely yours,

(A young Nisei mother of five children)

A Story from Florida

By Mrs. W. C. White

Upon receipt of a letter from a Y.W.C.A. director in a Northern city that about two hundred Japanese-American soldiers, who had been stationed in a camp near there, were to be transferred near us and that some of their wives wished to come here to be close to them, a meeting was called of high city officials and representatives from the Housing Administration, U.S.O.'s, Chamber of Commerce, Y.W.C.A., Ministerial Alliance, and other interested religious groups. During a lengthy discussion of advisability, and ways and means, most of those present expressed a sympathetic interest but felt that it would be impossible because of the overcrowded condition of the city and because of prejudices and taboos which would have to be overcome.

Next a meeting was called of outstanding Methodist women but, again, although sympathetic interest was expressed, they concurred with the sentiments of the first group and even felt some concern for the bodily safety of the young women. I was reminded that even our few Chinese families did not live among the white people but in the backs of their own stores or laundries, or on outlying farms. It was not without some trepidation for their own happiness and safety that I wrote for the first two young women to come, telling them that unless I was able to find some suitable place for them to stay, they would occupy two of my three bedrooms in a parsonage family of five. The first hopeful break was a telephone message from the President of the Board of Directors of the Y.W.C.A. saying that if I would take the two young women in my home for the first ten days, she would rent them an apartment after that. This was splendid - her home was a beautiful place in one of our most select residential districts.

Their ten days in our parsonage was a delight which our family unanimously wished might happen to every American family. The girls were so charming that not only did they completely and permanently win their way into our affections; but, upon matter-of-fact, casual introductions to our neighbors and friends, they were most hospitably received by the neighborhood and church. By the time anyone thought to ask their nationality (meaning ancestry) they had perfectly won their way where race and national prejudice abounds.

Altogether about twenty young wives came. At the very first we had two slightly unfortunate occurrences: A hotel which said it would take one of the girls refused when she reached there, and one place of domestic employment proved unsatisfactory. Through both of these incidents and in every other detail of their stay with us, all of the girls proved to be cultured young American women, thoroughly worthy of our trust and interest. They bore themselves in such a way that our city accepted them without an untoward incident except the two already mentioned. It soon became comparatively easy to obtain rooms for them, several of our nicest homes and one of our finest hotels cordially opening to them. At first we were up against a stone wall for any employment, even domestic; but at the end, employment was fairly easy to find, even our largest and most beautiful department store using them.

It is true that a supper and several parties were given for them, but what was done for them was not most important about their stay in our city. It was what they did for us: Scores of our people discovered that there were lovely as well as unlovely Japanese. To have even one small child make such a discovery in a day of a flood of prejudice towards persons of Japanese race was more than worth any little thing that may have been done for them.

Statement of Dedication

We commit ourselves—individually and in our Christian organizations—to a constant criticism of our own attitudes toward persons of other races in the light of all we know of love. We pledge ourselves to active effort against the discrimination and the segregation of any group, Negro, white, of Japanese descent, Jew, or any other, wherever our lives touch the question: in our personal relationships, in our churches, in schools, in housing in transportation, and in employment.

(The Christian Youth Conference of North America, Lakeside, Ohio, July 2, 1944)

Observations

By Mr. Galen M. Fisher

To: Christian Brethren at Denver Conference,
Especially Issei and Nisei

In response to an urgent suggestion that I send you a few observations concerning problems and prospects of the near future, I do so, but without the least assumption of superior knowledge or authority.

1. RETURN TO THE WEST COAST: There are good grounds for expecting that the War Department will remove most of the restrictions imposed on persons of Japanese ancestry before the end of the war. Presumably, such conditions will be set up as to preclude any precipitate mass return of evacuees. The severe housing shortage alone would make caution advisable, and the possibility of a virtual social and economic boycott in some communities should preclude a stampede.

2. RESETTLEMENT EAST OF THE SIERRAS: It is agreed by social scientists as well as by many friends of the evacuees that a large number of them should attempt to resettle permanently away from the West Coast. In middle and eastern states, conditions are likely to be more favorable, both for prospering economically and for becoming integrated into the American body-politic. It needs hardly be added that resettlers should continue to avoid forming concentrated colonies.

3. PREPARING FOR RETURN: All evacuees who have friends among Caucasians on the West Coast should make a point of writing them letters to renew mutual confidence and prepare the way for a welcome and for employment for such of the evacuees as may return. Issei who do not write freely in English can of course have their children write for them. Send such friends also copies of "American Fighting Men Speak Out," and Ben Kuroki's speech. Reciprocally, Caucasians who used to employ Japanese or who desire to do so are so informing the W.R.A.

While the advisability of resettling in the East can hardly be overemphasized, those who have good reasons for returning to the Coast should do so before the end of the war, for it will then be much harder to find work.

Impressions...

By Dr. J. Henry Carpenter

After visiting Topaz and Manzanar Relocation Centers, my impressions are as follows:

The younger Japanese Americans who have much spirit have largely left camp. Those left are below 18, have jobs in the camp offices or are tied by certain family inhibitions or loyalties. The major portion of those left in camp are older people.

There was a strong pull towards Chicago. It was reported that living costs there were cheaper and jobs better.

There is a very predominant feeling that the evacuees want to go back to the West Coast. This is based on two feelings:

a. It is home.
b. They have a pride about it.

I was greatly impressed with the general loyalty of the people and the way you could talk about the war objectively with most of them. I could not find the slightest trace of disloyalty or deep resentment.

(Dr. Carpenter is Executive Secretary of the Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation and Vice-chairman of the Committee for Resettlement of Japanese-Americans of the Brooklyn Council For Social Planning. He stopped at the two Centers on his way to the West Coast as Chairman of the Committee on the Church and the Cooperatives.)

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4. REPATRIATION: Judging by the conditions that prevailed in Germany after World War I, conditions in Japan after her defeat will be very unfavorable for those evacuees who have petitioned for repatriation. The Japanese Government is quite likely to discourage them from going back to Japan, and those who do get in may find the country so impoverished and disrupted that employment and subsistence may be difficult.

(A message to the Christian Leaders' Conference at Denver, June 1944)

PERTINENT QUESTIONS: By Mr. Masao W. Satow

On Integration:

We resettlers are in varying degrees of socialization. Some of us have had many opportunities to participate in group life, others of us have not; some of us have lived with and moved among many Caucasian friends, while others have lived mostly with other Japanese. In the anxiety to be of help to resettlers, many of our well-meaning friends have sometimes failed to understand the processes by which integration takes place. They have failed to realize that integration depends upon a basis of common interest and background, that any program for integration must be satisfying to the evacuees, that all integration does not take place through the churches, that leadership for integration must be acceptable to the resettlers who are supposed to integrate, and that integration takes time. Not all people who talk about integration into a community mean the same thing. Just what do we mean by integration? When can we say that a person is integrated into a community? What are the processes by which a person becomes part of the community? Sometimes the very people who criticize the War Relocation Authority for trying to resettle evacuees en masse fall into the same error by trying to integrate resettlers into the community upon a mass basis.

We can help resettlers by reminding ourselves of the principles of leadership in good group work. These include such simple things as the fact that we must have proper rapport with the members of the groups, we must understand their backgrounds and the more immediate experiences through which they have come. Let us remember that we do things with people and not for them, that people learn to know and appreciate each other by participating in common projects, and that individual counselling is important but we only earn the right to counsel.

On Public Relations:

Now a word about public relations: I have been disturbed no end because too much of our public relations story is based upon the negative. It is important to tell the general public about the experiences the evacuees have gone through, but it seems to me that our story ought to start with showing how similar the evacuees are to other people by telling of the positive things Nisei are doing. By now most people have heard the story of Sgt. Ben Kuroki. More people are hearing about the famous 100th Infantry in Italy composed entirely of Japanese Americans, but not everyone knows that out of the 1200 or so boys who comprise that outfit, 900 have already been awarded the Purple Heart. Soon we will be hearing more of the 442nd Combat Unit made up entirely of Japanese American volunteers who have just gone over to Italy to join forces with the 100th Infantry. Few people know that their own sons fighting in the South Pacific are safer because many of our Japanese Americans are out there with them in the Intelligence Services. One of these boys is Sgt. Kaz Komoto, wearer of the Purple Heart after being wounded by a Japanese sniper in New Guinea. At the Gila River Relocation Center in Arizona is one of only two ship model factories in the entire United States making model ships for the U.S. Navy. Let us keep in mind that for many of these boys in the uniform of the United States Army, the only place they can call home is a two-by-four room in the tar-paper-covered barrack of a Relocation Center, and some of them will have to come back to this kind of a home after the war.

These are just a few of the things we must tell the general public so that it will sit up and take notice. These are some of the things evacuees must tell instead of harping upon the negative aspects of our evacuation. There are times when you, our good friends, must be critical of us in a friendly way for our own good. You must help us to see our problem in relation to the total problems involved in the war effort, that a group which comprises only one-tenth of one per cent of the total population is significant because of the role we play in helping to make America strong at home.

You must help us evacuees to express ourselves in various ways and become conscious of our responsibilities in the total resettlement picture. We evacuees

(Continued on next page)

must write letters of commendation and appreciation to newspapers, magazines and individuals who stand up on our behalf, commending them not just because they champion our cause, but because they stand for what is right and decent and American. Evacuees, whether resettled or still in Relocation centers, must keep in contact with our friends out on the Pacific Coast, keeping them informed with facts regarding the whole situation. One of the most important things we who are resettled can do is to write our friends and relatives still in the centers about the significant things we find in the real America and how we are being accepted by our fellow Americans. This is the only way to counteract the vicious anti-Japanese sentiment which the people in the Centers read in the Pacific Coast newspapers. These are the minimum essentials which are mandatory for evacuees now to help ourselves. You can help by urging us to do these simple things. Only as we individual evacuees sense the responsibility of sitting down and writing these letters will we really begin to know what it means to actively participate in a democracy, and then perhaps you will no longer have to worry about our total integration into American life.

(Mr. Satow is a staff member of the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations. His headquarters: 3209 West Highland Avenue, Milwaukee 8, Wisconsin)

NEW YORK RELOCATION HOSTEL

168 Clinton Street, Brooklyn 2, New York

The Reverend and Mrs. Ralph E. Smeltzer, who have been the directors of the Hostel, have "relocated" to Elgin, Illinois, where Mr. Smeltzer will direct the work of resettlement for the Church of the Brethren.

The new directors are Dr. and Mrs. Eldon Burke, who supervised a hostel in Philadelphia. Mr. and Mrs. Jisaburo Kasai are the house parents, Miss Midori Satomi, Hostel secretary.

Now Available

Copies of the Report of the Resettlement Workers' Conference held in Chicago, June 6 - 7, 1944, can be obtained at nominal cost. Write to:

Shunji Forrest Nishi, Field Counsellor
The Cleveland Church Federation
1010 Hippodrome Building, Cleveland 14, Ohio

RESETTLEMENT BULLETIN, published monthly, George E. Rundquist, Editor
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RESETTLEMENT BULLETIN

December 1944 NEW YORK Vol. II, No. 10.

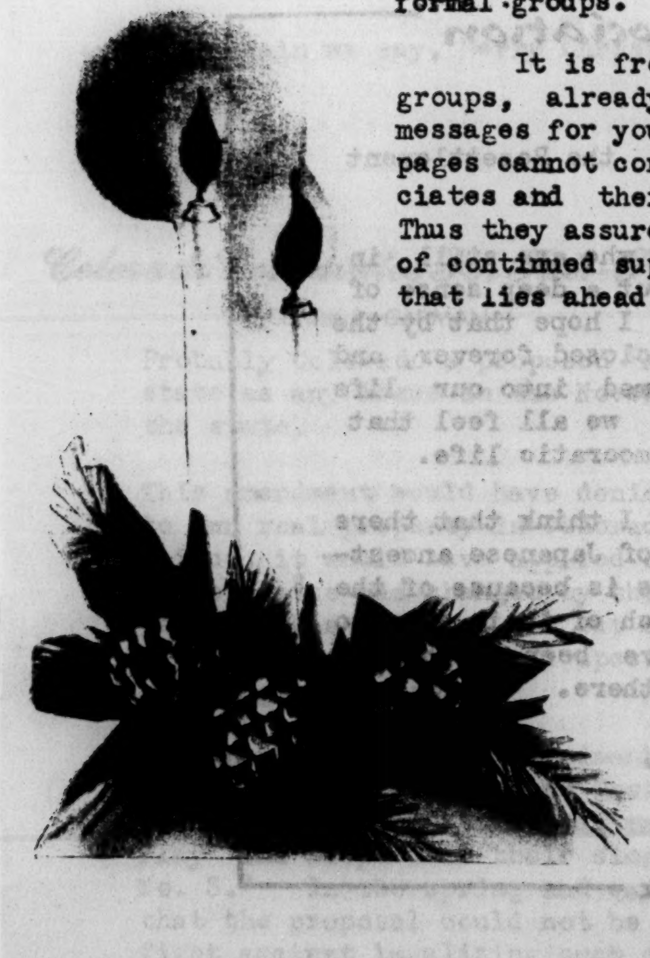
Christmas Greetings

To our Readers:

In sending you this issue devoted to messages from our friends we extend to you also our own greetings for the Christmas season. We covet for you all, as for ourselves, renewed consciousness of the riches of God's gift to us in Christ, and of the attendant responsibilities.

Through the year the Bulletin has aimed to carry to you salient facts about Resettlement. We rejoice with you that the number of permanent resettlers has climbed above 33,000. We have reason to believe that more than four-fifths of them have had some contact with local churches and Church Councils and their United Ministries to Evacuees, the twenty-four Resettlement Committees, the eight Hostels, the Student Relocation Council, the Young Men's Christian Associations, the Protestant Church Commission for Japanese Service, and dozens of less formal groups.

It is from representatives of such organizations and groups, already esteemed friends, that so many Christmas messages for you have come to us that our usual number of pages cannot contain them all. They speak for their associates and their constituencies as well as for themselves. Thus they assure us, on behalf of a host who keep Christmas, of continued support and fellowship in the unfinished task that lies ahead.



THE RESETTLEMENT BULLETIN

George E. Rundquist

Editor.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

My dear Friends,

May I again this year send Christmas greetings to the Japanese in the various Relocation Centers.

Christmas reminds us of the ancient promise of Peace on Earth to Men of Goodwill, through Him Who was born on Christmas Day.

My prayer is that this promise may soon be fulfilled for you.

Praying that God's blessing may rest upon you all, and that He, through Christ, will give you that patience and that goodwill, the reward of which is a peace which passeth human understanding, I am

Yours very sincerely,

H St George Tucker

PRESIDING BISHOP

FIRST METHODIST CHURCH
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

Dear Friends:

Will you convey my greetings to your splendid people who have so patiently endured the dislocation of their lives under the stringency of war time restrictions, who have kept their faith in America and in the Church, and who have inspired us all with their loyalty and their capacity for endurance. They are making a real Christmas gift to us in this demonstration under most difficult circumstances.

We send to them our love, our assurance of our eagerness for the day when their full constitutional rights shall be restored, and our determination to stand by them.

Cordially yours,

Ernest Edward Day

The East and West Association

This is the message which I should like to put in the Resettlement Bulletin:

I send my Christmas greetings this year to those who are still in the relocation centers. I cannot do so without a deep sense of shame that there should still be these centers. I hope that by the time another Christmas rolls around they will be closed forever, and that American people everywhere will have welcomed into our life those who today are in these centers. I think we all feel that never again must there be such a blot upon our democratic life.

Friends are waiting outside for you all. Indeed, I think that there is more friendly feeling today for the Americans of Japanese ancestry than there has ever been before. Part of this is because of the bravery of Japanese Americans in Italy. But much of it is due to the dignity and patience with which those who have been in the relocation centers have met their difficult lives there.

Very sincerely yours,

Pearl S. Buck

Pearl S. Buck

HOME MISSIONS COUNCIL OF NORTH AMERICA

To our Friends in the Relocation Centers:

Greetings and good wishes for the Christmas Season!

As another Christmas rolls around our minds and hearts are naturally centered in the thought of the gift of God to the human race--the Christ Child and all that is associated with His coming into the world. The angels' song, "Peace on earth, good will toward men," seems far removed as we review the events of recent years. Not only is this true as regards the people of other countries that we think of as our enemies, but of many in our own country who, because of birth and ancestry, are also on the list of those some think they hate.

But in spite of this we are encouraged to believe that in the end the Christian spirit will prevail. War and all that is involved in it are not the realities of life; they are the unrealities. By this I mean that the things that really matter in life, the things that constitute life's greatest values, are not affected by war. They are the things of the spirit. So it is with this problem of American-Japanese relationships in the United States.

The most hopeful thing on the horizon is the fact that thousands of Christians, both Japanese and Caucasian, have refused to allow their relationships in Christ to be affected in any way by the war. If anything, the ties that bind us are stronger because we have witnessed the evil and injustice that prevail where the Christ spirit is absent. So may it continue to increase our love and faith that in the end there may be no East and West, no Japanese and American in any hostile sense, but that all may be one in Him who came and lived among men and who died that all may inherit eternal life.

So again we say, Merry Christmas!

Yours very sincerely,

Mark A. Dawber

Mark A. Dawber

Colorado Committee For Fair-Play Report

CLARK P. GARMAN

Probably Colorado's proposed "Amendment No. 3" has been of as much interest in the state as any issue in the November election; nor has the interest been limited to the state.

This amendment would have denied to "aliens ineligible to citizenship" the right to own real property in Colorado. While it was definitely aimed at Japanese aliens, it would have applied equally to all Orientals excepting the Chinese whose status was changed by the Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act earlier this year. This proposal was put on the ballot by petition, after the Legislature had refused to do so at a special session called for the express purpose of considering the proposal.

The proponents of the amendment incorporated as "The American League," in line with similar groups on the West Coast. The opponents, having quite a different conception of what "Americanism" is, organized as "The Colorado Committee for Fair Play" and adopted as their slogan, "Keep Colorado American; vote 'No' on Amendment No. 3." In the spring and early summer it was the general consensus of opinion that the proposal could not be defeated. Others said that, win or lose, the fight against legalizing such discriminatory action must be made. (Cont'd on page 4)

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

Christmas comes again, in 1944, to a world torn by war and bowed down with pain and sorrow. In this tragic hour let us listen again to that heavenly salutation which greeted the first Christmas morning: Peace on earth, good will among men.

History is teaching us that neither trade nor treaties can of themselves hold mankind together. Modern communications have succeeded in making all men close neighbors in a world which grows smaller day by day. But universal propinquity has not succeeded in producing universal amity. Political and economic concord will become secure only as men are knit together by the spiritual bonds of a common faith and purpose.

"All under heaven are members of one family." Thus spoke Confucius 2500 years ago. That unity of which he spoke--between God and man and among men--finds its greatest exemplification and its enduring inspiration in Christ's advent into the world, which we celebrate the world over on Christmas Day.

The thoughts of your friends of the Y.M.C.A. turn to you at this time, as they have again and again in the difficulties you have suffered during these recent years. May the new year find us all prepared for the good things which God stands ready always to bestow upon His children.

Sincerely yours,

Eugene E. Barnett

Eugene E. Barnett

PROTESTANT CHURCH COMMISSION FOR JAPANESE SERVICE

The Protestant Church Commission takes great pleasure in sending its warmest greetings to all evacuees and their friends through the Christmas issue of the Resettlement Bulletin.

The Commission has continued to function as the instrument of the cooperative effort of the principal churches and agencies which serve Japanese communities. The same spirit of Christian unity which has characterized the work of the Commission has also been exemplified by the Churches in the relocation centers. And as many of the leaders of these churches have resettled in various communities throughout the United States, they have enriched the life of other churches.

The project for the resettlement of families through sponsorship of local Caucasian churches proposed by the Committee on Resettlement in cooperation with the Protestant Church Commission is likely to assist many others in achieving satisfactory integration into the life of the various communities; thereby furnishing a demonstration of Christian Democracy at work.

The members of the Commission trust that the New Year may witness the return to normal life of all evacuees and pray that the Spirit of Christ may guide and bless all our common undertakings as we are united in Him.

Gordon K. Chapman

Gordon K. Chapman

The leaders in the opposition were church forces, (including the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.) civic leaders, educators, a group of the state legislators and others. The League of Women Voters of the state and the Denver Civic League opposed the amendment. So, also, did the Rocky Mountain News, the Pueblo Star and Chieftain, and a number of inter-racial and religious organs.

Three other amendments were carried by large majorities. This amendment was defeated by but 12,000 of the civilian votes.

The soldier vote is not yet entirely counted, but the soldier opposition is much greater. One of the questions most frequently raised was "What will the soldiers say then they return and find Japanese aliens in possession of property?" They have now spoken.

We who fought this amendment were thoroughly convinced that we were participating in much more than a state issue. To us, it was both national and international in its implications. We believed that it was incumbent on us, also, to register the vote of the Christian church on what was a religious as well as a secular issue.

The Detroit Council of Churches

Recognizing the need both for integration with normal Caucasian church life and at the same time for certain opportunities of social contacts among themselves, the United Ministry to Resettlers of the Detroit Council of Churches, in cooperation with the First Baptist Church of this city has inaugurated a Sunday evening service for Japanese-Americans and any others who may wish to worship and fellowship with them. The leaders of the program are Dr. Hillyer H. Straton and Rev. William Montgomery (pastor and co-pastor of the church), and Miss Virginia Swanson and Rev. Shigeo Tanabe from the Council of Churches staff.

The recent visit in Detroit of Pfc. Thomas Higa from the 100th Infantry Battalion in Italy was the cause for much favorable Nisei publicity in the press of the city. For more than an hour, he engaged a group of friends in informal conversation at the Detroit Fellowship House, talking of Japanese-Americans' army life and of the elemental Democracy one finds among those who fight together, as contrasted to home front prejudices and discriminations.

The furlough of Pvt. Fukuda, a native Detroiter wounded in Italy, has also helped to create a more favorable attitude toward Japanese-Americans. The reported arrival of Pvt. James Shimoura, also a native Detroiter, as interpreter with the American Army in the South Pacific has received considerable publicity. Popular high-school football star in Highland Park, James has hosts of friends throughout the city.

One may also add that the disappearance of a very "anti" spirited newscaster on a local broadcasting station has relieved tension. On the other hand, the appearance of a Nisei illegally wearing the American uniform and the discovery of a Japanese-American girl shoplifting in a Detroit store have furnished sensational headlines for the scaremongers. On the whole, it can be happily said that Detroit has been behaving itself fairly well of late with respect to inter-racial and ultra-patriotic issues.

Executive Secretary

Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation

Christmas, 1,944 years after Christ, and yet there is so little real brotherhood and understanding in our world. It is a privilege, however, to send this Christmas greeting to many Japanese-American friends and associates throughout the country, and to those who in so many ways are trying to build brotherhood and justice between groups and races in our world. May God grant us the true spirit of Christ on this Christmas day to live and work in the name of the Prince of Peace.

Many will be interested in the New York Hostel and the resettlement program here. It exemplifies a bit of that spirit anyway. Recently Mrs. Eldon Burke, the new director, reported to a meeting of the general committee set up under the auspices of the Brooklyn Council for Social Planning that in the first five months the Hostel had housed and cared for 209 evacuees and 26 transients. The large part of these evacuees are obtaining positions almost immediately upon arrival. Some are offered two or three positions the day after they arrive. Mrs. Burke also reported that "more Issei than previously are now coming to join the younger members of their families." Representatives of the War Relocation Authority stated that for the last five months an average of 135 - 140 persons had relocated to New York with a total of 1700 now in the city. A committee to relate the newcomers to the churches, both Catholic and Protestant, was set up with the Reverend Alfred R. Winham as chairman and a new sub-committee to deal specifically with hostel problems was authorized. Some 200 friends and supporters of the hostel attended Open House on a recent Sunday afternoon.

J. Henry Carpenter
Executive Secretary

THE CLEVELAND CHURCH FEDERATION

To our friends:

The holiday season brings to our minds many things. For a large number of Japanese Americans this will be the third Christmas within the confines of a relocation center. For many others, it will be a Christmas away from family and home.

But for all of us throughout the country, Christmas brings to mind the sacred origin of this festival. It dwarfs all human trivialities and calls us to recognize the impact of the spirit of God on human life.

"Jesus Christ is born today" runs the familiar hymn. It recalls to us the timeless, eternal nature of Christmas. It reminds us that Christmas and God's coming into the world in the person of Christ are not merely events in the process of history, but are real events in the lives of men today.

It is in this that we are called to share and to return our praise and thanksgiving for it. Whether we are removed from dear ones and families or not, we share gloriously and thankfully in celebrating the birth of Our Lord.

Wherever you may be, we join you in the bond of fellowship with Him whose birth we celebrate in this season. We send you our greetings and wishes that this Christmas may be more truly meaningful for you than ever before.

In sincere Christian brotherhood, we are

Very faithfully yours,

O M Walton
O. M. Walton
Executive Secretary

Shunji F. Nishi
Shunji F. Nishi
Field Counsellor

Madison Committee on Relocation of American Citizens of Japanese Ancestry

Dear Friends:

We are very glad to send greetings to all friends involved in the resettlement program.

Last Friday evening a hundred or more Japanese Americans in this community sponsored a moving picture and a reception for their friends in this community in the assembly room of the Congregational Church. Some 200 people were gathered together for a remarkably happy occasion.

We believe that this whole program is a genuine achievement of which the Committee on Resettlement can be proud and the War Relocation Authority equally confident. And we are sure it means not only for this community but for our whole country a demonstration of the enduring democracy we can fashion among us. May the days ahead make this but more certain.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred W. Swan
Alfred W. Swan

THE GIRLS' FRIENDLY SOCIETY, U.S.A.

The Girls' Friendly Society greets you at Christmas, not only by wishing in words all the joy of the season, but also saying it through developing experiences in comradeship and cooperation.

These exchanges in fellowship are going on all over the country. Last year the G.F.S. program, "United We Make America" had a special section introducing Nisei boys and girls to G.F.S. members. It was made possible by the contributions of teachers, pupils and G.F.S. members who at that time were living in Jerome Relocation Center. Just now G.F.S. groups are packing boxes of Christmas gifts to send to relocation centers.

News flashes such as this come through our mail all the time: Virginia -- G.F.S. makes Christmas boxes to centers their special project for the year; Pennsylvania--members are developing fine friendships with Nisei "pen pals"; New Jersey--girls are proud of new evacuee members; Ohio--G.F.S. meets and entertains evacuees coming into town; Washington--gift of an altar hanging to a church in one center expresses the friendship of groups there; New York--letters, gifts and flower seeds for gardens are exchanged by G.F.S. girls and children in another of the centers; California--groups in this state send recreation material, and games; Missouri--G.F.S. group adopts as members by correspondence, ten-year old twins recently relocated to an Iowa town where there is no G.F.S. group; the National G.F.S. gives $700 in scholarships to two Japanese American girls to continue their studies at Carleton and Oberlin colleges.

And we are looking forward to the time when G.F.S. groups whose members have been scattered in centers will be able to reorganize again. We need their help in equipping girls to meet wartime and post war demands by building sound bodies, alert minds, creative relationships, spiritual strength.

Elizabeth Allen

Cincinnati
CITIZENS' COMMITTEE for RELOCATION of JAPANESE AMERICANS

Christmas greetings from all of us in Cincinnati! As the holiday season of 1944 draws near, we find ourselves to be quite a large family here - some four hundred friendly people who have found the Queen City to be a pleasant place in which to live.

The community is proud of its new citizens. Everywhere they are spoken of with respect and affection; respect for their large and unique talents, affection for their friendly and cheerful ways. They are good home-makers, and as Christmas comes and many firesides are lighted, we believe the hearts of our new friends here will be warmed by the knowledge that they are accepted and considered to be permanent residents of this old-fashioned and conservative city.

When Dr. and Mrs. Raymond Booth left us to go to Chicago, we were fearful, for they had carried the heaviest burden in the resettlement problem here. Then when the Brintons left, we wondered what would happen to our hostel program. We have found Mr. Harry Titus an able successor to Doctor Booth. He is really getting after our Citizens' Committee, making it function in many aspects where before it rested, content to let the Booths carry on. We are breaking down the work, so that small committees look after, for example, housing, new businesses, cooperation with social agencies, relationship with the churches, and other matters. Ann Schneider is making the hostel a center of interest, not only for the Nisei and Issei, but for all kinds of people, old residents as well as newcomers.

The Reverend John Yamazaki, working under the Council of Churches and as executive secretary of the Citizens' Committee, ties all the loose ends together. Opposition melts under the impact of his cordial nature! We all love him. Little wonder, then, that we wish you all a very Merry Christmas! Stop in to see us whenever you are near.

WASHINGTON COMMITTEE for AMERICANS of JAPANESE ANCESTRY

The headline event in Washington, D.C., of interest to our Resettlement Bulletin readers, is the opening of a hostel two weeks ago at 2311 Pennsylvania Avenue. Mr. and Mrs. Parker Barrett of Walla Walla, Washington are the directors.

The hostel was started to facilitate resettlement by the Washington Committee for Americans of Japanese Ancestry, Inc. - and they have raised about $2000.00 from interested individuals, church and civic groups, and the local evacuees, to help finance it. Represented on this citizens' committee is a Resettlers' Council consisting of: Miss Marvel Maeda, Mrs. Yvonne Noguchi, Mr. Ray Hashitani, Mr. John Kitasako, Mr. Robert Iki. These individuals were elected by the resettlers here.

On Sunday, November 26th, a small reception was held for the Barretts at International House at which, among others, the Honorable Joseph C. Grew, former Ambassador to Japan, and Mrs. Grew were present.

Aside from providing housing and a friendly place from which to get acquainted with Washington, it is hoped that the hostel will be of aid in what is turning out to be quite a USO project - for we have had as many as 400 Nisei soldiers at one time out at Fort Meade about to go overseas, and large parties have been given on a day's notice.

At present there are five evacuees at the hostel, but we hope that it will be filled to capacity soon - and continue to be so. Mr. Fast, Relocation Officer here, reports that in the small business line watchmakers and shoe repair men are especially needed in Washington. There are a few families here who have worked out quite a successful arrangement whereby the family lives on the estate or farm where the parents are working and the children work or go to school in the city. And we want to wish success to the Henry Asakas of Gila River Camp (previously of Pasadena) who have just opened a small grocery store at 11th and R Streets, N.W. We understand that another family is about to go into the grocery business too.

So, with over a year and eight months of relocation here and around 300 resettlers, we feel that there are solid community foundations laid for prospective "newcomers". And we do hope to see more from the camps soon - especially the families!

Barbara S. Briggs

Barbara S. Briggs, Secretary
Washington Comm. for Americans of Japanese
Ancestry, Inc.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews is deeply interested in the problems created by Japanese resettlement because they are aspects of the inclusive problem of the maintenance of human rights. The National Conference believes in brotherhood, and it defines the spirit of brotherhood as granting to others all the rights and dignities that one claims for himself. Personally it is my conviction that the citizens of the United States in general believe in brotherhood so defined and that they will not long deny it to the evacuees who are still in Relocation Centers. They have many and influential friends already and their number is growing.

Robert A. Ashworth

Robert A. Ashworth.

CHICAGO,

ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR EVACUEES

Resettlement of Japanese Americans in Chicago is now in its third year. Approximately 6,500 work and live here. In the background, education, training and skills, religious preferences, and differences among them, they represent a fair cross-section of American life.

Since June 1942, staff members of the American Friends Service Committee and the American Baptist Home Mission Society in Chicago have interviewed and assisted some 3,500 individual resettlers, ranging in age from 14 to 69, who have made well over 9,300 personal calls at the office, 189 West Madison Street, Chicago.

While the over-all picture of Chicago resettlement is encouraging and progress exceeds early expectations, attention still needs to be given to certain areas.

Permanent resettlement for the majority of newcomers is yet to be achieved. Neighborhood tensions, lack of adequate housing for family units, and areas of discrimination are all current problems.

The need is especially felt now to locate decent housing for more family units, to keep open the doors of welcome in Chicago neighborhoods, and at the same time persuade more resettlers to participate in the on-going community activities, thereby accepting the responsibilities of citizenship in the American pattern.

Togo
Togo Tanaka

PHILADELPHIA,

CITIZENS' COOPERATING COMMITTEE FOR THE WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

As resettlement in the Philadelphia area has accelerated, the Hostel has been used at capacity, and on some week-ends at extended capacity. When it is taken into consideration that the average length of stay has been 7.47 days per hosteler, the busy time we have been having can easily be pictured. But I think all will agree that it has been a most happy and congenial period.

One trend we are glad to see augmented is the coming out of family groups. Many of the Japanese American activities are centered in the Hostel, where are held Sunday teas, bridge nights, Hallowe'en and other parties, discussion groups, and of late a very successful innovation has been a series of Issei teas with different Issei ladies acting as hostesses.

Thanks to the grand work of Mr. and Mrs. Inouye, who have been willing to encourage dinner guests at the Hostel, we have been able to give the new hostelers many happy contacts. Among recent dinner guests were Dr. W. O. Mendenhall, former President of Whittier College and at present waiting to leave for England; Mr. Walter Borton, retired vice-president of the Provident Mutual Trust and at present head of Ellis College; Mrs. Helen Ascher, War Relocation Authority of New York; Mr. McDougil, executive of the Girard Trust; Dr. Floyd Schmoe, Executive Secretary of the Seattle branch of the American Friends' Service Committee. The Hostel has had an approximate average of 35 to 50 Nisei visitors and 10 Caucasians a week. One highlight of our evenings with our visitors was a pleasant evening spent with Sgt. Giyotoku, who told of many interesting exploits while with the U.S. 100th Infantry in Italy.

The Citizens' Cooperating Committee and its individual members are aiding in job placement and housing problems, and intend to increase this work as interested and qualified members can be added to the Committee. We hope to have many more resettlers to celebrate Christmas with us in the City of Brotherly Love.

Henry Lee Willet, Chairman

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

William K. Holland

The people of Omaha are receiving the Japanese-Americans and loyal Japanese aliens with an increasing amount of tolerance, due principally to the fine contribution these people are making to the professional and skilled fields of endeavor. The people of Omaha also recognize the fact that a high percentage of the total population of the Japanese are serving in the armed forces of our country.

On November 13th, the Citizens War Relocation Committee was reorganized. Representation on this committee consists of leading business and professional men, labor, management, the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars, civic bodies, the ministerial association, school officials, the Parent-Teachers Associations, and various social agencies. Four sub-committees were appointed as follows: Employment, Housing, Social Adjustment and Public Relations.

There are now approximately 400 persons of Japanese ancestry in the Omaha district. Many of these persons are in schools and the others are employed. Calls are received daily for varied services. At present, the housing situation is a little difficult, but the Housing Committee is extremely active and we expect to meet this problem in the near future.

On November 16th, Mr. and Mrs. Momoto Okura now living in this city received the official War Department notice of the death of one of their three sons in the Service. Pvt. Susumu Okura was reported killed in action in France on November 2nd.

The Nisei and Issei who have relocated Omaha held a Good-Will dinner at one of the leading local hotels on November 24. Their purpose in arranging this affair was to pay tribute to the people of Omaha who have received them so well, and to express their gratitude for the kindness and friendliness shown them. Guests of honor consisted of the Mayor and other city dignitaries. The dinner was attended by approximately 150 persons, there being a marked attendance by the Caucasian friends of these people. Technical Sergeant Ben Kuroki, who received many honors as a result of the fine record he made during his foreign service, was guest speaker. Sergeant Kuroki was given the standing of a member of Omaha Post No. 2, Nebraska Department of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, during his visit here.

THE COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL ACTION

Congregational Christian Churches

As another Christmas season rolls around, with many friends of evacuees sending their sincere regards to the residents of the Relocation Centers, we sincerely hope this will be the last time when such greetings will be sent to you in your present home. It is our hope that by another year, you may all be happily relocated in homes you can really call your own.

Several events of the year have made us very happy. We had a share in helping defeat the Colorado Exclusion Amendment. It was done by the active work of Church people in Colorado, with the help of the Reverend Galen Weaver, pastor of the Church of the Cross Roads, Honolulu, whom we made available.

Another incident that is encouraging to us was the election of Masamori Kojima, to the presidency of the Student Government Association in Haverford College. We had a small share in getting him started there.

Our Committee now centers its efforts on the West Coast. Clarence Gillett, our Director, is located at West 6th St., Los Angeles, California. I am sure he expresses his greetings and regards to his many friends in the Centers.

May the spirit of the Christ Child, which survived the sojourn in Egypt, bring you courage and confidence this Christmas season.

Ray Gibbons

Ray Gibbons, Director.

Recently, the W.O.W. Radio Station, on their Sports program, carried an item concerning Peter Ida, who is the athletic coach at the High School in Deshler, Nebraska, about 175 miles from Omaha. Coach Ida has made a fine record, having won five of the six football games on his schedule, winning all of his Conference games.

An extensive visual educational program is in progress. A color film entitled "A Challenge to Democracy" is being shown to the various high schools and before civic and church groups in the city, and is being received with a great amount of interest.

The New York Church Committee for Japanese Americans

Greetings from New York, as another Christmas time draws near.

The resettling of folks from the Relocation Centers has gone on steadily during the year, and is continuing today. The local WRA officials tell us that though the movement is slowing down in many places, it is keeping up its pace here. The average for the past six months has been 130. October brought us 125. Half of those now arriving are meeting relatives who had come ahead.

The new arrivals have had little difficulty in finding employment, perhaps 90 per cent stepping into jobs that seemed to be awaiting them. Housing has been the chief problem; but that is not limited to any racial group. Systematic efforts are being made along this line. It has not seemed possible to open a second hostel. Plans are under way for having Church groups and others keep on the lookout for vacant apartments, with funds ready to make necessary deposits, and promptly claim possession.

Various Church and other groups are interested in welcoming the resettlers and in offering all possible aid in helping with their adjustments.

During the past summer several of the Japanese American Young People's organizations joined in the formation of a Resettlement Council, which has been sending out literature and featuring various activities. Its headquarters are in the Church Committee office. This last organization, with an increased staff, has continued to cooperate with other groups, and to function as a clearing house for many forms of helpful activity among both Issei and Nisei residents of our city.

Edwin T. Iglehart

Edwin T. Iglehart

The Boston Hospitality Committee

The Greater Boston Hospitality Committee on Japanese-American Resettlement has followed with interest the developments here and I am glad to report that the response of the public has been predominantly friendly.

It is expected that in the near future more evacuees will be coming to this area, and three new members have been added to the staff of the WRA in Boston to take care of this anticipated increase. Miss Rose A. Reynolds from that office is visiting two of the Centers, Heart Mountain and Topaz, and is finding there an interest in this area. Several parents are planning to move here and thus re-unite their families.

It was my privilege to see the excellent photographs taken by Mr. Hikaru Iwasaki. These photos show how splendidly the evacuees are fitting into their new surroundings here.

The Nisei in our midst got up an attractive booklet for circulation in the Centers setting forth the advantages and opportunities to be found in New England. This showed great skill and enterprise on their part.

We are still hopeful that a Hostel may be found to provide temporary housing. This would be a great help in our housing problem.

We were fortunate to have with us recently Miss Yoshino and Dr. Yatabe, who have been touring the country under the auspices of the Japanese-American Citizens' League. They made a very favorable and lasting impression on all with whom they came in contact.

Our sympathy goes out to Mr. Kiichi Saito and family at the loss of two sons killed in action in Europe.

Edward Ingraham

FOREIGN MISSIONS CONFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICA

To our Friends of Japanese lineage both within and without the Relocation Centers:

Those related to the Foreign Missions Conference of North America send you hearty greetings at this Christmas time. With you we are singing those meaningful words:

"How silently, how silently
The wondrous gift is given!
So God imparts to human hearts
The blessings of His heaven."

May the holiday season find us all more conscious than ever before of His rich gifts, more appreciative of His blessings. May each day bring us some joyous opportunity to acknowledge and to share the great glad tidings of Christ's presence with us and within us.

We are aware of many unfinished tasks in our world today, tasks woefully unfinished, but we are confident that if we lay hold of the spirit of Christ we can move on toward a better day. Christmas brings us the wonderful assurance of God's love and power at hand for us to make our own, and our hearts reach out in prayer:

"O holy Child of Bethlehem
Descend to us, we pray.
Cast out our sin and enter in;
Be born in us today.

"We hear the Christmas angels
The great glad tidings tell;
O come to us, abide with us,
Our Lord Emmanuel!"

As we open our minds and spirits to the Christmas message may we all be drawn closer together in Christian fellowship.

With unchanging friendship,

Sue Weddell

Sue Weddell.

RESETTLEMENT BULLETIN, published monthly, George E. Rundquist, Editor
by the
COMMITTEE ON RESETTLEMENT OF JAPANESE AMERICANS
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297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Data on Relocation Center

C.P.S. Camp # 5
Colorado Springs,
Colorado
George Yamada

My Christmas presents included a visit--my first--to the Japanese concentration camp near Granada, located in the southeastern corner of Colorado. A city of 7000, it is isolated from the world by barbed wires and soldiers who stand guard all hours of the day in towers, armed with sub machine guns and search lights. The streets are layed out much like any city, covering fully one square mile of flat grassy plain. Within each block is a public mess hall, public toilets, laundry room, a recreation hall, and many long barracks within which are housed the 7000 inhabitents. This is one of ten camps scattered from Arkansas to California with hastily constructed quarters for the 110,000 interned Japanese-Americans, 70% of whom are American citizens. What brought about this unprecedented mass evacuation which has uprooted a relatively small minority group which constituted less than 1% of the total population of the Pacific Coast states?

At the gate I saw a large sign reading, "cameras, liquor, and firearms prohibited." It was Christmas eve and while waiting in the guard house two drunk soldiers staggered in to hold a conversation with the soldier on duty, one of 150 stationed at the camp to "protect" those inside barbed wires. Visitors are welcomed upon payment of a 50 cent charge for meals. The bored soldier on duty told me, "These people are here for their own protection." Superficially, it sounds plausible. Can it mean that American citizens are so emotionally unstable that they cannot refrain from doing acts of violence to a group of people who have been in their midst for as long as 40 years? Why not jail the rabble rousers, the instigators, the people who can't control their own emotions?

Granada, like any other center, is demoralizing. How could it be otherwise? How would you feel were you one of 110,000 forced out of a normal living pattern and segregated into these concentration camps and given food, a small monthly allowance for clothing, a small room for your entire family, and theoption of working 8 or more hours a day for $12 to $19 a month. Only the highest skilled workers such as doctors and teachers receive the $19.00 wage scale. Can you imagine some of the psychological and social problems and conflicts piled up when families are torn apart by the lack of privacy? And when people are forced to eat together in one mess hall? These people were uprooted without individual civil hearings to determine any proof of sabotage or disloyalty. How was it accomplished? By our silence it was accomplished. What happens to our civil liberties when they are so flagrantly violated? The evacuation was NOT carried out because of military necessity. Only recently a few people of Japanese ancestry were removed from Hawaii, and yet Hawaii contains 30,000 more Japanese Americans than the mainland, and obviously Hawaii is a more strategic and vulnerable military objective than the California coast. The evacuation was brought about by racial and economic tensions and the Chinese, the Negroes, and the Mexicans in this country are well aware of this. They are thinking, "Well, if this thing can happen to them, it can also happen to us." We have accomplished racial segregation and now what happens? What will happen to the record of a group of people whose delinquency rate was one of the lowest in the nation, who sent more to our universities children, 14 times more, than their white neighbors. There is only one way to keep a man in the gutter and that is to stay in the gutter with him. Yet we must not forget the plight of FIFTEEN MILLION Negroes in America, TEN MILLION of whom are denied the basic democratic right to vote through the device of state poll tax restrictions. Do they live in a democracy? Why do a million people of German and Italian descent living on the West Coast remain largely free and unsuspected? And the bored soldier who stands guard over these "untrustworthy japs" (of course he is there to prevent outside marauders from molesting those within) in his guard tower with a small flickering stove to keep the cold away, a spot light which he maneuvers about the countryside occasionally, a sub-machine gun, and his trusted rifle, is the same victim of circumstances as those inhabitants within barbed wires whom he is assigned to guard.

No sensitive American is at ease after observing the strong racial character of the camps. The white staff-members live in a separate block by themselves, eat in their own mess halls, often have better living quarters and furnishings. How can you teach democracy to adolescents when this double standard is so obvious? But some of the good people within the camps are seek creative means of abolishing this unilateral discrimination, which can do more damage than all the good intentions of War Relocation Authority, which is, on the whole, staffed by a group of far-visioned civilians aware of the discrepancies within the camps, and the vast problems involved in resettlement of these people into normal communities. For they must meet public opinion, a hostile and misunderstanding public opinion. One of my informants, a Caucasian staff member, showed me the washing room shared by both whites and orientals. "This washing machine, according to the ruling of one of my colleagues, is for the exclusive use of the white race, this one for the exclusive use of the yellow race.....but I am using the washing machine reserved for the exclusive use of the yellow race," she added, rather amused. What gives me hope is the high quality of some of the people within the camps, both white and yellow. Then there is the story told to me by one of the teachers about a party to which the nisei were asked. But when the mixed party came to the Caucasian dining hall the nisei teachers were turned back. My informant felt himself to be a party to the injustice and was much ashamed. It is evident that some of the employees of WRA by their very antisocial attitude do not belong in the camps.

The irony of the situation became more pronounced as on Christmas eve I was in the audience viewing a Christmas program put on by the residents. Santa Claus was there to cheer the little folks. But the irony I refer to is the address given by one of the higher WRA officials, whose high motives I do not question. He said something to this effect, "You within this camp, you have the greatest opportunity while here to develop your spiritual life." I flinched, and others too. For one boy, a leader in the camp, took me aside later to say, "Do you really think we can develop our spiritual life in this kind of environment where they feed you and give you a shovel? There is no struggle for existence, not even in the physical plane; no rents, clothing, food to worry about. What can you do but demoralize in such a situation?" And I am reminded of the observation of another: "Betcha he's the first to holler about spiritual values when Hitler is mentioned." A feeling of hopelessness, apathy, and inertia is permeating the atmosphere, corroding the mind and spirit of the people. Some are becoming bitter and cynical, others are resigned to any fate like the Negro. I talked to social workers and teachers who are aware of the changes, slow but deep, which are taking place. The protestant churches are wall organized and carry on their mission with courage and hope. 15 ministers of differing denominations have banded together into one body. 1000 are professed Christians.

The snows came on the day after Christmas and the winds blew the snow into high drifts about the barracks. It was cold as old men, children, and educated college students dashed from barrack to latrine to dining halls. Children later came out to play in the snow and to sled down the sloping streets covered with ice, children who came from Los Angeles, Livingston, Merced, Sacramento, and who never saw snow in thier life before. And they appear happy and the newspapers bring their reporters and photographers to tell the public how well fed and happy they are. And they smile for the photographer. How happy they all are... locked behind barbed wire. But don't people try to make the best of any situation,--fortunately. 1000 of the residents attend the public schools to which money is appropriated by WRA. A staff of about 50 white teachers are hired for the educational administration of the camp, supported by a corps of capable nisei (American-born Japanese)teachers. The Caucasian teachers receive salaries ranging from $2000 annually while the nisei receive $19 per month.

I have pointed out the demoralizing influences of these sophisticated concentration camps on the whole of society. For there is only one way to keep a man in the gutter and that is to stay in the gutter with him. About a year ago the press and radio began their systematic campaign for the removal of all Americans of Japanese descent from the Pacific Coast. Much suspicion was generated by this well-organized clamor. Two months later, despite reports from responsible officials attesting the loyalty of this minority group, the damage had been done and the President issued an executive fiat empowering General DeWitt to remove all people of Japanese ancestry without civil hearing. No blanket marxxxxtial law covering all people was declared. Such unprecedented executive power and arbitrary application presages the trend toward fascism here. Why didn't the government counteract these wild rumors by the simple act of giving prominence to reports by responsible officials that there have been no acts of sabotage in Hawaii or California prior to or subsequent to December 7? The simple fact is that small but powerful vested interests who had a stake in the economic dissolution of these people were busy grinding the axe of hatred and greed. The older generation of Japanese who pioneered in building productive small farms out of wasteland take pride in their economic independence. For seldom do you find a Japanese-American on the relief rolls even during the severest depressions. Their neat and productive small holdings, the envy of their neighbors, will pass into the hands of powerful landholding interests such as the Associated Farmers of California, a large-scale farming corporation. Anti-land holding laws and other devices designed to prevent their re-occupying these farms and businesses have been enacted and are in process of enactment now in the various state legislatures. On March 19 Police Chief Gabrielson of Honolulu wired the Tolan Committee holding hearings on Japanese evacuation..."there were no acts of sabotage committed in the City and County of Honolulu December 7, nor have there been acts of sabotage reported to the Police Department since that date." On February 21 Attorney General Warren of California released a similar statement..."we have had no sabotage and no fifth column activities in this state (California) since the beginning of the war." Similar reports from Secretary of War Stimson, Assistant Attorney General Rowe and other high officials received the slightest attention by the press and radio. Why?

There is no logic in the analogy of treatment of citizens of Japanese descent and American prisoners of war interned in Japan. Those Americans interned in the 10 WRA centers are not prisoners of war. These are Americans by education, temperament, and cultural assimilation. The Geneva Prisoners Convention does not apply to them. Questionable and suspected aliens who are separately interned at Fort Missoula and other camps are often better housed, fed and in some ways better treated than evacuated citizens. As Pearl Buck points out so well, as a nation we suffer from schizophrenia. One side of our national personality proclaims equality of opportunity and the other flaunts it. What are we doing to our character? Pit race against race as the Fascists do and we play into the hands of the enemy. My mind goes back to one of the "homes" which I visited in Granada. The father of the household, who had been a prominent business man in one of the large western cities prior to evacuation, was suspect and only recently released from Fort Missoula. The anguish and concern he suffered for his family was written over his face. In beautiful ideographic symbols he had penned on a screen the words: Kami no Kuni wa nanjire uchi ni ari. Luke 17.21. Translated it means, The Kingdom of God is within you.

This is all a matter of record. As a thing of the past there is very little we can do about it. There are two kinds of sin: sins of commission and sins of omission. By our silence we give consent and support to the injustices of society. But what can we do to prevent this very thing from happening to the Negro, the Jew, or the Chinese in this country? The American Indian has been in such camps for many decades/and we have developed a ~~xxxxx~~ callousness to his plight. But by remaining sensitive to present injustices and creatively challenging them, we can prevent the spreading of fear and race prejudice and their acceptance as a part of the normal community pattern. The trend of racial segregation in this country which is indicated by the separation of the American Indian, the Negro, and the Japanese, is creating untold havoc for future generations and exacting a huge toll of our spiritual resources ~~xx~~ today and tomorrow. Can we allow ~~xxxx~~ our silence and the tacit consent implied by it set a pattern for future generations? Can we remain silent and allow the presence of this cancer of racism to poison their thinking and so subtly condition them that they take their presence as natural? God help us, ~~we~~. We can prevent this by devoting our energies NOW toward creating the tolerance and understanding in our communities that will permit these people to be resettled NOW. If we do not do this task NOW it will be too late. This problem cannot wait with other postwar settlements for there will be too many other problems then. We can have a part in creating ~~an~~ sympathetic understanding in our communities as ~~in~~ to the great problems these people face so that they ~~these people~~ may have jobs, decent jobs, jobs commensurate with their abilities. We can see that work is given without the motive of exploitation. To all people of good will this job of education is incumbent. Educate through personal contact (is it possible to know minorities without personal contact?), writing, and speaking. I reiterate a plea from FELLOWSHIP magazine, December 1943.

"This problem is insoluble within the confines of the Relocation Centers. The only way really to help the people is to get them out; the only way to preserve our democracy is to cut out this cancer of sophisticated concentration camps before it spreads throughout our society. The avowed policy of the War Relocation Authority is to do just this--but the WRA cannot do the job unless two essential conditions are fulfilled:

"First, public opinion must change to show a sympathetic awareness of these people's problems. Because of an unconcerned public a minority effected the evacuation; because of an unconcerned public the WRA is severely handicapped; because of an unconcerned public opinion we are threatened with a disfranchisement and possible deportation of American citizens, or a new set of permanent "Indian Reservations."

"Second, the double standard--Jim Crowism--within the Relocation Centers must go. Many men high and low in the War Relocation Authority despise this double standard which threatens all the great good the WRA can do. Congress and high WRA officials must be made aware of our insistence that the WRA practice American democracy and not Hitler's race policies.

"Just as leaders with faith and patience are needed among the people of Japanese ancestry in these camps, so we outside need them, too. We must go to the "Little Hitlers" who are doing the Jap-baiting and creatively try to enlighten them. We must find the people in our communities who are potential leaders for truth and justice in this cause and interest and fire them. We must prepare today for tomorrow by planting cells that will grow into better and not worse public opinion."

The problem is two-fold. Those within the camp who are in the dregs of cynicism and bitterness must be made aware that the matter does not rest solely upon the government. They must find creative channels for their thinking. We can help them.

00

--George Yamada
January 5, 1942

[redacted]

CALI[redacted]RNIA NEWSLETTER

Vol. II. No. 1 2151 Vine St., Berkeley, California January 26, 1942

MOBILIZING THE CHILDREN.....

- There are $8\frac{1}{2}$ million students in 28,000 Secondary Schools.....
- On the basis of an army of 10,000,000, practically every boy in school has a military future.....
- The "air armada" will need 30 to 40% of boys now in last 2 years of highschool.

With these thoughts in mind, the Office of Education is organizing Victory Corps in U.S. High Schools. Emphasizing math and science, pre-induction training for specialists, agriculture for girls, the plan also calls for --

(1) Military drill for prospective members of armed forces (i.e., almost all boys) to develop "the habit of immediate and unquestioned obedience to proper authority."

(2) Attempts to "redirect the required studies....to insure better understanding of the war." Thus "the literature of patriotism and American idealism, of current events and war problems, should find its way in larger measure into the English course."

Watch for the organization of such Corps in your area. Remember what the New Jersey State Dept. of Education says: The welfare of the nation requires that we don't put the burden of winning the war on the children. They should have normal growth. Reprints of this admirable N.J. statement reprinted from the Dec. Fellowship are available at our office, 2¢ each or $1.50 a hundred. Use them widely to combat the dangerous spread of the war into schools.

"ISSUES AND FACTS OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE" will be discussed by Charan Singh on Indian Independence Day, Tues., Jan. 26, 7:45 PM, at Wesley Foundation, 2302 Dana, Berkeley. Come and invite your friends.

SENATORS THREATEN TO TURN JAPANESE OVER TO ARMY.....

"There's too much pampering......The Japs are even being given fine bathrooms...are getting everything and our people aren't getting anything."

This story needs ACTION by YOU!

With such sentiments, the Senate Military Affairs Committee last week moved to return control of Japanese camps to the Army thus abolishing the W.R.A. A special sub-committee was appointed to investigate and take action. (Edward Johnson, Chm.; Albert Chandler; Mon Wallgren.)

Nothing would be more calamitous than this step! It would be a final blow to already bewildered Nisei citizens. And with the present Congress, there is [redacted] danger of its adoption.

The Senate Military Affairs is not aw of the situation. Send them facts, them know of our opposition. And do now before this move gets a lot of publ city, gets rolling like a snowball. Wri Senator Robert Reynolds and your own Se ators (in Calif., Sheridan Downey, Hira Johnson), and your Representative i the House, where similar legislation pending. We can supply more informatio

THE CALIFORNIA STATE LEGISLATURE is planning anti-American-Japanese legislation, including tightening the Alien land laws.

TO HELP STUDY of the Japanese question, this office has prepared a BIBLIOGRAPHY on Japanese Evacuation. Topically arranged, it includes new source material, and indices and comments on 58 articles on evacuation and relocation.--12 p., 5¢ each.

[redacted]

nese Center at Topaz, Utah; Mildred and Victor Goertzel, Tulare County mainstays, are also there.......Other Northern California F.O.R.'s teaching in the Centers include Jean McKay and Ed and Helen Ritter at Tule Lake (Newell P. O. Calif.), where Portia Billings is soon going; Mark and Russia Luca at Amache, Colo.; and Naomi Wood at Poston, Ariz.....Ken Mere, serving a year for walking out of San Dimas CPS Camp, is in a Federal Prison Camp at Tuscon, Ariz. Most Northern Californians will remember him as the hard-working registrar at the Pacific Coast Conference.

HP

George Burcham splits his time bet eter and Three Rivers, working w Ray in the Farmersville migrant co while Stan Gould holds down the fort at Three Rivers.......Malcolm Parker, who put in some months in the Farmersville work and more recently did a magnificent job in the Berkeley F.O.R. office, heads for Denver Federal Court and jail Febr. 1 for refusing to go to C.P.S. Camp.....Margaret Rohrer, formerly of Fresno, is Mountain States Secretary for F.O.R., address 1418 Grape St., Denver.....Rev. Paul Studebaker is now Modesto F.O.R. chairman.....George Hirose is at Huron College, Huron, S. D.... ....Dr. Alfred Fisk has been doing some speaking on the Japanese question since his return from an extended visit to Topaz Relocation Center.......Allen Barr reports the successful conclusion of several Presidential appeals for IV-E classification.

HP

gifts to Japanese camps. Here's part of one thank-you note we received: "I am ten years old, in the fifth grade. It has snow here a lots of time. When it snows it is sure fun. My three playmates are in the same class as I am. We all get together and play snow fights and make snow mans."

"AWFULLY DAMNED UNCOMFORTABLE..."

"I believe it the sacred obligation of the Japanese-American to combat racial discrimination imposed by the military. It is an obligation of citizenship to fight illegal and unconstitutional attempts to destroy even the least of these fundamental rights of citizenship. By enduring the barbed-wire fences, the armed sentries, the restrictive measures applied on the basis of racial ancestry, the Japanese-American is contributing to the very thing that we as a nation are fighting to destroy...Although I'm still going strong confidentially I'm a lonesome cowboy, on account of being in jail is awfully damned uncomfortable."

Min Yasui, writing from Multnomah County Jail, Portland, Ore.

FRED D'EVELYN's death a few months back was a real loss to F.O.R. work. In volunteer work in the Berkeley office, he displayed patience, ability, thoroughness. A pacifist of the "absolutist" school, he felt keenly the injustice of war and conscription, and worked against them.

From - Fellowship of Reconciliation
2151 Vine Street, Berkeley, Calif.

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED

Sec. 562 P.L. & R.

John M. Swomley
2929 BROADWAY.
New York, N.Y.

Palm

MEMORANDUM

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
2929 Broadway -- New York City

MARCH 24, 1942

WILL YOU PLEASE CONSIDER THIS AS A PERSONAL AND VERY URGENT COMMUNICATION?

Dear Friend:

You have doubtless been deeply concerned about the threatened wholesale evacuation of Japanese on the Pacific Coast, including the niseis (second generation Japanese who are American citizens). Such wholesale evacuation would be a matter of gravest concern for a number of reasons:

1) It would constitute discrimination on racial grounds since it is not proposed that the same methods be used with, for example, Germans and Italians. Such racial discrimination would have the gravest repercussions in the Orient. It might very well set a precedent also for dealing with Negroes, which would be most unfortunate.

2) In effect, these Japanese-Americans would be placed in concentration camps "in German fashion, perhaps minus the barbed wire."

3) These Japanese, both aliens and American citizens, in the camps would be completely dependent upon the government for their support. This would come close to economic slavery.

4) There is a real danger that such camps would be permanent even after the war is over. If the Japanese lose their holdings in California it will be extremely difficult for them to reënter except as migrants.

Fortunately, the Federal Administration is not immediately proceeding with any such general evacuation. Though the newspapers gave the impression that General DeWitt had issued an order to this effect, actually he had only promulgated the plan and the Federal authorities are now exceedingly doubtful whether this plan can and should be carried out. We are informed by Dr. Roswell Barnes, Secretary of the Committee on Aliens and Prisoners of War of the Federal Council of Churches, that a competent representative of the Department of Agriculture, who has had experience with the migrant problem, etcetera, Mr. M. Isenhower, is now in charge of the whole problem save as it relates to a comparatively small number of Japanese who were in so-called defense areas: i.e., in the immediate vicinity of army barracks, munitions plants, etcetera. Mr. Isenhower has an office at the Whitcomb Hotel, San Francisco.

Our people on the Pacific Coast, as a result of conferences with the Quakers there and other groups, are in complete agreement regarding one way in which members of the F.O.R. and churches can make a genuine and important contribution. Dr. Barnes similarly heartily supports this proposal.

The proposal: "One of our F.O.R. Field Workers on the Pacific Coast is to get as many of the Japanese aliens and citizens as possible to move voluntarily into non-restricted areas in the Middle West, or possibly even the East. Real help will be necessary from our people in these states if this is to be possible, for each family or individual moved will need to have a guarantee that at the end of his trip there will be someone waiting to extend a welcome, cushion possible community objections, and take the responsibility for getting the new arrivals on their feet again. Thus F.O.R. individuals and groups would act as sponsors of a few Japanese families, the number coming to any given place being small, and determined by the size and attitude of the particular town. College towns and urban areas where there is greater possibility for the absorption of orientals by understanding townsfolk would probably be preferred.

"F.O.R. groups and individuals participating in such an endeavor would be doing several very significant things:

1) A certain number of individuals and families would be rescued from concentration camps by our love put into action. This alone would be of tremendous value.
2) Because segregation would be avoided, with the Japanese dispersed over a wide inland area, it would be a significant experiment in solving racial tensions. Concentration camps will increase segregation and thus increase race tension; the plan of voluntary dispersion can be a permanent solution of the race problem for the few people we are able to affect.
3) From an economic viewpoint, this plan, to be really effective, must be self-supporting. What these Japanese would seek is not a bed and three meals a day, but a chance to be useful. Many Japanese aliens and niseis are trained as doctors, dentists, lawyers, nurses, artists, ministers, teachers, gardeners, housekeepers, secretaries, farmers, launderers, cleaners, tailors, etcetera. The sponsors would have the responsibility of maintaining and helping the family and getting them into useful employment. There are also many students desirous of continuing their studies.
4) Degradation of personality will be avoided. The Japanese family would know that a welcome of love and friendship await him at the end of his journey, where he could once more earn a living and feel wanted by the society in which he lived. The sponsors would here have the difficult job of preparing the community for the arrival of orientals in their midst, showing that the community would be helped by this addition. The intangible values of having orientals as friends would be great for both sponsors and community.

"Naturally, even with greater than anticipated support from the F.O.R. groups and individuals concerned, we will only affect a tiny minority of those who face possible concentration camp. But we can point an arrow in a creative direction."

It would be understood that F.O.R. or church people on the Coast would check on the individuals and families who would move into the interior of the country, there to be sponsored and perhaps temporarily aided by F.O.R. and church people.

FOR F.O.R. MEMBERS AND GROUPS It would be highly desirable if F.O.R. members and groups in the interior could, in the way suggested above, take responsibility for those niseis who are F.O.R. members or with whom our F.O.R. members and friends on the Coast have been in direct touch. Could your F.O.R. group and/or some of our F.O.R. people in your city or neighborhood undertake to look after one or more individuals or families? . . . Whether or not you are in a position to answer this question in detail at the moment, will you as soon as possible write the undersigned about the possibilities, sending a copy of your communication to Caleb Foote, Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley, California.

FOR WIDER GROUPS The Federal Council's Committee on Aliens and Prisoners of War, already referred to and of which Dr. Roswell Barnes, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, is Chairman, is anxious that this plan for the removal of Japanese from the Coast and their sponsoring by organizations and individuals in the interior should be laid before churches, church groups, and leaders. This is something that our F.O.R. people might do in their own communities in addition to or as a substitute for personal sponsoring of Japanese individuals and families. . . . Will you take this matter up with the churches in your own community and urge our Fellowship groups to do so.

Yours in fellowship,

Rahn

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
2929 Broadway
New York City

April 1, 1942

Dear Fellowship friend:

Earnest pleas come to us from our people on the Pacific Coast to create a public opinion in the country which will persuade President Roosevelt even now to abandon the policy of mass evacuation of Japanese from their homes on the Pacific Coast, and to substitute for it a policy of "selective evacuation" -- that is, provision for examination of Japanese-Americans so that those whose record is above suspicion may be left in their homes.

See the article by Galen Fisher in the April 1st issue of THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY for a thorough, authoritative statement by a leading citizen and Christian of California. The Committee On National Security and Fair Play, of which Mr. Fisher is Executive Secretary, includes in its membership such prominent Californians as former Assistant Secretary of State, Henry F. Grady, General David P. Barrows, Chester Rowell, and prominent representatives of education, labor, religion, industry and law. Our neglect of our duty in this tragic situation is high-lighted by Galen Fisher's statement: "High officials in Washington have recently complained that the limited number of protests against indiscriminate evacuation that had reached them from California had been drowned out by the raucous chorus in favor of it."

Undoubtedly the situation is a difficult one, although in view of the statement by the Chief of Police of Honolulu to the Tolan Congressional Committee, that there were no acts of sabotage in the city and county of Honolulu on December 7th, and none reported to the Police Department up to March 14th, there was evidently much less ground for suspicion either on the part of the people or of the authorities than has been popularly supposed. We do not doubt that the Administration is trying to find a humane and democratic way in which to deal with the problem. But if the plan for mass evacuation goes through it will mean:

1. that we introduce into this country the totalitarian practise of forced migration of a particular race;
2. that we practise race discrimination on a gigantic scale, at the very time when this is certain to have the gravest repercussions on Negro-White relations in the United States and on our relations with the masses of colored peoples in the Orient;
3. that we introduce into this country concentration camps for civilians and citizens of the United States.

Under these circumstances Nevin Sayre and I signed the following telegram to President Roosevelt under date of March 31st:

"Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt
White House
Washington, D. C.

Fellowship of Reconciliation deeply concerned over your order February 20th, 1942, giving military authorities power to evacuate from any disignated area in United States all aliens and citizens alike, and especially its execution in connection Japanese on Pacific Coast. Appears protection of country could be secured without such wholesale invasion of civil rights and establishing precedent of compulsory evacuation solely on racial grounds. Considerateness in carrying out such action will not make up for its fundamentally un-Christian and undemocratic character. Earnestly urge that no American citizens or enemy aliens be evacuated without individual examination so that those whose conduct puts them above suspicion may be allowed to remain.

A. J. Muste
J. Nevin Sayre, Secretaries."

If you see your way clear to do so, will you:

1. Send a telegram or letter to President Roosevelt along the same lines;
2. communicate with Dr. Roswell P. Barnes, Secretary of the Federal Council's Commission on Aliens and Prisoners of War, your concern that the churches speak out on this issue;
3. get other individuals, churches and other organizations to which you may belong to send similar communications to President Roosevelt and Dr. Barnes.
4. Galen Fisher's article indicates that some such plan for the removal into the interior of small groups of Japanese as is outlined in the enclosed memorandum, still has a chance of being accepted by the government. Will you, therefore, study this memorandum of March 24, 1942, and let me know promptly whether your F.O.R. group, your church or some other agency, could undertake to sponsor the settlement of individual Japanese or families in your community. We understand also that the Student Christian Movement and the religious education departments of certain of the larger denominations are urging that facilities be provided for Japanese students to be transferred to colleges and universities in the interior. Will you let us know of anything you may be able to do in this field? There are evidences that the transfer of such Japanese students into the interior may be made difficult by the Administration, and if you learn that this is the case, we urge you to communicate your concern immediately to the President.

Yours in fellowship,

A. J. Muste

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Third Report on the Japanese Evacuation Situation

Prepared by the Committee on Student Relocation and Distributed by the Regional Office of the Student YMCA and YWCA, 715 South Hope Street, Los Angeles, California

Throughout the length of the West Coast, the process of evacuating the Japanese and Japanese-Americans is taking place at the rate of a thousand a day. Although centers are being constructed in each state to care for these people, the largest centers are Manzanar in the Owens River Valley in Southern California, and Parker Dam in Western Arizona. Some five or six thousand dust covered evacuees, out of a total of an expected twenty thousand, are already at Manzanar. Parker Dam, which is also expected to house twenty thousand, will open its doors next week. These two locations are known as Reception Centers. Originally, it was the intention of the Government to transfer people from the Reception Centers to permanent settlement camps. It is anybody's guess now whether resettlement centers will ever materialize since a vocal segment of the population is objecting to the Government spending more money to once again make of these citizens self-respecting, self-supporting people. I am still inclined to think we may see the day when our own citizens will be taken from their enforced idleness to do forced labor of a "patriotic nature."

In addition to these two large Reception Centers, there are a number of so-called Assembly Centers in the process of construction. The best known of these to the writer are the Santa Anita Race Track which is expected to house 16,000, the Pomona Fair Grounds, and the Tulare Fair Grounds, each of which will care for approximately ten thousand. The theory of the Assembly centers is that they are to serve as places where the evacuees spend three to six days registering and submitting to physical examinations. Then they are to be sent on to the Reception Centers. Already, the first arrivals at Santa Anita have been there two weeks. Again, it is anyone's guess as to how long they will dwell on Macadam with guards high in towers on every side watching them as though they were criminals. Reliable stories of the treatment which the first arrivals at Santa Anita received reveal unbelievable hardships and speaks none too well for the Army's first attempt to deal with civilian population.

The freezing order of three weeks ago forbidding all movement of the Japanese within an area not to exceed five miles beyond their homes or their place of work, caused a great many students to drop out of college. Many of them returned to their homes in other cities in order to be with their parents, and some of them were cleverly detained from returning to school by frightened personnel authorities in the colleges who declared that attending college was not work and therefore to continue to attend college was out of bounds. Even so, there are still at least a fourth to a third of the former number of Japanese students still in college. No permission has been given to enable them to remain in school, so it is likely that the next thirty days will see all West Coast campuses divested of all Japanese-American students.

It is possible for Japanese-American students to secure permission to leave the restricted zone provided there is a college outside the restricted zone which will make known its willingness to take the student. A young lady in Southern California left for the Middle West over this past week-end. First the school which she was leaving secured a letter from the college to which the student was to go verifying the fact that the college would accept the student. Then the Dean of her California college wrote a letter endorsing the move. A Travel Permit was secured from the United States Employment Office permitting the student to go to Pasadena to see the

Provost Marshall. Then a change of residence report card was filled out by the local Employment Bureau and approved by the Provost Marshall. When this was done, the Provost Marshall, who is a Major Cadwell at the Hotel Constance in Pasadena, gave his permission for her to leave California. Major Cadwell says that permission to go East may be granted at any time preceding the evacuation date for the area concerned but that the student must be gone before the time of evacuation. The Provost Marshall for Northern California is Colonel Magill at the W.C.C.A. Office in the Hotel Whitcomb in San Francisco, California.

Many colleges in all parts of the United States have been approached on the question of accepting Japanese-American students. Most of the replies have been favorable. There seems to be as much willingness on the part of the State controlled institutions to assist these students as there is among the church related colleges. Yet, the willingness of the college administrators to assist in this problem does not tell the whole story. The question of attitudes of the people who are constantly agitated by the press with stories designed to excite, must be considered. One college in Kansas raised a fund to assist Japanese students to come to its campus, and was in readiness to received several of them from the Coast when the American Legion protested so loudly that the project had to be dropped.

Repeatedly, the question of loyalty of these students to the Government of the United States is raised by Mid-Western college administrators. Because of public pressures, they feel that they must safe-guard themselves by indicating that a statement certifying to the loyalty of any students who may come their way will be required. This is a difficult problem and one in which there is no easy answer. First of all, the loyalty of an American Citizen is never questioned until his actions indicate that his intentions are questionable. At best, it is possible to certify to the normal behavior of a Japanese student and not to his inner convictions. This problem may cause some concern. Taken as a whole, the Japanese have acquitted themselves nobly during these past few months. Practically every story of sabotage attributed to the Japanese which has made the rounds has been refuted beyond question. This does not say that there are no exceptions, for there are disloyal members in every group, including both foreign and Caucasian people. A quotation from the Berkeley Gazette, March 12, 1942, follows:

mimeo for enclosure

> "Japanese have proved loyal to the United States since the first bomb fell on Pearl Harbor," declared Professor Blake Clark on the University of Hawaii, who has just published a book Remember Pearl Harbor. "Not only the Nisei, American-born of Japanese parentage, but their alien-born elders who cannot become American citizens have stuck with the colors of their adopted land," he states, adding, "Of all the 425,000 people in Hawaii only 273, and by no means all of them Japanese, have been detained as suspicious characters."

From an address by Monroe E. Deutsch, Vice President and Provost of the University of California:

> ".....To deem all born in a particular country and even their children as necessarily in the same class (fifth columnists or saboteurs) is unfair, unjust, un-American. Human beings must be judged on the basis of their own acts; is that not elementary justice? I readily grant that in view of the number of persons involved, it is, to speak realistically, necessary to act at once. But we should assure them that immediately after their removal from military areas we shall take up each case individually and give each a trial and a fair hearing. Can a democracy do less? If we do not, we shall

> make the loyal American-Japanese (and I believe there are many of them) ask themselves why they should be devoted to a country that assumes that because their parents were born in Japan, they are to be suspected and uprooted."

In Southern California, there are three instances that I know about of financial discrimination. Three American citizens volunteered to assist with preparations at Manzanar and departed, leaving their wives behind. They also left behind uncollected bills for wages or for produce sold. The three respective wives presented themselves, one to a grocer who owed her husband $175, another to the owner of an estate who owed her husband $75 for his gardening service, and the third to a large family where her husband was entitled to $100 for wages as a butler, and in each case the wives were intimidated, told they no longer had legal rights to collect bills and that if they gave further trouble the police would be called. Perhaps, this is the American spirit! The best story I know which proves that the Japanese are not entirely adjusted to our culture and therefore a threat to our mores, is the story of the owner of a cleaning establishment in San Bernardino. Shortly after he was forced to close his shop, he presented himself to the treasurer of the local Community Chest with a check for $8.75 which represented his final quarter on his $35 annual pledge. The treasurer of the Chest, feeling the injustice of billing a man that was forced to lose his business, had refrained from sending him a statement. The Japanese cleaner admitted that he had not received a bill, but that he had made the pledge to the community in good faith and that he would therefore pay it.

Questionnaires seeking to determine the actual number of Japanese students desiring to continue their education have been distributed to all college campuses on the West Coast through the Student Relocation Committee. Returns to date indicate that seventy-eight per cent of these students desire to continue their education. Some of them are in a position to finance themselves and some are in desperate need of financial help. Many are frankly perplexed by the swiftly moving train of events and need wise counsel and factual information.

The Student Relocation Committee referred to above is an outgrowth of the concern of the Student Associations and the church related groups in the three Coast states. With money secured from the Friendly Relations Committee for work among foreign students, the National Board of the Y.W.C.A. and the World Student Service Fund, it has established a clearing house with Joe Conard acting for at least two months as coordinator. His office is in the Y.W.C.A. Building, Union and Allston Way, Berkeley, California. Mr. Conard is in constant touch with Government officials and with school authorities. It is not the purpose of the committee to act for church groups or for college administrators. The task which it feels needs to be done is described below, but it in no way feels that it should carry out these suggestions if there is any other group equipped to do one or all of them. Rather, it seeks to survey the needs, and then as far as possible see that the unmet needs are met and to give information which will minimize duplication of effort by the many groups which now carry on uncoordinated work. The committee envisioned the following task:

1. Discover which students wish to continue their studies and what resources they have for doing so.

2. Collect material concerning the records and capacities of students who wish to continue study for purposes of analysis in case only a limited number of students can continue and selection is hence found necessary.

3. Secure the united support of western colleges behind a plan for continued study opportunity, then endeavor to get this plan accepted by appropriate government authorities.

4. Secure funds for the education of those wishing to continue their studies. Sources would include the following:

    a. Government subsidy through the relocation authority of the Commissioner of Education.
    b. State grants for University Extension; remission of out-of-state fees.
    c. Educational and Research Foundations.
    d. Church groups, Christian Associations, etc.
    e. Contributions secured on campuses from which students go and to which they go.
    f. Scholarships and Fellowships from the colleges to which students go.
    g. Board and Room gifts or jobs by interested families in the towns to which students go.

5. Create sympathetic understanding of the Japanese situation in communities and colleges to which students go.

6. Create a clearing house where all available information may be secured, including the following types of information:

    a. Government orders, decisions and plans.
    b. Plans and programs being carried on by all persons and groups working on the problem of relocation.
    c. Facts and figures on the entire problem of evacuation, including evidence of the loyalty of the majority of Japanese-American students.

7. Keep all groups informed about what others are doing in order to avoid duplication of work and in order that all necessary work does get done by someone.

8. Make efforts to secure the willingness of colleges to provide opportunity for students to finish their 1942 Spring work by correspondence or examination from their reception centers.

All individuals or groups seeking information or desirous of making known efforts to assist in the student relocation area are urged to contact Joe Conard, Y.W.C.A. Building, Allston Way and Union Street, Berkeley, California.

This report prepared for the STUDENT RELOCATION COMMITTEE
by Dick Mills, Regional Student YMCA Secretary

The next report will come from the Committee's office in Berkeley and will be prepared by Joe Conard.

RCM/et/4-15-42

SPECIAL RELEASE ON JAPANESE EVACUATION TEST CASE.

A summary of arguments on the petition of Mitsuye Endo for a writ of habeas corpus, in the United States District Court for Northern District of California, Southern Division (#23688S). Judge M.J. Roche; attorney for petitioner: James C. Purcell; appearing for U.S.Government: Mr. Zirpoli of U.S. Attorney's office. San Francisco, July 20, 1942

Mr. Purcell	Mr. Zirpoli
1. Mitsuye Endo, 22 years old, American Citizen, wishes release from WRA Camp. Was civil service employee, has brother in army. Civil liberties apply, even in wartime.	This is war. West Coast is declared theater of war operations. In it Japanese are "unassimilated group of blood relatives of Japan." Form a source of internal disunity, may need protection in case of riots.
2. Right to exclude citizens is granted; but Exec. Order #9066 gives no justification for continued detention. Covers only entering, leaving or remaining in certain areas. In addition Exec. Order 9066 not based on specific statute. Public Law 503 irrelevent; does not confer upon anyone the power to issue orders to regulate and control the activities of citizens.	2. Exclusion of citizens authorised by President's Exec. Order 9066; General DeWitt's public Proclomation #2. Detention of citizens is authorised by Exec. Order #9106 (setting up the War Relocation Authority to "provide for the removal....of persons."); Civilian Restrcitive Order #1; Public Law #503, by which Congress ratified all these other actions.
3. Equal protection of law denied. Discrimination against Japanese in application. (Exemptions for Germans, Italians, not Japanese, who were over 70, had sons, husbands in armed forces.)	3. No denial of equal protection. 14th Amendment does not apply to U.S.Gov't. Can't do everything at once; here urgent problem is Japanese; in case of threat from Germany, could do same thing in case of unassimilated citizens of German ancestry. Japanese selected due to war, not discrimination.
4. War powers of President and Congress restricted by constitutional limitations, esp. 5th amendment. No avenue of escape from paramount authority of Constitution. Exception: property taken in course of war.	4. War powers are paramount. Bill of Rights must bow to paramount necessity of preserving nation in time of war. War powers are not restricted by 5th and 6th Amendments.
5. Court here has power to issue writ of habeas corpus; not under duress. Only Congress can take away habeas corpus; it hasn't. Majority, minority in ex parte Milligan deny right of President to suspend it. No martial law in U.S., and citizens can be affected only in emergency under martial law.	5. Qualified martial law exists on the Pacific Coast even if not proclaimed. "Martial law proclaims itself." If it is argued proclomation is needed, DeWitt's public Proc. #2 serves the purpose. As qualified martial law measures are constitutionally justified. Ex parte Milligan outdated as warfare no longer so restricted as in days of Civil War.
6. Government makes no distinction between aliens, citizens. Right of Congress to exclude citizens from country denied. In ex parte Gilroy, only enemy aliens are subject to Presidential warrant, citizen is not so subject.	6. Right to regulate citizens seen in power to seize railroads, to control freedom of speech, to prohibit prostitution near army camps.
7. Cases cited by government not valid. In prostitution cases there was a positive act by Congress defining the illegality, and in case of violation due process of law applied. Likewise specific law and due process in free speech cases. Here neither a specific act of Congress nor any provision for due process of law.	

NOTE: Weakest point in government's argument was #2 above, the right to detain citizens, for which no direct legislative authority was cited. Nor did government answer petitioner's point on distinction between treatment of citizens and aliens. Mr. Purcell failed to bring argument charging undo delegation of power by President to General DeWitt as had been expected.

SPACE PROHIBITS adequate discussion of points above. For more information see Tolan Committee, Fourth Interim Report, for information about:
Executive Order 9066 (p.314) to "prescribe military areas...from which any or all persons may be excluded." The proclomation is based upon "authority vested in me as Pres. of the U.S. and Commander in Chief" of army and navy. General DeWitt's Public Proclomation #2 (p. 321) addressed "to the Public Generally", together with Proc. #1 (p.317) establishes the military areas. Public Law 503 (p. 168-9) makes it a crime to disobey any restrictions imposed by military commanders under authority of Exec. Order 9066. Sen. Taft said it was "so indefinite and so uncertain that it could not be enforced under the Constitution.
Executive Order 9106 (p.315) sets up the War Relocation Authority, cites no statutes, and is to "effectuate a program for the removal" of citizens,
July 20 '42 FROM FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION, 2151 Vine, Berkeley, Calif.

File: Japanese evacuation

Pacific Calls

To Serve
As a Communication of Goodwill

Vol. I — November 4, 1942 — No. 9

JAPANESE PROBLEM EVALUATED

"The Alien Menace is no longer a paramount issue in our national life," says a U. S. Intelligence Officer in Harpers (October 1942)

The author, who has a profound understanding of the nisei, tells us "that at least 75% of them are loyal to the U. S.," and "should be accorded a place in the national effort" where they could give full expression to their best selves.

"The United States recognizes these American-born Orientals as citizens...drafts them for military service...forces them to pay taxes, perform jury duty....and has extended to them the complete protection afforded by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. At the same time it has received them with considerable suspicion and distrust...They have been segregated as to where they may live by zoning laws, discriminated against in employment and wages, and rebuffed in nearly all their efforts to prove their loyalty to the United States."

The author further states that these people should be accorded

(Continued on Page 4)

EVACUATION BEING STUDIED

A group of University of California faculty members are making an intensive study of the problems of Japanese evacuation and resettlement. Headed by Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Professor of Rural Sociology, the study will cover a three year period.

Evacuation and resettlement will afford an opportunity never before encountered in the United States: that of testing many sociological, economic, and political hypotheses on which social scientists have been working for decades. It is hoped that important principles may thus be discovered, applicable during post-war reconstruction, when the problems created by the present population dislocations in connection with the war effort will have to be faced.

The investigation is being pursued both in the relocation centers and in the communities affected by evacuation. Highly-trained Nisei social observers are studying in the camps, and their notes are checked and supplemented by data gathered by caucasians outside the camps. The main research center is at Tule-

(Continued on Page 4)

THE PACIFIC CABLE

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HIRABAYASHI SENTENCE STOPPED PENDING APPEAL

Gordon Hirabayashi will not be going to Dupont—at least not for a while, and then only if he is found guilty by the highest court in the country. He will remain in the King County jail until all appeal opportunities are exhausted, or until he is released on bail.

Gordon was sentenced to serve 90 days at the Federal Prison Camp at Dupont, Wash., by Judge Black of the U. S. District Court. The case has been appealed to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals. If necessary the case will be appealed from this court to the United States Supreme Court.

EVACUEES IN CANADA

Eight months after Canada's decision to move all persons of Japanese descent from Western British Columbia, 23,000 have been resettled according to the following estimates: interior housing projects, 13,500; road camps, 2,000; self-supporting projects, 1,000; sugar beet farms, 4,500; supervised employment, 2,500.

Foremost problem arising out of the situation is that of employment to relieve the Dominion several thousand people, to enable the workers to live as normally as possible under present-day conditions.

The first step toward settling the problem is being taken. The British Columbia Security Commission, in charge of the evacuation, will soon start the transfer of single able-bodied men without direct dependents from the evacuation towns.

HATE REPLACED BY FRIENDSHIP

Friendly smiles have replaced the "No Japs Wanted" signs in the stores of Lamar, Colorado, located near the Granada Relocation Center. The town merchants voted to welcome the colonists after a meeting with leaders from the center.

It was pointed out to the merchants that most of the colonists were American and knew no other loyalty. This is another incident to show that a little knowledge does a lot to break down barriers.

write to our group or field secy in each place

ABOUT PEOPLE
by Floyd Schmoe

SACHIE FUKIAGE has written from Ohio Wesleyan, Delaware, Ohio.

EMERY and MRS. ANDREWS will move to Twin Falls as soon as housing facilities can be secured. Many frinnds will be happier because of these good neighbors.

JEANNE MORI, as everyone would know, has a kindergarden started at Minidoka already.

CHARLES KAMBE continues his study of medicine at the Univ. of Penn.

HIDE MORIMIZU is holding down four separate and distinct jobs, all at the same time, in Denver.

MICHI and TAUL WATANABE are also in Denver to attend the University there. Toul is in law school but Michi had to have a serious operation. She is doing well.

RUTH HAINES has just returned from a month in Colorado. She stopped at Tule Lake on the way east and at Minidoka on the way home. She visited many people.

TERU NAKATA, and her sister HISA, sent us a card from Rockford College, Rockford, Illinois.

MARY URSULA DATE will teach at George School, near Philadelphia, this year.

MISAKO KONDO and SGT. PATRICK HAGIWARA were married at Ft. Sheridan, Ill. on Oct. 2.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

A cooperative organization to do general merchandizing is being set up at Tule Lake. It will be limited to 10,000 members.

"FAN - FAIR"

Dear Friends--
Enclose a dollar to help continue your good work of publishing the "Pacific Cable". I am an American of Chinese descent and deeply sympathize with my fellow citizens of Japanese descent.

With best wishes,
Mrs. G. D. Graves

NEW COMMITTEE AIDS RELOCATION

According to the "Pacific Citizen, George Rundquist, of the Am. Friends Serv. Com., has been appointed as the Exec. Sec. of the Com. on Resettlement of Japanese Americans. The Committee is sponsored by the Fed. Council of Churches, in cooperation with the Home Missions Council of North America, and the Foreign Missions Conference.

The Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans will have offices in New York City and Chicago. It will work in cooperation with the Student Relocation council and the W.R.A.

Mr. Rundquist has worked in coopeartion with the New York Church Committee for Japanese work since early April and was instrumental in relieving the unemployment situation among Nisei in themetropolitan New York area.

This committee will take an active part in the proposed program of relocation in which it is hoped that at least 25,000 colonists will be permanently relocated.

JAPANESE PROBLEM EVALUATED

the full "rights and privileges of citizenship" and be allowed to become "an integral part of the United States population."

It is characteristic of these people to have a high regard for knowleged and education to accept American standards and to be loyal. "Loyalties are rather slow in being given, but once conferred are conferred without reservation."

The suggestion is made that there be published "openly and genuinely the fact that any person desiring to announce himself as a loyal citizen of Japan may do so without fear or prejudice, irrespective of whether or not he holds American citizenship." Also that a board should be set up at each relocation center to review such cases. "At this time their exact status should be carefully explained to them and they should then be given the opportunity to file an application if they so desire."

"To sum up: The entire 'Japanese Problem' has been magnified out of its true proportion, largely because of the physical characteristics of the people. It should be handled on the basis of the individual, regardless of citizenship, and not on a racial basis."

EDITOR SABOTAGES CABLE DEADLINE!

Production of this week's Cable limped along as Editor Ralph Seaton took time out to marry Virginia Sloane. The "honeymooners" will be back Tuesday.

STUDY OF EVACUATION (Cont.)

Lake; former University of Washington students will be interested to know that Frank Miyamoto, formerly of the U. of W., faculty, is assisting in the survey there.

This study is the only one that has followed theprocess of evacuation comprehensively, and embodies economic, political, administrative and sociological problems involved.

WHERE TO?

Does the Church hold the key to the Japanese American Problem? Clarence W. Hall, in two articles written for the Christian Advocate (Oct. 29-Nov. 5) seems to think so.

The question faced by the Nisei is 'What have we to look forward to' All they ask is a "chance to prove their loyalty, to show themselves worthy of Christian trust and Democratic freedom. More than any other egency the Church has the obligation, the vision and the facilities to do this.'

Clarence Hall suggests that you (1) "Make a comprehensive study of the whole problem. (2) Bring the matter before members of your group and advise its acceptance as a definate group project. (3) Write to Dr. Frank H. Smith, chairman of Protestant Commission for Japanese Service, stating nature of the work available, name and address of employer, wages, living arrangements, and name of yoyr sponsoring group and its chairman. Dr. Smith's address is 2816 Hillegass St., Berkele

THE INTERSEMINARIAN

A News Bulletin of The Interseminary Movement in the United States

Volume Fourteen: Number one **December 1942**

JAPANESE EVACUEES

★

Tsutomu Fukuyama
Minister of Federated Church of Minidoka

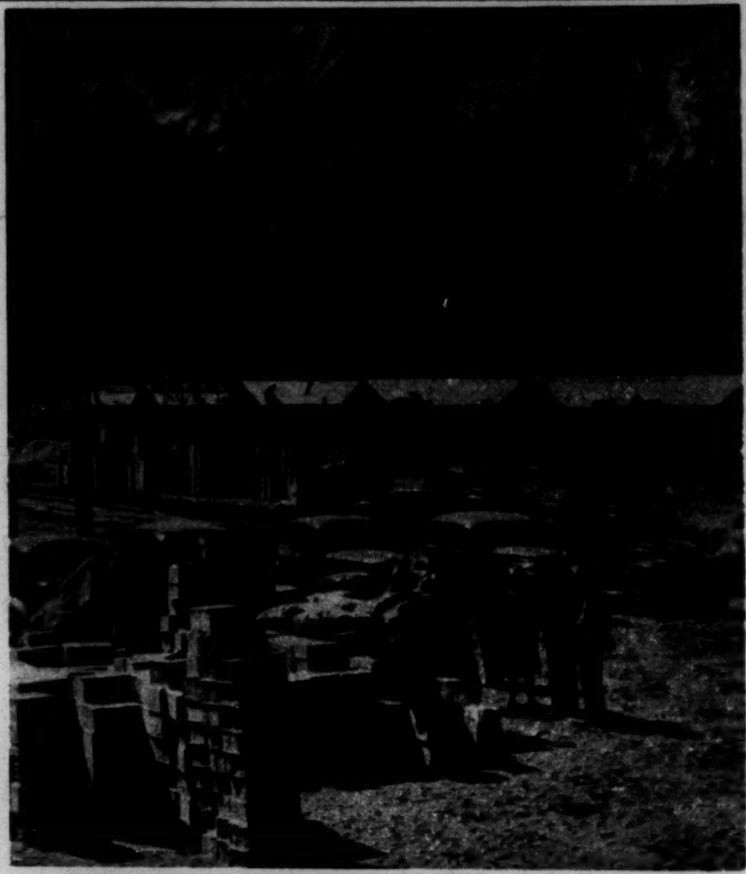
A Japanese American, confined in an assembly center, looks into the future and writes:

Then I looked into the future
And I saw a Jap reservation,
Wrought from the deserts and the highland plains,
Tormented with suffering of a million pains,
Condemned to loneliness, a cesspool of frustration,
Crammed into barracks by so many head,
Government-clothed and government-fed .....
With children growing up, amidst flies and the dust,
To forget that we once held America as mighty and just.

Many Japanese-Americans see no future in the evacuation movement. They have fatalistically resigned themselves to their fate as prisoners of state. They make no plans for the future. What then remains out of the broken fragments of hopes for the future? Is there something that the Christian message can bring to these innocent victims of war?

I believe there is. No longer can individuals depend for their security on things nor the humanistic props of good-will. From superficiality people must turn to something anchored deep -- a living faith in God. And there is indication of earnest seeking and thought towards values in life and its ultimate meaning.

The reality of the Christian Community has been a burning revelation to us. Those in contact with the Christian Church do not think of themselves as isolated from America. We are aware of the stand taken by the Christian forces in America. Most noteworthy has been the Northern Baptist Convention appropriation of $50,000 for Japanese evacuee work. We are in constant contact with those who have a concern. The spiritual bond of Christian fellowship is demonstrating itself again as a great reality.



The snow-capped Sierra Nevada mountains tower in the background of the Manzanar (Calif.) Assembly Center

To the theological students of America I would like to say that the greatest contribution you can make is to bring a meaningful Christian message to your respective groups. This is the very dynamic of democracy. Help them to know us, not as Japanese, but as individual Americans. Tell them that countless Christians are engaged in the building of the Kingdom of God in the heart and life of every evacuation center. Work, study and share not only with us, but also with all minority groups and with all peoples, for the extension of the imperishable Christian message. Constantly combat any measures which would take away the rights of any minority group -- a typical example being Senator Holmen's recent proposal which would deprive Americans of Japanese ancestry of their citizenship rights. The supreme imperative of this hour is to be intelligent world-view Christians. Let it be said again of twentieth century Christians: "What the soul is in the body, this the Christians are in the world." The soul holds the body together and Christians hold the world together."

The Interseminarian

A Publication of the Interseminary Movement
in the United States
347 Madison Avenue, New York City
Cyrus R. Pangborn, Editor

Sponsored by
National Council of Student Christian Associations
and the Joint Executive Committee of the Life and
Work and Faith and Order Movements.

The Church Buffeted by War

A New York newspaper reports that a local church (we shall not name it) has voted to insert "Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition" before the Amen of the Lord's Prayer, for repetition by the congregation in worship services. It would be funny were it not tragic to find a church which by inference understands so little of its nature and function. Obviously, we have a long way yet to go toward understanding the divine nature of the origin of the Church, its significance as physical and spiritual community, and its work of redemption among men and nations of this world; else a local church would not be either so simple or so stupid as to think of its function as one which in essence boils down to 'the conduct of worship and war.' But we may thank God that we are not without great leaders who regard the Church as an institution of supreme importance today. One such leader is the Bishop of Chichester, who said in a recent broadcast:

"The Church, which is not of one nation but for all nations, stands for truth and justice. States or parties which have no standard save that of their own interest, oppose the divine law . . . The Church stands for the worship of God, not man. The Church stands for love as the foundation of all social and international, as well as personal life. It declares that God made mankind one family and that each nation in that one family is called to contribute to the building up of the life and health of the whole. It declares that the nation which seeks to destroy other nations sins against God. It declares that the nation which deliberately plans its economic policy for its own enrichment, at the expense of other nations, sins against God.

"The Church which declares these truths is not yet united; that is why its witness is much less clear than it could be. But God meant it to be one, and we must pray that through the Ecumenical Movement; now steadily growing, it may become one, in fact . . .

"There are Christians who have the vision and the courage for action like this, in the very torment of war. Christians the world over are filled with admiration for Bishop Berggrav, and the bishops, the deans and the pastors of the Norwegian Church for their fearless stand against the violence and injustice of the present State authorities in Norway . . . In the voice of the Church of Norway today we hear the voice of the Ecumenical Church, and it speaks to all the Churches."

* *

A Letter from a Contributor

Tsutomu Fukuyama accompanied his article (on page one) by a letter so interesting that we want to share it. "Tom" is serving under the Baptist Home Mission Board in the capacity of Young People's minister in the Federated Church of Minidoka, Idaho. His congregation includes members of the following denominations: Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Holiness, Episcopalian, Congregational. Needless to say, this is genuine ecumenicity! His letter follows:

"The Minidoka project is located in the Southern part of Idaho in sagebrush country. Our city has a population of 10,000. The total acreage is about 68,000 acres and with irrigation a considerable portion of it should be harnessed for productivity.

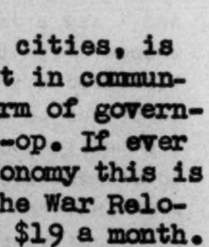
"Twin Falls, like all evacuee cities, is built on a barrack fashion. We eat in community dining halls. A democratic form of government is being set up and also a co-op. If ever there was a socialistic form of economy this is it. At present, all wages under the War Relocation Authority range from $16 to $19 a month. This to me is deplorable. However, at present the work is made-up work and hardly could be said to be productive. In the future we hope for a change, especially after the colony begins to produce ....

"If there are students who would like to share with us you might tell them that books (religious and high grade fiction or biography) and recent issues of first grade magazines are always welcome.

"Be Assured that I shall strive to serve here in Minidoka for the extension of the Christian message and promotion of world peace and brotherhood."

* *

Thank you!



Seminary student councils should strive to make their financial contributions to the Interseminary Movement before their Christmas vacation. Schools of the Chicago, Pacific and Middle Atlantic areas should send contributions to their regional treasurers; all others, direct to the national office, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Please read

[illegible] The Hock's quote

A. J.

NEWS FROM THE REGIONS

CHICAGO AREA

"After the War - What?" was the question to which a hundred theological students demanded answers from Dr. Emory Luccock and Professor Bertrand Wolfe at the fall conference of the Chicago Interseminary Conference in October. They found it was not easy to arrive at simple answers, but that beginnings had been made at Malvern and Delaware. The practical problem discussed was that of imbuing the local church with a sense of Christian responsibility for the world we live in.

Clifford Byerley, of Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, is welcomed as the new Council President of the Interseminary Union of Chicago, and with regret is John Caton's resignation from that office announced. Though Jack's field work and studies at Seabury-Western did not permit him to continue in the council presidency, he will remain a council member and a "sure rock."

THE SOUTH

The dates for the Southern Interseminary Conference at Vanderbilt, in Nashville, are March 4-6, 1943. Dr. Charles W. Lowry of the Episcopal Seminary (Alexandria, Va.) is to be one of the speakers, and others are being sought. Nashville is centrally located in the region which comprises Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisiana. It will be wise, however, for student councils to plan to give as much financial aid as possible to their delegations. For information about the conference, write to Chairman Ralph Mohney of Vanderbilt, or Secretary Ray Henthorne, College of the Bible in Lexington, Kentucky.

NEW ENGLAND

The first Boston conference of the school year was held at Boston University School of Theology on November 19th, with Dr. Edgar Brightman giving the main address. Attendance was the best in several years and plans were initiated for an all-New England conference to be held at Andover Newton in February.

President,
Robert Scully, Boston Univ. School of Theology
Vice President,
Robert Terwilliger, Episcopal Theological
Secretary and Treasurer,
John Jordan, New Church Theological Seminary

MIDDLE ATLANTIC

The contrast between the conference at Princeton and that at Lancaster is striking. That the considerable movement of theological thought from the more liberal to the more conservative was accomplished in a year's time was truly astounding. Noticeable also was the rare mention of such words as "pacifism", "conscientious objector", or, indeed, the outrageous "evil of war." Our beliefs today seem to be quite fluid and variable. Now pacifism and the possession of conscientious objection to war have become unpopular and war frequently is referred to as an act of God.

The theme of the conference was: "This is Our Task: The Church in War and Peace." The speakers were: Dr. Harris E. Kirk, of the Franklin Street Presbyterian Church in Baltimore; Dr. Douglas V. Steere, Professor at Haverford College; Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Professor at Union Theological Seminary, New York; and Dean Angus, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge. These well chosen men had difficulty in agreeing upon the exact definition of the nature of the church, but they agreed that the task of the church is the same in war-time as in peace-time. Many laurels are due to each of these men for his contribution.

The new Committee elected for the Middle Atlantic Region include:

President,
Kenneth Dannenhauer, Colgate-Rochester
Vice President,
Jacob C. Oglesby, Howard University
Secretary,
David MacQueen, Crozer Seminary
Treasurer,
Arthur H. Laedlein, Philadelphia Divinity
Other members,
Paul R. Fillion, Westminster
Zack H. White, Alfred University
Melvin Foreman, Biblical Seminary
Paul H. Ackert, Evangelical Seminary

David Mac Queen, Crozer Seminary

PACIFIC COAST

Several Japanese American theological students have already effected a transfer to "inland" seminaries. There are still a few to be relocated. If your school could receive one or more of these students, write now to Mr. Howard Beale (National Student Relocation Council, 1830 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California). He can facilitate the process of having your school placed on the government-approved list if it is not now so listed.

We Are Not Alone

Alan Booth (at far left) at NICC conference, last September. The others are Wilmina Rowland (WSSF); Robert C. Mackie (WSCF); Kung Pu Sheng (YWCA).

Alan Booth, Assistant General Secretary of the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland, visited in the United States in September and October. One of Mr. Booth's tasks "at home" is to carry on with theological students work very similar to that of the Interseminary Movement in this country. It was therefore splendid that theological students of Oberlin, Vanderbilt, Emory and Duke had the opportunity of fellowship with him when he came to their campuses in October.

From England he brought with him a pamphlet describing the theological school work. Because of the remarkable similarity to our own work, we quote:

"The Student Christian Movement has .... a function which is complementary to the function of the Theological College itself, and it is complementary because it is ecumenical.

"Many things can only be done for theological students by the Theological College itself. To this extent the College is rightly self-sufficient and exclusive. But the S.C.M. Theological College Department offers itself as a servant of the Church through which those who are to be Christian ministers may receive the fullest possible vision of their calling; may become as fully acquainted as possible with the "Faith and Order" and "Life and Work" movements within the Church; may have the opportunity of knowing what Christians can do together in social action -- and may from time to time meet members of other denominations in their student days, with whom, after ordination, they will cooperate in all things possible in the parishes."

★

Have you read . . .

DEMOCRACY AND JAPANESE AMERICANS by Norman Thomas. The Post-War World Council, 112 East 19th Street, New York. 10¢

A TOUCHSTONE OF DEMOCRACY--THE JAPANESE IN AMERICA. Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, 289 Fourth Ave. New York. 10¢

AMERICAN REFUGEES. Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York. 5¢ each; 8 for 25¢

W.S.S.F.

Am I my brother's keeper? It is an old question but still one which can not be sidestepped if conscience is to be kept alive. Least of all can theological students avoid saying "yea" to the question.

But what means this "yea"? It means that theologs have common cause with students around the world who are languishing in prison and internment camps, or building a new life in relocation centers, or trying to carry on their university studies in the 'interior', or slowly starving in Greece and other occupied countries. Having common cause means, further, that those who have, share with those who have not.

It is clear that students of denominational seminaries have special obligations to help their own relief causes. But most of us are not yet doing all that we ought, and in non-denominational seminaries, an interdenominational relief agency like the World Student Relief Fund is the only one which may legitimately claim support.

Students of Yale and Union last year contributed a total of more than $2000 to student relief. Today there are millions of students in more than a dozen countries who need our help. What will you and your student body do toward raising $300,000 for them? Write to the Interseminary Movement office; or to WSSF headquarters (8 West 40th Street, New York) to learn what to do and how to do it. Remember, you will be helping other theologs and our own servicemen who now are in prison camps in other lands!

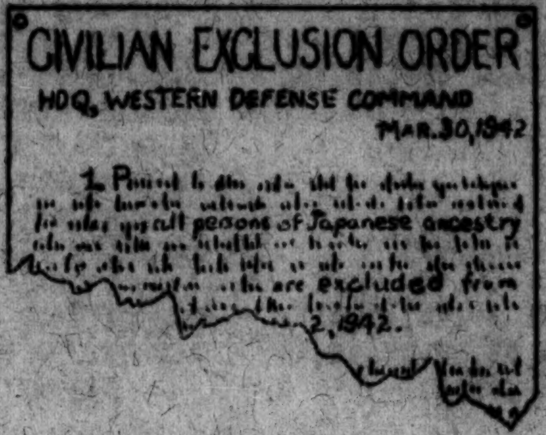
★

Book Review

RELIGION IN COLONIAL AMERICA, by William Warren Sweet. Scribner. $3.00

"The purpose of this volume," declares the author in his preface, "is to place religion in its proper perspective in American colonial history." It is a worthy purpose, for the average college student knows little or nothing of the history of religion in this country. Nor do most theological students know more, for all too often they study only European church history and the origin and growth of their own denominations. For the students who would fill this gap in their education, here is a book to be enthusiastically recommended. They will find completeness, accuracy, and good writing. Where cherished denominational traditions about origins and founders do not square with the facts, there is gentle debunking. For the mistakes and sins of religious men and institutions, there is no apology. For their many contributions to American life, there is well-deserved praise. Educators and students may well applaud the plan of the author to bring the subject up to date in two future volumes.

EVACUATION!


CIVILIAN EXCLUSION ORDER
HDQ, WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND
MAR. 30, 1942
1.
persons of Japanese ancestry
excluded from
2, 1942.

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE JAPANESE EVACUATION ~

- *New source material*
- *Topically arranged*
- *Critical comments*
- *Indexed*

Northern California Office
FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
2151 Vine Street, Berkeley, California
January 22, 1943

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(Numbers refer to numbers of articles in following bibliography; GRAPH, to graphs on pages 5 and 7; letters, to appendices on pages 10-12. Underlined material is especially recommended).

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*see Tolan Committee, Fourth Interim Report, p. 279. ** Cost for first year est. $210,000,000, or $1964 per Japanese, according to Pacific Cable, Dec. 17 '42. *** see Tolan Committee, Fourth Interim Report, p. 157.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

An excellent series of articles omitted by error from the main body of the bibliography is the following: "The Japanese Evacuation in Retrospect," "Exclusion Act, 1942 Model," "Inside Nisei America," and "Little Nisei, What Now," a series of four articles by Clarence Hall, Christian Advocate, Oct. 15-Nov. 5 '42.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

IN A HURRY?

Easily accessible articles which will enable the busy reader to obtain an authentic picture of what happened include #9 on the background of the Japanese in the United States, #45 on what the War Relocation Authority is trying to do, #42 for the reactions of a Naval Intelligence officer who has studied the problem, and the above articles of Clarence Hall. Less accessible, but even better, are three pamphlets (#3,4,5), which can be written for; #38 for a Negro condemnation of the evacuation; and #30 for a recent description of life in the camps.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Additional copies, 5¢ each, from Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2151 Vine St., Berkeley, Calif. This report has been prepared by Caleb Foote and Malcolm Parker, typed by Amy Bush, and with the research assistance of Jim Finucane, George Webb, Bill Sattler and Hank Hall, four Coleville C.P.S. men.

I. SPECIAL MATERIAL ON THE EVACUATION

1. Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, Hearings, Parts 29, 30, 31; Report of March 19, 1942; Fourth Interim Report. This material totals 1375 pages, all on the evacuation. Hereinafter referred to as the Tolan Committee; references to important material in these volumes will be found below. These reports are available in first-class libraries, or inquire of Rep. John H. Tolan, House Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.

2. "The Japanese in Our Midst," pamphlet published by Colorado Council of Churches (Mack Bldg., Denver, Colo.) 7 pp. (5¢, 25 for $1)

3. "A Touchstone of Democracy, the Japanese in America," pamphlet by Galen Fisher and others, Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches (289 Fifth Ave., New York) June '42, 38 pp., il. (10¢)

4. "American Refugees," pamphlet by Caleb Foote, Fellowship of Reconciliation (Northern California Office, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley, Calif.) July '42, 8 pp., il. (5¢, 50 for $1)

5. "Democracy and Japanese Americans," pamphlet by Norman Thomas, Post War World Council, (112 E. 19th St., New York) July '42, 39 pp. (10¢)

   The above three pamphlets all give information on the background and effects of evacuation. #4 is fuller on background, loyalty, and is designed to carry the story to those with little information; #3 gives a much more detailed account of the actual evacuation and conditions in Assembly Centers; #5 has an excellent section on "What to Do" and a review of the legal situation. All oppose the evacuation.

6. Pacific Citizen, weekly, publ. at 415 Beason Bldg., 25 E. Second S. St., Salt Lake City, by Japanese-American Citizens League. $2.50 a year.

7. Pacific Cable, fortnightly, publ. at 1411 E. Northlake, Seattle, Washington, by the Seattle F.O.R. 50¢ a year.

   These two papers will keep you abreast of all current news on the Japanese Americans; #6 is very full, is invaluable to those really interested in the subject.

8. Center newspapers are published by internees in each WRA Center. A sample copy would probably be mailed to those requesting it. (see Appendix E)

II. THE PRE-WAR BACKGROUND

9. FROM MANY LANDS, Louis Adamic, New York, 1939. See section entitled "A Young American with a Japanese Face," pp. 183-234.

   Excellent background material. Autobiographical story told to Adamic graphically portrays discrimination, conflicts, feelings of Nisei.

10. "West Coast Japanese," Jim Marshall, Colliers, Oct. 11, '41, P. 14, il.

    Rumors and scares are taken up and debunked. Army, Navy, and F.B.I. "opinion, based on intensive and continuous investigation, is that the situation is not dangerous....With this opinion West Coast newspapermen, in touch with the problem for years, agree almost unanimously."

11. "Japanese Saboteurs in our Midst," Stanley High, Reader's Digest, Jan. '42, p. 11. (deleted from revised edition)

A fair example of extreme fear of the Japanese population, written before the war. The fishing fleet is dangerous, the farmers who surround defense plants are saboteurs, while isolated farmers have secret airfields. If war breaks they will all rise with Japan to smite us. Deleted from revised edition when predictions failed to materialize.

12. "The Japanese," Tolan Committee, Fourth Interim Report, p. 59.

Excellent summary of history of Japanese in U. S., census figures on their number, and material on their economic status.

Also: 13, "America's 150,000 Japanese," Hauser, American Mercury, Dec. '41; 14, "Current Problems of Japanese-Americans," Bogardus, Sociology and Social Research, July '41; 15, JAPANESE IN THE UNITED STATES, Ichihashi, Stanford U. Press '32; 16, THE SECOND GENERATION JAPANESE PROBLEM, Strong, Stanford U. Press '34.

III. THE EVACUATION

A. Buildup for the evacuation

17. "How to Tell Japs from the Chinese," Life, Dec. 22 '41, p. 81, il.

Shows the "anthropometric conformations that distinguish friendly Chinese from enemy alien Japs." (also Niseis, of course.) Pictures show facial differences (such as the color of skin, Chinese as parchment yellow, Japs earthy yellow.) If this doesn't work, "an often sounder clue is facial expression....Chinese wear rational calm of tolerant realists. Japs, like General Tojo, show humorless intensity of ruthless mystics." If this doesn't work, Life recommends wearing a sign to tell what race you are.

18. "California and the Japanese," Carey McWilliams, New Republic, March 2, '42, p. 295.

The Filipinos (30,000 in California) started the wave of resentment against Japanese who before the war had "quietly and successfully..... fitted into the economy of the state." Those leading agitation for "the dangerous concrete proposal" of evacuation are special interest groups and local politicians. The Niseis have "tended to break away from the Japanese community." He is strongly opposed to evacuation, which would only be legal after declaration of martial law. We should "demonstrate the democratic objective of the war by fair treatment."

19. "Plight of the Nisei," Howard Costigan, Nation, Febr. 14, '42, P. 184.

So great was public belief in Hawaiian Fifth Columnism by mid-February that this liberal magazine reports as true the story of roads blocked by stalled Japanese trucks, directing arrows cut in the sugar cane.

20. "The Question of Transferring the Japanese from the Pacific Coast," Eric Bellquist, Tolan Committee Hearings, Part 29, p. 11240.

Outstanding statement opposing evacuation. As this material is hard to obtain, a summary of the article is in Appendix C, below.

21. "People Nobody Wants: West Coast Japanese," F. J. Taylor, Saturday Evening Post, May 9 '42, p. 24, illus.

Best material on economic causes of evacuation. For summary, see Appendix B below.

22. "Attitudes on Removal," Tolan Committee, Fourth Interim Report, p. 139.

Chief arguments of witnesses before the Tolan Committee who favored or opposed evacuation.

Also: 23, "Cool Heads or Martial Law," Bendiner, Nation, Febr. 14 '42; p. 183; 24, "What Shall We Do with Our 150,000 Japs," Eddy, American, March '42, p. 15, illus.; 25, "California Gets Tough," Bruce, N. Y. Times Magazine, March 15, '42, p.3; 26,"California on the Alert," Sinclair, American Legion Magazine, Apr. '42, p. 28, illus.

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The Press and the American Japanese

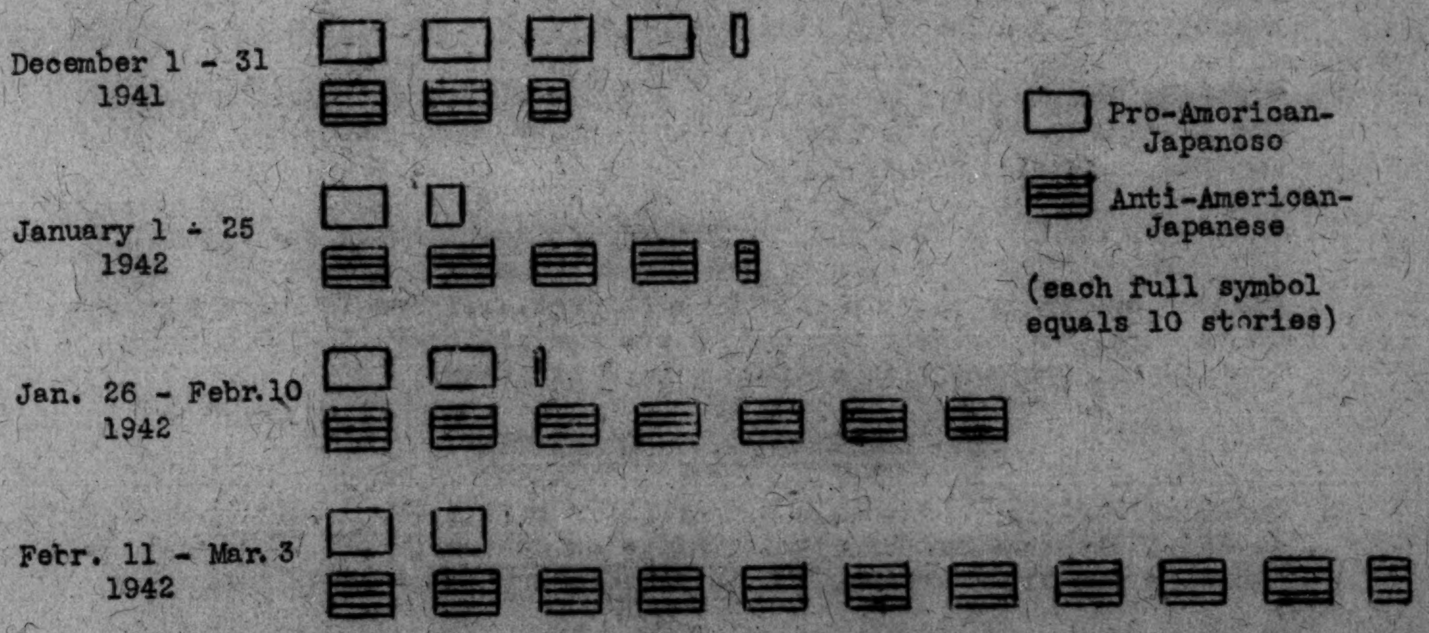


Fig. 1. The rise in anti-American-Japanese feeling is indicated above, the symbols depicting stories about American-Japanese appearing in the San Francisco Chronicle (liberal) and San Francisco Examiner (Hearst). Pro-American-Japanese stories are those which urged tolerance, fair play and opposed evacuation; anti-American-Japanese, which created hatred or suspicion, or urged discrimination or evacuation. These stories make it equally clear that the anti-American-Japanese fire was fanned by journalists and politicians, who saw in the "yellow peril" a sure-fire political issue. The overwhelming majority of anti-American Japanese stories were demands for evacuation by Congressmen, mayors, county boards of supervisors and other politicians. (see p. 7 below).

B. Actual Evacuation and Camp Life

27. Typical Evacuation Descriptions: Firsthand accounts of evacuations are found in the following: Nation, May 9 '42, p.556; Christian Century, Apr. 15 '42, p. 500, and Aug. 5 '42, p. 965; Fellowship, Aug. '42, p. 34; Pacific Citizen, June 30 '42, p. 7. (The last two are by Niseis, and are especially recommended).

28. "Coast Japs are Interned in Mountain Camp," Life, Apr. 6 '42, p. 15, il.

Best easily available pictures of an evacuation, early camp life.

29. Life inside the camps, two graphic descriptions by Niseis: Nation, June 6 '42, p. 668; New Republic, June 15 '42, p. 882.

30. "Democracy in Detention," Caleb Foote, Fellowship, Dec. '42, p. 205.

Recent impression of Heart Mountain Center, Wyoming, stressing psychological and social results of evacuation upon internees.

31. "The Problem People," Jim Marshall, Colliers, Aug. 15 '42, p. 50, illus.

Sweet picture of Manzanar with beautiful illustrations. The good life is food, shelter, a chance to work, a library, some art classes and having babies. Liberty and freedom and the Bill of Rights apparently don't rate. Nor is there any mention of dust, lack of privacy, barbed wire, searchlights, or the fact that these people are convicted of no crime.

32. "Tragedy Haunts Steps of Exiles," Allan A. Hunter, Christian Century, May 27 '42, p. 711. (Article by same author, same magazine July 15, '42, p. 894)

"No human mind can comprehend a tragedy so complicated and abysmal." At Manzanar "the dust is a byword. The privacy is almost nil. Eight persons are assigned to a room 20 x 25 feet....There is Mount Whitney, to be sure, but between you and it are the pillboxes." For a study in propaganda, compare this article with # 31 above.

IV. THE EVACUATION CHALLENGED

33. Three editorials: "Japanese out of California," New Republic, Apr. 6 '42, p. 456; "Citizens or Subjects?" Christian Century, Apr. 29 '42, p. 551; "Justice for the Evacuees," Chrisitan Century, June 10 '42, p. 750.

"This whole policy of resort to concentration camps," says the Christian Century (June 10),"is headed in the wrong direction. It is headed toward arbitrary arrests, toward the supplanting of civil authority, toward the destruction of constitutional rights, toward the derogation of the courts and toward the establishment of racial discrimination as a principle of American government. It is moving in the same direction Germany moved....."

34. "Our Japanese Refugees," Galen Fisher, Christian Century, Apr. 1 '42,p.424.

The first ringing challenge to the evacuation; the first national publicity (outside the press) to the truth about Hawaii. An outstanding article by a leading writer on the subject.

35. "Have We Forgotten Justice?" Caleb Foote, Fellowship, May '42, p. 79.

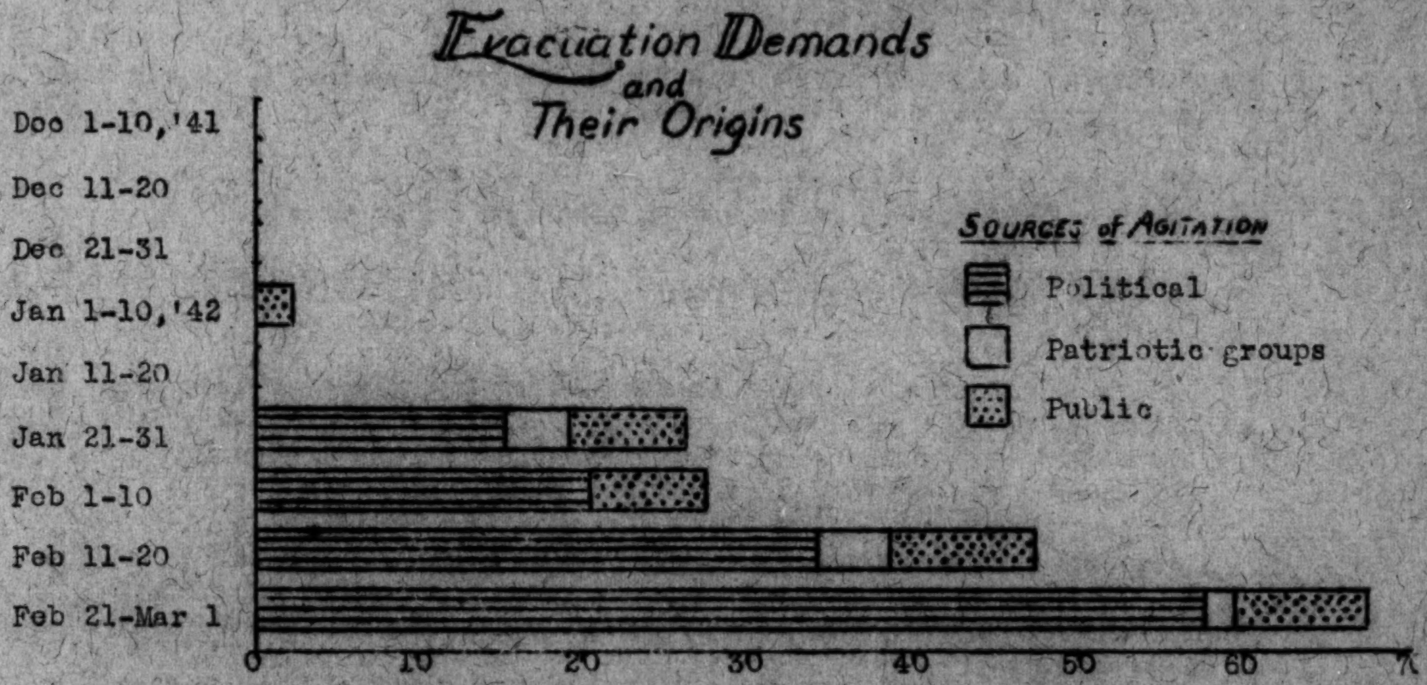
Stresses causes of evacuation: public opinion inflamed by anti-Japanese rumors and stories, accounts of fifth columnism in Hawaii, a vigorous campaign by politicians.

36. "Citizens Behind Barbed Wire," Charles Iglehart, Christian Century, June 6 '42, p. 649.

Does not believe evacuation was to protect Japanese, for "I found no evidence of any serious danger..." Public opinion was deliberately fanned "until a conflagration was threatened, but at any time it could have been quenched if the authorities had shown the proper firmness."

37. "America's Protective Custody," Floyd Schmoe, Fellowship, July '42, p.111.

Protective custody is given as a reason for evacuation, but "the very words 'protective custody (Schutzhaft)' were 'made in Germany,' not here. How could it accord with American justice that if a man were dangerous to his neighbors, they should be put into custody rather than he?"



Here are represented the total number of demands for evacuation appearing in two San Francisco newspapers, with the dates on which they were made. It is significant that there were only two such demands before January 22; that the overwhelming majority of the demands were political in origin - made by Congressmen, mayors, other city and state officials, county workers, etc. The Chronicle editorialized on Feb. 6: "The supposed 'hysteria' over enemy aliens and their descendents scarcely exists among the people themselves....but the excitement is visible almost entirely in political and journalistic quarters..... They are seeking to capitalize on a supposed excitement of others which is mostly a figment of their own imaginations." This graph raises interesting questions. If the evacuation was military necessity, why was there no mention of it in the excitement immediately following Pearl Harbor? Why was it only adopted after vigorous agitation by political groups?

38. "Americans in Concentration Camps," Harry Paxton Howard, Crisis, Sept. '42, illus.

This is strongest condemnation of continued detention which has yet appeared, and it is significant that it should be published by a leading Negro magazine. "Color seems to be the only possible reason why thousands of American citizens of Japanese ancestry are in concentration camps......if Asiatic-Americans can be reduced to bondage, deprived of citizenship and of property, the same thing can be done to Afro-Americans -- and to Jews."

V. OTHER ARTICLES

39. "The Story of the Pacific Coast Evacuation," Col. Karl R. Benedetson, address to Commonwealth Club, May 20 '42; published in Vital Speeches, June 15 '42, p. 541.

The Army's story, told by the man who under General DeWitt handled the evacuation and who was rewarded the Distinguished Service Medal for his work. See Appendix A.

40. "Japanese Evacuation from the Pacific Coast," Galen M. Fisher, Far Eastern Survey, June 29 '42, p. 145.

The best of the author's articles. Fair, two-sided, though his hopes for the War Relocation Authority have not materialized.

41. "Moving the West Coast Japanese," Carey McWilliams, Harpers, Sept. '42, p. 359.

When a Nisei who had lived there read in the above article that at Santa Anita "each unit has running water," he remarked cynically that "McWilliams must have visited us when it was raining." This controversial article has been more bitterly denounced by both Japanese and their Caucasian friends than anything written. Santa Anita residents challenged his assertions that food was good, milk plentiful, and special diets for babies easily available. In general this gives the government viewpoint, and there are contradictions with the author's earlier New Republic article (#18 above).

42. "The Japanese in America," by an Intelligence Officer, Harpers, Oct. '42, p. 489.

"The entire 'Japanese Problem' has been magnified out of its true proportion, largely because of the physical characteristics of the people. It should be handled on the basis of the individual, regardless of citizenship, and not on a racial basis." Fine short discussion of Nisei life, and an analysis of the feeling against the Japanese. (see Appendix A) Many Coast authorities do not agree with his classification of the Kibeis.

43. "Our Stakes in the Japanese Exodus," Paul S. Taylor, Survey Graphic, Sept. '42, p. 373, illus.

Looking towards future trends, with discussion of the attempt to deny Nisei their citizenship, the Joint Immigration Committee's work, the future of world-wide white and non-white relationships. The article is accompanied by interesting statistics: "there are roughly a thousand of the rest of us to one of them," 65% of the aliens are 45 or over, 25% of all persons of Japanese ancestry on the Pacific Coast are under 15.

44. "Japanese Evacuation: Policy and Perspectives," Carey McWilliams, Common Ground, Summer '42, p. 65.

A strong plea by one who accepts the evacuation as military necessity but wants this military necessity "converted into social objectives inherently desirable."

45. "Democracy in Relocation," Dillon Myer, Common Ground, Winter '43, p. 43.

Present policies and future objectives of the War Relocation Authority clearly outlined by its Director. There is good (but only partial) material on community organization and life within the Centers.

Also: 46, "Our Japanese Citizens," M. D. Sharp, Christian Register, July '42, p. 223; 47, "West Coast Japanese," G. E. Mills, Asia, Aug. '42, p. 487; 48, "Japanese Americans and the Law," R. Baldwin, Asia, Sept. '42, p. 518; 49, "Immigrants and Citizens of Japanese Origin," S. F. Miyamoto, Annals of the American Academy, Sept. '42, p. 107; 50, "Outcast Americans," W. Robinson, American Magazine, Sept. '42, p. 30, illus; 51, "How the Army Did It," Business Week, Nov. 7, '42, p. 31.

VI - HAWAII

52. "No. 1 Fifth Column," Time, Jan. 5 '42, p. 23.

The citizen of Honolulu knew that "fed on tolerance, watered by complacency, the Jap fifth column had done its job fiendishly well -- and had not yet been stamped out." Typical of stories given wide circulation at the time.

53. "Re Sabotage in Hawaii..." Tolan Committee, Fourth Interim Report, p. 48.

Ten pages of statements and affidavits debunking the Hawaii fifth column rumors. Statements of Knox, Stimson, Rowe; affidavits by leading citizens of Hawaii. Concensus of all reports: no fifth column.

54. "The Japanese in Hawaii," Blake Clark, New Republic, Sept. 14, '42.

Outstanding article on what really did happen in Hawaii on Dec. 7. The Chief of Police said that on Dec. 7 there was no sabotage, and "hundreds of them (Japanese) were actively defending the territory." As for the Japanese doctors, "many an American mother today owes the life of her son to their skill."

55. "Cool Heads in Hawaii," William M. Maier, Worldover Press, Nov. 4 '42

After the initial shock, "most of Honolulu and the rest of the Islands.... realized that because one was of Japanese race, one was not necessarily a potential saboteur....alien Japanese were excluded from certain areas, but on the whole they continue to live normally."

VII - FICTION AND MOTION PICTURES

56. "Mary Osaka, I Love You," John Fante, Good Housekeeping, Oct. '42, p. 40.

Fiction -- the story of a Los Angeles Nisei girl who marries a Los Angeles Filipino. After their wedding they sign a tourist court guest register: "Mr. and Mrs. Mingo Mateo, December 7, 1941." A powerful account of Little Tokyo, a loyal Issei, an intensely American Mary Osaka, and the Filipino-Japanese tension.

57. "Little Tokyo," movie, (20th Century Fox). A Japanese-American leads the espionage ring; all the discredited fifth column rumors are presented as fact; and the closing newsreel shots of the evacuation give an aroma of truth to the whole thing.

58. "Across the Pacific," movie, (Warner Bros.) presents a Chinese-American who is usually the No. 2 son of Charlie Chan as the Nisei villain. He talks like a rah-rah college boy, but is tied to tokyo's apron strings.

Commenting on these pictures, the Pacific Citizen (Dec. 3 '42) writes: "One reason the movies seem to pick on Nisei as villains seems to be that they can thus get an oriental-faced character who can still be shown speaking intelligible English. However, it is a dirty trick, since there is no actual record of Nisei villainy to back up Hollywood's use of American-born Japanese as movie criminals."

APPENDIX A - THE TYRANNY OF A WORD

Shortly after the war began, the San Francisco Chronicle noted the persons of Japanese ancestry in the state and observed: "Americans called them Japanese, though the great majority of them had every right to be called Americans." Here was a peculiar thing. Because of a high social visibility, American citizens were labelling certain other American citizens with the name which they also applied to their enemies. No newspaper or politician referred to citizens of German ancestry as "Germans;" but almost every newspaper or politician called Niseis "Japanese." No one quite knew what this race distinction meant. Life had a hard time telling its readers how to distinguish Chinese and "Japs" (see #17 above). In San Francisco little Chinese girls ran home to mother crying because they had been cruelly slapped by schoolmates under the usual misapprehension. In Watertown, N. Y., police nabbed a "suspicious Japanese" who turned out to be the Filipino houseboy of a Brigadier General. The Army issued a Nisei a pass to travel on a Puget Sound ferry which described him as a "Japanese alien, U. S. Citizen." But despite this confusion the word remained, and when Rep. Leland Ford stepped into a relatively calm situation and started rolling the snowball which resulted in evacuation, he had a relatively easy target. These people were the Japs. No matter how much they protested, they were still the Japs. That they were so easy to single out made them an ideal target for the political campaign which followed.

APPENDIX B - ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF EVACUATION

After Pearl Harbor, Austin E. Anson, Managing Secretary of the Salinas Vegetable Grower-Shipper Assn., went to Washington and "pointed out to the War and Navy Departments, the Attorney General, to every Congressman who would listen to him," what a vital area the Salinas region was and the necessity of getting rid of the Japanese. He also says: "We're charged with wanting to get rid of the Japs for selfish reasons. We might as well be honest. We do. It's a question of whether the white man lives on the Pacific Coast or the brown men....And we don't want them back when the war ends, either." (from "People Nobody Want," #21 above) This same article summarizes the economic power of the Japanese before evacuation as follows: Salinas, control of Australian onions and lettuce; Santa Maria, syndicate controlling fresh fruit and vegetable distribution, which could control the Los Angeles markets because of Japanese monopolized products such as strawberries (90%), cucumbers, onions, spinach (75%), celery, snap beans, cauliflower (50%); San Pedro, fishing monopoly; Monterey, abalone fishing; Seattle, operation of over one-half of city's hotels; San Francisco, capturing best bazaar trade in Chinatown. Japanese commercial interests along the Coast are estimated to value $55,000,000 to $75,000,000. This gives a clue to some of the economic pressures exerted. However, an authority in the economic field, Carey McWilliams, feels that the pressures for evacuation "cut across the ordinary economic alignments." (see his "Moving the West Coast Japanese," #41 above).

APPENDIX C - AN ARGUMENT AGAINST EVACUATION

(Summary of statement of Eric Bellquist, see # 20 above)

"Certainly few things are ever quite so dangerous to civil liberties as a patterned patriotism on the loose.....What must everlastingly be driven home is that the intolerances of native prejudices are just as much a part of subversive activity as Japanese sabotage, Nazi spies and communist intrigue. We must guard against this today, because there is no way of making reparations for pain and shame. We have certain interests in the state --some agricultural, some 'patriotic,' some closely affiliated with certain newspapers--which have long been hostile to orientals in general as well as other aliens, and which have now found a golden opportunity to come out against the Japanese." He cites a daily radio news commentator who "for some time has been urging that every Japanese, alien or citizen, be transplanted to the other side of the Rockies. In appeal after appeal, he has incited the people and aroused their suspicion." (It is worth noting that there is evidence that Department of Justice officials attribute much of the hysteria to a radio commentator who "decided to ride the Jap problem for publicity and devoted a large portion of his several broadcasts each day to a demand that the Japs be removed from the coastal area and to the incitement of prejudices against and fears of persons of Japanese ancestry." - report, Special Committee on Bill of Rights, American Bar Association).

"City councils and county boards of supervisors have been passing restrictive ordinances, petitioning the Congress to enact legislation against our Japanese. The mayors of our two largest cities, as well as many smaller ones, have lost their composure along with the rest. The state personnel board at Sacramento has sought to take action contravening the Constitution as well as the expressed sentiment of our highest officials, including the President." Among national politicians, Rep. John Rankin of Mississippi "stated on the floor of the House that the west coast was teeming with spies and fifth columnists. 'Once a Jap, always a Jap,' asserted Mr. Rankin, whose state certainly does not have many aliens in its midst, although the gentleman from Mississippi might well accord his attention to the large suppressed minority which does exist there." Mr. Rankin, who is for putting every Japanese in a concentration camp, links the Japanese to race troubles in Harlem where 'the city authorities have entirely lost control,' and Japanese are back of 'this drive to stir up trouble between the whites and the Negroes here in Washington.' "The best solution for the whole problem is to behave courteously toward any law-abiding foreigner, and citizen, whatever the slant of his eyes. It is the slant of the heart that counts, and that is no matter for offhand judgment."

APPENDIX D - NISEIS IN THE ARMY

In the first year of Selective Service 1,864 California and 1,014 Hawaiian Niseis were inducted into the armed forces. It has been roughly estimated that at the time of the evacuation 2500 Niseis were in uniform, about one-third of whom were volunteers. Some of these men have since been released, but the great majority are still in. Occasional press reports indicate some of them are on the front lines. At least one is in Australia, and a recent United Press Dispatch from the Buna area in New Guinea tells about a Nisei interpreter, one of "the most valuable men" in the front lines there, who has a bodyguard so other soldiers will make no mistakes. The reporter says he "gets along fine with his campmates now that they have gotten used to the situation." Hawaii has a large number of Niseis in both the regular army and the Home Guard, and the Washington Merry Go Round tells about a mess boy who went ashore and then came steaming back to his commanding officer after seeing a Nisei guardsman on patrol. "Captain," he cried, "we arrived too late. The Japs has got Honolulu." At Pearl Harbor Niseis, both in and out of the armed services, made an outstanding record for themselves helping defend the territory.

APPENDIX E - RELOCATION CENTERS

Relocation Centers are located in Arizona (Poston and Rivers), Arkansas (Denson and McGeche), California (Manzanar and Newell), Colorado (Amache), Idaho (Hunt), Utah (Topaz) and Wyoming (Heart Mountain). All publish newspapers, and 50¢ would probably bring you one of these papers for several months. Among these papers, with post office addresses, are the Heart Mountain Sentinal, Heart Mt., Wyo.; Minnidoka Irrigator, Hunt, Idaho; Manzanar Free Press, Manzanar, Calif.; Tule Lake Dispatch, Newell, Calif.; Rohwer Outpost, McGeche, Arkansas; Topaz Times, Topaz, Utah.

Bibliography on
Japanese Evacuation --

from No. Calif. Office,
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2151 Vine St., Berkeley, Calif.

Jap Ev

DEC 14 1942

Pacific Cable

To Serve
As a Communication of Good Will
Vol. I   December 2, 1942   No. 11

"ORIENTAL EXCLUSION ACT, 1942"

With the basic assumption that if students are to be successfully relocated into eastern colleges, the American public must be educated to the facts of and the policies behind evacuation, a group of interested students have been meeting in a series of student-faculty forums, called "Oriental Exclusion Act, 1942." Although in past years Oberlin has had many Nisei students who are good representatives of the second-generation Japanese, it was felt that direct education was necessary, since people do not as a whole accept the social group merely from their experiences with individuals.

The forum is primarily engaged with creating, through discussion, a concern about evacuees and evacuation. Three meetings will be held: the first, to deal with the general history and background of the Japanese on the West Coast; the second, with the legal steps involved in the migration, the philosophy behind it, and the physical and moral conditions within the camps; the last meeting is to be devoted to a discussion of what students can do in the matter of relocation of students and, in a broader sense, the rehabilitation of all the Japanese.

As evidence of the growing interest, an informal committee has been set up to put display materials in the libraries. These will consist of pamphlets, WRA publications, newspapers from the centers, and discussions of civil liberties.

The Oberlin Project for studying the evacuation and its various implications may seem insignificant because it apparently affects so few people. Yet, such study groups as these, especially if duplicated throughout the country, become the nucleus for forming community attitudes favorable to relocation.

* * * * * * *

"THE ROARING LAND"

Archie Binns, in his latest book "The Roaring Land," devoted a few paragraphs to the stoy of the Japanese farmers in the White River Valley, Washington--how they succeeded, by their thrift and industry, in controlling about 90% of the agriculture there, up to the time of evacuation. The book as a whole deals with Washington history.

THE PACIFIC CABLE

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YOUNG NISEI ACCEPT CHALLENGE

Human nature is similar the world around. Most of us are content to drift along with the tide doing little serious thinking or making any real sacrifice. When adversity enters our complacent domain; when our once thought secure future is shaken, then, and then only, do we really set about to do some real constructive thinking.

This has been particularly true of the young Nisei. The life they knew has been torn up by its roots. No longer can they feel free to come and go as they please. Life is not to be taken for granted as in the past.. Much serious thinking is going on in the minds of these young people and a growing concern for the future.is now being formed. Here are two excerpts taken from letters received recently:

"With our brothers and sisters working in the beet fields, our fathers polishing sagebrush sticks, and our mothers stealing wood, what is our future? Mr. ___, please help me get out of here!" Pleas of this nature are not confined to just one relocation center but emanate from them all. Can we as a democratic, freedom-loving people close our ears to such cries?

The second excerpt comes from a Nisei college student. She says, "Somehow I cannot be wholly happy here as long as my family and so many of my friends are in camps and in jail. Somehow, I feel so selfish in being here and having the advantages which those more worthy than I have been denied. But it is a challenging responsibility, which I hope that I can in a small way fulfill with God's help...I realize now more than before evacuation how wrong it all is--from now on I will dedicate my life to prevent any such experiences on other groups."

New life and power is beginning to show on the surface as these young people accept the challenge to rise above their environment.

* * * *

DISTURBANCE AT POSTON CAMP

Those officials who had anything to do with the final decision made regarding the disturbance at the Poston Relocation Center, Arizona, are to be commended for their foresight and democratic procedure.

Cont...

Council will settle the trouble as it deems fit.

* * * *

UNITED STATES TO SETTLE 100,000 JAPANESE-AMERICANS PERMANENTLY

Dillon S. Myer, National Relocation Authority, speaking before the Japanese-American Citizens League recently, said, "We decided to go into the fourth stage of relocation, namely, the permanent resettlement. I think it can be done." This action will effect more than 100,000 interned Japanese Americans. Already the WRA and other interested groups are working hard on the problem.

* * *

HELP WANTED!!

Miss K. Wolf wishes to learn the whereabouts of certain of her pupils who were required to leave Seattle due to evacuation orders. Please address the necessary information to the Pacific Cable as soon as possible. The young people whose location is desired are as follows: Cheiko (Cherry) Tanaka, Mariko and Mayko Kumasaka, Sumiko Tamura, Katherine Shio, Yuri Uchida, Yuri Hayashi.

* * * *

NOTICE TO "OUTSIDERS"

Why not help brighten up the home-life of our friends in Relocation Centers by sending them seeds, cuttings, and narcissus, hyacinth and jonquil bulbs. These latter will bloom in the house during the winter months making an otherwise bleak spot alive with color and beauty.

ASSISTANCE NEEDED

The young people of college age, located at Granada Center, have organized a Council with the following aims:

1. To help young people who desire a higher education to become located in some approved institution of higher learning.
2. To maintain student morale.
3. To sponsor speakers, debates and forums.
4. To help meet other needs of the college age groups.

These young people desire the assistance of more mature, experienced friends who would be willing to help them make the most of such a Council. Also help is welcomed in (1) getting students located in some college, (2) assisting newly arrived Nisei to obtain proper housing facilities, and to assist them in becoming acclimated in their new environment. (3) It is their wish to have various universities and colleges to send catalogs and other necessary information. These will be placed at the Center library. (4) There is a desire to preserve contact with institutions of higher learning.

Further info may be had from Kenji Okuda, 7G - 7 - D, Amache Branch, Lamar, Colorado.

* * *

Mrs. G.D. Graves, Chinese-American featured in a recent "Fan-fare," was refused work in a day nursery because of race. Her protest was upheld by two letters written to the Seattle P.I. by Caucasians.

ABOUT PEOPLE

MARTIN HIRABAYASHI and CHISAKO HIGUCHI were married at Richmond, Indiana, on Sunday, November 22. Chisako is a senior at Earlham College in Richmond. Martin is working in Indianapolis.

FUMI FUKIAGE made a visit recently to Twin Falls and Minidoka. Fumi has worked for FSA at Nyassa, Oregon all summer and fall.

BEATRICE SHIPLEY, Secretary of Friend's Center in Seattle, and JACKIE WIELAND are planning to visit friends at Minidoka early in December.

ROBERT O'BRIEN, Director of Student Placement's Philadelphia office is making a swing around West Coast offices. The real occasion of his visit was the JACL Conference on relocation at Salt Lake City.

SUZU KORIYAMA sends a card from Winston-Salem, North Carolina last week. She and ED OTA from Guilford had been giving talks at Salem College in Winston-Salem --cigerette capitel of the world.

FLORENCE TATEOKA has been transferred to the Permit Department at Minidoka.

KENJI OKUDA, of the Granada Center in Colorado, has been "getting around" --geographically. First he was heard from in Topeka, Kansas, where he attended a Student Christian Conference. Then he went to Denver.

JIMMY OMURA, editor of nisei magazine, Current Life, is now in Denver.

"FAN-FARE"

Dear Mr. Seaton,

Your kindness in sending me the copies of your paper, "Pacific Cable" is much appreciated. I find them very interesting and look forward to each new issue. Please keep up the wonderful work you are doing for us who are limited in our influence here at camp, but who sincerely want to do our bit in bringing about better fellowship with those with whom we will live after this episode in world history is over...

Sincerely,
Teresa Honda

* * * *

Jack Murakami of the Hunt High School at the Minidoka Center, Idaho, writes that the students in the Social Study Class there are deeply interested in the "test cases" regarding evacuation now being tried in various courts. The Pacific Cable will try to keep its readers posted on any new developments in these cases.

* * * * *

"As we look forward toward the day of peace, we recognize that international reconstruction can take place only as all men, regardless of race and class, learn to work together...Our world, made into one as a result of science, can have peace only as people... learn to live as brothers."--From "The Beacon." Y.P.C.E. Publication.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

PACIFIC SOUTHWEST REGION

GLENN E. SMILEY, SECRETARY
1837 NO. BERENDO :: PHONE NO 2-2515
LOS ANGELES 27, CALIFORNIA

File Japanese American Gen

Dear John:

Enclosed find some exeerpts from letters from Tule Lake that I thought you might need. Please return them to me when you are finished with them. If used, deltte parts identifying the girl, such as place of work, etc..

Glenn

Tule Lake Relocation Center
Newell, California
October 19, 1943

Dear ---------

We left Rivers, Arizona on the 3d of October at 5:30 AM and arrived here on the 5th at 10:45 AM. The weather in Tule Lake is slightly colder than in Rivers. We like it here very much. Food is just fine. We have plenty of fresh meat and vegetables and also fruits and fish. I am hoping this will continue.

November 19, 1943

I am the only one working in our family now. My father was a warden (camp police) but now that martial law has been declared, they don't need any wardens, because MPs are running around the camp with jeeps and big armored cars all day and all night. The only ones who are working are the people who work in the Fire Department, hospital, mess hall, rubbish collectors, coal crew, and canteen workers. Since November 5, all offices within our camp, such as Placement, Social Welfare, Housing, have been removed after that riot, as they called it, which you heard over the radio. Hundreds of our people used to work in these offices, but they're all out of jobs. Also, people who used to work in the Administration Building, are out of jobs since the Army has fenced the Administration Building, the hospital, the warehouse and the postoffice. We cannot go to the hospital except for an emergency case.

We have a curfew law inside the camp now. We are not allowed to go out from our barracks between the hours of 7 PM and 6 AM except for going to the shower, restroom and laundry room. I am working all different hours every day, so I can go out at any hour, but every time they come after me for work, there is one armored truck following our truck with three or four military escorts. I feel terrible to have them follow me just to go to work and come back. This is done only during the curfew hours.

People inside the camp are calm and not at all excited as they broadcast over the radio. The main cause of this trouble was started after the 13th of October when the farmers' truck from this camp got into an accident. On account of this accident all the farmers took a rest for about three days, asking for better ways of transportation to the farm and back. About 35 people were hurt at one time. One man lost his life. During the three days they took leave, the WRA sent about 350 workers from the other centers. And to feed these people they hauled out food from our Project with a truck at midnight one night. The first night they got by, but one or two nights later, they came again for another big load. At that time a group of boys got together and caught the truck driver. As you heard over the radio about the gathering we had around the Administration Bldg., we had Mr. Myer from Washington, D. C., visit us and before he left, he promised us that no food would be taken out to feed people outside of this center. But as soon as Mr. Myer left for Washington, the Caucasians here and the Director of this center did not keep Mr. Myer's word and did the same thing as before. This trouble could have been settled if the Director of this center and the rest of his Caucasian staff had done what Mr. Myer told them to.

They said over the radio that everyone had sticks and knives with them when they gathered around the Administration Building, but this was another false statement. We were all there; in fact, everybody was there. There was no such thing as preparation for burning up the Administration Building either! I do not understand why WRA has to make up these false statements. They broadcasted over the radio that the Japanese have the keys to the warehouse and take out everything, but all the keys are taken care of by the Caucasians.

About this person who died in the farm truck accident, the Director of this Center did not allow us to use the Auditorium for a funeral, so it was held at the open lot. I felt very sorry for the family.

Because the farmers took time off for a few days, their work was terminated and they had to return all their working badges. Do you think people will go to work after they are discharged? Now they call all the farmers Saboteurs.

December 13, 1943

We keep ourselves very busy every day making many things with Tule Lake shells. In front of our barrack, fences are being put up. There are three rows of fence, each about 10 to 15 feet apart. I do not know what this fence is for, but it is about 12 feet high. We cannot buy any kind of soap in this camp. I wonder if you can buy us some and send it to us------

December 21, 1943

Holiday or no holiday, every day is the same for us in camp. I'm the only one working yet in our family. Many are still out of work.

About two weeks ago we did not get any fruits in the Mess Halls, but now we get fruits once a day. Before, all the fruits that were supposed to be delivered to the messhalls were going to the canteens. It is the same with dishes and silverware. It is alright with our family because I have a job, but I really feel sorry for the families that have no one working and have small children. Our meals are not so good.

When I go to work on the night shift, I go to night mess about 9:30. At that time the MPs follow us from the station to the Mess Hall and watch us eat and they follow us back to the station again. It really is a lot of trouble.

January 2, 1944

I hope you had a nice New Year's Day. We had a nice holiday, although we did not have any dinner.

January 6, 1944

Lately we have more fruits but we do not have any Japanese sauce. The army will not deliver it to us. So we have been without the sauce for over a month. The army is picking up all the people who are doing good for us and putting them all in the Army camp, on the other side of our boundary fence. They said that if they picked up these people, everything will be all straightened out, but so far, nothing has improved. There are about 200 people who are interned in the Army Camp up to date. They are still picking up more people.

All those who are in the Army Camp are on a hunger strike now because they do not feed them enough. A few who came back from that Army Camp after they were questioned, told us for lunch they only got one cheese sandwich each and nothing else. They said everyone there is getting very thin and very weak. They have been on a hunger strike since New Year's Day.

January 28, 1944

I read in the newspapers that WRA is in full control of this camp now, but the way I see it, it certainly doesn't seem so. In fact, there are more Armored cars with MPs running around than before. I just do not understand what they are doing. No one has gone back to work, either. We still have curfew inside this camp.....I have now worked almost three months without any pay. I'm hoping they will pay us soon.

Return to John =

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File: Japanese folder

revised &
122 Tule Lake Project, Newell, California, October 6, 1942 (copied, Oct.1 .)

1. Where is Newell? Almost on the state line between California and Oregon, within sight of Mt. Shasta, and more than 4,000 feet high. Already the nights are very cold. Between 4 a.m. when it is like winter, and 4 p.m. when it is like summer, there is a complete gamut of the seasons every twenty-four hours. Newell is a new post office, recently established, inside the Proect or Relocation Center, in which 15,000 Japanese evacuees are being housed and organized.

2. How reach it? If sending express packages from the East, route them via Southern Pacific or Northern Pacific to Reno, Nevada, and thence by bus to this address. Write the address upon them, directly here. The railroad tickets are honored on the bus line, and the same must be true for baggage. Send the packages directly to my address here but with the above directions given.

If coming or sending things from the North or South of the Pacific Coast region, the best way is via So. Pac. to Klamath Falls (which is about thirty miles away from here, just over the state line, in Oregon) and thence by the same bus line, which runs from Klamath Falls to Reno. R.r. tickrts and express offices should make the connection throughout, direct to Newell.

3. What things are needed? Books on or by Kagawa, cooperative books, warm clothes, and recreation equipment - old games, both for outdoor and indoors. The winter will be long and cold. There will be months when indoor recreation materials will be needed by all ages. Old balls, bats, boxing gloves, basket ball equipment, and quiet games such as Chinese checkers, - and all the old-fashioned and discarded games your children have laid away because they are not being played now, especially those with English literature and Bible values. Anything and everything in the nature of recreation materials. To go back to books, we need standard biographies, classics of English literature, especially those in simple language, eighth grade and junior high, for the Japanese-American young people, who have had much of their education in Japan, but have returned to America and are now trying to get enough English to graduate from High School. These are called kibei as distinguished from the nisei, who have never been in Japan. The kibei have also been born in America and are American citizens. They have been assigned to me as my special responsibility in the high school, along with a tenth and an eleventh grade English class, and much work in the Japanese community. I want to arouse in these kibei a love of reading English suited to their degree of advancement. On their own initiative, they need to learn to seek out and read for themselves such simple standard works as abound on the book-shelves of many well-brought up American children and are no longer read by these Caucasians. Already I have large classes of these kibeis and more are joining every day. I have need of 50 if I amto give one apiece, and these can be assorted, if books of all the same kind are not on hand There are four thousand children in the school system.

Study groups among the teachers (Caucasian) and pastors (Japanese) will need your old copies of the ECONOMIC FOUNDATION OF WORLD PEACE, SHANGHAI NUMBER, KAGAWA IN THE PHILIPPINES, KAGAWA IN AUSTRALIA, KINGDOM OF GOD MOVEMENT NUMBER, KAGAWA IN LINCOLN'S LAND, CHRISTIAN BROTHERHOOD, and other issues of FRIENDS OF JESUS; DISCOVERY (POEM WITH THE PRAYING HANDS PICTURE ON THE COVER); INTRODUCING KAGAWA, CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO COOPERATIVES, and PEACE BY CHRISTIANITY IN SOCIAL PRACTICE, (the last two partly by HFT and published in Australia). Here these pamphlets will be read marked and inwardly digested, and people will build their new lives on the Christian-cooperative pattern in them... All kinds of cooperative books and pamphlets are needed... Truly beautiful and classic pictures of Jesus and other Bible subjects, suitable for wall decorations, will also be very acceptible, and all kinds of household equipment....

On WORLD COMMUNION Sunday Oct. 4., there was a joint service out of doors by their new cemetery, at the far corner of the "campus", which is the one place from which they can see Mt. Shasta. Administered by Rev. Kawashima, an old saint in his 70s, with whom I worked 29 years ago (when working for the Japanese YWCAs) in Los Angeles, there was a sense of world-wide fellowship with all Christians. HFT.

N.B.Willamettex is a Methodist colleg@ near here...Note Mr.Yada's need of athletic equipment.What can we do about it? Could we later find an Eastern job for him?

It is surprising to see how many of the applications have been accepted. There are only four or five former Willamette students(here.)Henry Tanaka, Ken Kurita, a Hawaiian boy, Ritsuko Inouye, Maye Oye, and myself. Tom Oye is in the army at Camp Crowdêr, Martha Okuda is taking graduate work in Nebraska, and Taul Watanabe is the in the Puyallup Assembly Center and will probably be trANSFERRED to Minidoka W.R.A. in Idaho.

Give my best regards to all the fellows I know might know, especially to Bill McReynolds and Art Franz. See if they will drop a line to me in their spare time. Would like to hear again from you. My interest lies in the outside world and their actions and ideals. We are more or less cooped in [illegible] and hear or read very little of the outside world except by radio and day or two late newspaper.

Sincerely,

Excuse mistakes. (signed) Tats Yada #16010 to Mr.Melvin Holt
Tule Lake W.R.A. CPS Camp #21
August 31,1942. Newell,California Cascade Locks,Oregon

....

Portland,Oregon, September 25,1942.

quote

Dear Friendly CPS Campers:

Perhaps the above letter may serve as an introduction to an apology and an appeal I must now make. Ten days ago, on my way from one CPS Camp to another, and finding it possible,without either delaying my arrival at Cascade Locks, or going far out of my way to do so, - I stopped at Klamath Falls and took a short bus journey to reach a Japanese Evacuation Center at Tule Lake, near the state line between California and Oregon. The above letter is a good description of it Being introduced to Prof.Jacobi,Prof.of Sociology at College of the Pacific,Stockton,Calif., a Methodist institution,-who is now Head of the Welfare Dept at Tule Lake, - by his father, - I had an interesting conversation with him, from which it quickly developed that they are in dire need of teachers for the 4000 children,who started to school just two weeks ago next Monday.Knowing how many CPS Campers want such jobs and cannot get assigned to them,apparently, I decided to apply myself and see if I could get one.As a result,I am appointed and am already overdue to go there.I shall be there Monday morning the 28th,after filling engagements in Portland churches tomorrow, no,Sunday. Thus I hope(1)to meet an immediate need;(2)to cut red tape and secure openings for C.O.s,not only in this camp but in others that are being started farther East.A strong demand from school authorities within the camp seems to move the authorities of the WRA,the agency which is now handling the Japanese,and thus it may be possible to secure the assignments from camp to camp;(3)to fulfill a need I myself h ve felt since graduating from college in 1911,to teach children .And all-day program is one of my desires and I had better get about learning how to carry it before I am too old.Japanese children present no discipline problem.They want to learn. Moreover,we have much in common.And the schools are sympathetic to teaching them coops,and I think even the whole CPC movement.I have been assigned to junior high school where such materials can be created for school use,at a level that will also be suitable for older folk.Close collaboration has been established with the Ed.Director of Cascade Locks Camp,thru whom I shall be able to work to relay [illegible] desire, not to give up,but to post the rest of the material to other CPS Camps. I desire,not to give up,but to postpone other visits to CPS Camps(having now visited seven) until after meeting this urgent need with the Japanese.Thru establishing such a relation ship,and continuing to collaborate with you on cooperative studies,we can do many things of value.

122 Tule Lake Project, Newell, Cal.
October 6, 1942. (Revised & copied Oct.10)

Dear Friend:

Thank you for your kind letter of sympathy about the passing to Heaven of our saintly father, Henry Topping. So many kind expressions have come, that I have risen at three in the morning in the effort to respond to them before the day'sw work at my new job, teaching High School and especially the handicapped students who have studied in Japana and are now back in this country, citizens, born here, but retarded in English. They are anxious to get through high school before thex age limit of 21 debars them.

In spite of the deep grief, many things make us grateful,- for Father was not in a prison camp, as was mistakenly reported. He was in our own home, my home, and had not lacked for food or any simple comfort. We had just received a fairly full account from Rev.Dr.Stirewalt, who called on Father and Mother just before taking the boat to return on the Gripsholm.

Mother has cabled that she will remain in Japan. I am hoping to persuade her, by another cable, to return to me here. This sort of a situation would be the one thing sufficiently appealing to attract her to return to this country- 15,000 Japanese evacuees, in need of aid and comfort, and among them many old friends from various parts of California, as well as Oregon, and from as far north as Seattle. Two Japanese Baptist churches, from Sacramento and from Seattle, have apparently come in a body, and two Christian workers with them: From Sacramento, Rev.Mr.Igarashi, their pastor; and from Seattle, Mrs.Kamikawa, their woman workerx, who seems to have worked a great deal with Miss Rumsey in evangelism.

Among many things for which to be thankful, is the fact that the administration here is such a good one. The Director of Internal Security, Dr. Jacobi, is a Sociology professor from the College of the Pacific(Methodist)at Stockton. The Supt of Schools is a former missionary to Africa, the person for coordina_ytions between the administration and the Japanese colonists is known to some coop.friends on the Coast. The colonists are fairly well-housed and well-fed, and the women are experiencing an unprecedented opportunity for study. Leisure is theirs for the first time in many of their lives, and they are making the most of it, to attend the very good adult education classes in English, to deepen their spiritual lives, aswell as to knit themselves warm clothes for the winter that will so soon be upon us. (This is not So.California, but on the very edge of Oregon, and more than 4,000 ft.high.)

Sunday Dr.F.H.Smithxx, Methodist Supt., came to speak after the impressive communion service, in which all the pastors shared. Yesterday the pastors asked me to address them, after speaking at the large women's meeting(in Japanese) on Sunday afternoon and to the young adults'' group Sunday evening. Also at the High School yesterday morning at a committee meeting of which I am chairman, we discussed the project, and with the music teacher at noon - we are going to put on Kagawa's BEHOLD THE MAN, his great Christ novel, as a drama project for next Easter, out-of-doors at the same natural amphitheatre at which we had our Sunday services. Thus we hope to restore to circulation in English, the reeducation-of-militarists, and redemption-of-militarists,- Labor,- devotional,- dramatic,- and other valuable passages, left out of the first English edition. I have official permission from Harpers to do this. As the pastors also asked me to teach a coop.study group in which they will be the students, and will be preparing to lead other such groups, we are hoping to create a good many "small Kagawas", ready to be resource-people for coop.study groups in the Middle West churches, when the evacuees are re-located there. There is a great challenge to you, to create such groups, in which the cooperative, Christian messages are applied to prevent racial discrimination, against these innocent victims of our war system, already robbed by it of half a billion dollars as well as of the homes they love, the value of which cannot be computed in economic terms to them. Get your groups ready to provide jobs and sponsors for these Japanese-Americans, for whom the order has just been issued, that they may go where "community acceptance" is assured. Y'rs as ever, Helen F.Topping.

(copy)

I was very much impressed to receive a letter from you. I cannot recall your physical features but your name clings in my mind since college days.When receiving letters in a place of this sort, it makes you more happy, or should I say more happier than ever before, since we can still rely upon friends who were frien before. I can say from my experiences before and especially in the last three months of my colony life, that home, nature,and luxury are desired; but above all, friends who actually hold to their ideals, are more than wanted. Since our arrival in camp, we have had several visitors from Salem. Dr.Laughlin and his daughter dropped in on their way from S.California.Prof.Dan of OSC was also our visitor.Mrs. Laura B.Miles and her sister from Salem were our visitors last week.Also we have ha several visitors from our locality outside of Salem. People envy us for our friends and the consideration which these visiting people bestow upon us.

We arrived here the 2nd of June so this is nearly three months.Since the day I arrived, I have been working in the recreational department and recently have been promoted to the position as director of athletics. It is a huge task since there are close to 15,300 and with six others I must plan the athletic activities for the colony. There are other directors, such as youth activity, adult activity,forensics,nursery,etc. We have not been progressing too fast in our department,due to the lack of facilities,fund and equipment. The government seems to hold the strings and as we are more or less prisoners of war, we are not granted the needs which we desire. Without the athletic equipment which we sorely need, I have been up a tree, but have arranged softball and baseball leagues, which have now close to 3,000 participants. Volley ball and soccer are planned as soon as the softball season is over.During the winter season we are also up a tree.We have no gymnazium and the only available halls we may havd access to are the small recreational halls in each block,and many of these are used for shops as woodworking,handicraft,and sewing classes.As far as I can see,there seems to be very little future in the recreation field,and many call it a three ring circus. We actually have been running in circles securing equipment.Today I went to secure another job in th school system which had been offered to me before but it seems that my supervisor in recreation will not accept my termination.There are very ~~very~~ teachers available out side of the colony and all those eligible to teach with teaching requirements have been asked to aid in the schools in the colony.

The camp here is about 2 miles long and 1½ mile wide.The buildings are very similar to the old CCC camps.Each barrack contains four families,and all washroom facilities are outside.A much better situation than I had expected.The camp is located about 10 or 12 miles south of Tule Lake town and about 2 miles south of the Stronghold Service station.We have taken hikes directly east of the camp and from the hills can see Mt.Shasta and the irrigation lake.From the camp we are unable to see Mt.Shasta on account of the high cliff on the other side of the highway.We,at first,got our mail thru Tule Lake but now we have a separate post office here in camp called Newell.

The majority of the people here come from the central part of California with only about one-third from the Northwest.The Southern people are much different than we are in manners and also very unreasonable.Of course,not all of them are of this type,as I have made some very nice friends. We have had a number of personal fights in camp between Californians,and the grudge is always carried on till the next chance.The awful thing, they run about in gangs. We are all workers and only the incapable and mothers are not employed.We must care for our community affairs with our own management, so we have now a city council, and later when we are all settled quietly,the Caucasian administrative officers will leave and the government will be organized by the people itself.With many of the other War Relocation Authority camps, 4 or 5 in number, many of the white personnell are leaving to organize new camps.The military police barracks are located just outside of the colony.

Last week we were notified that it was possible to leave the camp for employment outside the western defense command and it may be that I may leave,if I can secure employment. Many of the people are leaving here to work in the sugar beets in E. Oregon,Utah and Montana.Close to 1,500 young people have made application to enter colleges in the Middlewest.

MEMO FROM JOHN NEVIN SAYRE ON VISITS TO THREE JAPANESE-AMERICAN RELOCATION CENTERS

TULE LAKE, NEWELL, CAL. Rev. Shigeo Tanabe, 2816-C, Methodist minister and pacifist, arranged a morning meeting of about twenty pastors to whom I spoke. He is not a member of the F.O.R. but is a subscriber to FELLOWSHIP. He certainly is in touch with F.O.R. people in the Center and with Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Lambie at Klamath Falls, Ore. Tanabe showed me all over the Center and I had a brief visit with his wife in their home. Frank Hijikata, 2907-A. Member of F.O.R. group. Mrs. Hirabayashi, mother of Gordon. Her husband and four children are in Center. Had a good visit with her in her home. Director of the Tule Lake Project, E. L. Shirrell. Mr. Tanabe and I had a half hour's talk with him. Was impressed by his personality and liberal views. Also talked to the Director of Education, whose name I have forgotten. He seemed to be a liberal fellow too. Miss Jean Mackay, teaches in one of the schools. Had only a few moments to talk with her but believe she is fine person. Fukumi family, 5601-A. Did not meet them, but Mrs. King, of Seattle, gave me the following notes about them: "Lived on farm in valley south of Seattle, near O'Brien. Father was taken to Detention Station in Seattle for weeks, then to the prison camp in Montana. Now is at similar camp in Lordsburg, N. M. Mother a very fine woman. A midwife graduate in Japan; has done fine service in her home community here in the valley. Three daughters; one son -- Mary, about 22; a typist. Is very depressed and worried. Says very little. Is now at work in one of the administration buildings. Marguerite, 20, a junior at the University of Washington. Did not complete last quarter. Is a lover of beauty in nature. At times cynical, again philosophical. Is quite outspoken to me about conditions and is not a bit hopeful of the future. Of her father she says, 'They've done a terrible thing to my Dad. He was always a good and honest man. Would never harm anyone nor anything. Why have they done this?' Frank, a high school graduate, perhaps 19. Frank took over all the hard work of planting and stringing of peas, etc. He worked ten to fifteen hours each day, for he understood it was what was expected of the family for the good of the country. He is very discouraged for (up to July 25) there has been no financial return to the family for all the work. Girls and mother had helped also. The mother has not given her consent to Frank going to work in the beet fields. Being the only male member with them she feels he should stay for the present. Martha, 13, has a very sweet voice. Has become somewhat careless in her actions." Mrs. King also gave me a note on the Rev. Kitigawa, former Episcopal minister in Kent and Seattle, but I did not meet him. Probably good contact man because he knows both Tanabe and Hijikata is Waichi Oyanagi, 5903-A, college of Puget Sound student. Did not meet him.

CENTRAL UTAH PROJECT AT TOPAZ, UTAH. Reached via Delta, Utah, on Union Pacific main line between Los Angeles and Salt Lake City. Iwao Kawakami, secretary F.O.R. group. He and Ruth Mitchell arranged evening meeting with about twenty present (not all F.O.R.) He requested visitor's pass for me to get into Center. Paul S. Fujii was mentioned at the meeting as chairman of the F.O.R. group, but he told me afterwards that he was taken by surprise at the announcement. Apparently he is an able fellow and I hope will be the chairman all right but someone must have jumped the gun on him a little. After my talk and discussion at this meeting we had an after-meeting for prayer and a few words just with those who belonged to the F.O.R. As I remember, there might have been a dozen.

Block 16, Barrack 1, apt 4

The Director of the Project is Charles Ernst. I talked to him and Mrs. Ernst at dinner before the F.O.R. meeting and they accepted Ruth Mitchell's invitation to come to the meeting. I did not have a chance to talk to Mr. Ernst afterwards. He does not say very much but, so far as I could size him up at dinner, he appeared to be an excellent person, with a good background of training as a social worker in Boston under Robert Woods, whom I remembered from my seminary days. Mr. and Mrs. Lorne Bell. He is director of community activities at the Project. Has had experience in Christian Student Movement as a worker in Southern California. F.O.R. members. I spent night in their home and had long talk. They impressed me as fine and understanding people. Ruth Mitchell, F.O.R. Teaches school. Was at Harlem Ashram last summer. Met me at station at Delta and drove me back again to Delta next morning. ______________, a detached service C.O. came to our meeting. Mrs. Stanley gave me the following names at Topaz, but I did not meet them.

L. Hunter

Pastors
Rev. and Mrs. M. Nishimura (Isei) -- Free Methodist Church of Berkeley, 12-12-E.
[illegible]
Mr. and Mrs. T. R. [illegible] Matsuoka (Issei). Mrs. Matsuoka and her sister went to Michi Kawai's school in Tokyo. He was in charge of the Layman's Church of Berkeley.

Prominent young people in the California Fellowship (Christian, all Nisei)
Hiromoto Katayama, a very bright youth who was in charge of the Sunday schools in Tanforan. Thoroughly loyal and wanting to cooperate in every way to show his loyalty.
Yoshi and Kay Uchida. Two wonderful girls in charge of pre-nursery children at Tanforan. Yoshi hopes to get out to go to college some place. Her father was in Mitsui Company and interned in Montana for a while, but released and is with them. Also their mother. A wonderful family.
Mr. and Mrs. Henry Takahashi and sisters, Mary, Grace, etc. All prominent Christian young people. Their father and mother had eleven children and educated them all. One, Millie, a professor at University of California, now in charge of all agricultural work at Poston, Arizona, where the mother and father may have gone from Delta already. One sister will be in charge of the library at Delta as she was at Tanforan. Anyone of the Takahashi family is very worth while. Henry is, I imagine, quite indespensible to the Center.

Iseis in Free Methodist Church of Berkeley, real Christians.
Mr. and Mrs. Tsuchida. He was the cleaner around the corner from us. His son, an Isei, had just opened his optometry office when the evacuation came.
Mr. and Mrs. Eijima and their three Isei children. He (the father) was the butler for Mrs. Hochenbeamer, one of our members, 40 years, I think. Their son, Warren Harding Eijima, has applied for college work outside. Mary, the oldest daughter, was in Converse's class at High school, and there is a little girl of 8, Hannah, by name.

Two families of whom Mrs. Hunter is very fond and got very close to because of their little children at the time of evacuation are:
Mr. and Mrs. George John Ichiyasu and Joanne, 3, and Dianne, 8 months.

Mr. and Mrs. S. W. Yamashita and Kimiko Yamashita, one year two months old.

A good friend, not a church member, of Mrs Hunter's - Marguerite Nose and brother Akira. Mr. and Mrs. Nose were, of course, born in Japan and are real old Japanese people. I think they came from a scholarly family. Marguerite and Akira are fine Nisei young people. Located at Block 42, building 12, apartment D. Marguerite has made a wonderful adjustment to her new life in the Center but went through a very difficult time. May Murakami is a wonderful cultured Christian girl. She too had a difficult time in adjustment, but, being a real Christian, never gave in as Marguerite Nose did at first.

I(J.N.S.) also met Miss Mayme Iijima, a friend of Mrs. Hunter's. Location @ 9-7-B. Mrs. Hunter thinks her a lovely girl and wants to see her in college.

Granada Relocation Project
AMACHE, COLO. (Near Granada and Lamar, on Santa Fe R.R.) Kenji Okuda, 7G-7-D, Amache. Formerly of Seattle. Heads F.O.R. group there. Steered me around all day. Masao Satow, 8K-9-E. Formerly with Japanese branch of Y.M.C.A. in Los Angeles. Andrew Noda, 8G-9-B. Formerly of Livingston, Cal. Lafayette Noda, his brother, same address as above, had just come from Hart Mountain. Rev. Harry Hashimoto. A Protestant minister. I am not sure whether or not he belongs to F.O.R.

F.O.R. MEMBERS ON CAUCASIAN STAFF AT GRANADA CENTER. Mr. and Mrs. Herbert K Walther. Formerly of Denver. Mr. Walther is principal of the high school. Mr. and Mrs. Enoch Dumas. Formerly of Greeley, Colo. Mr. Dumas is principal of elementary school. Mr. and Mrs. Mark Luca. From San Francisco. Were disciples of Alfred Fisk there. Both teach in elementary school. Ruth Smith. Teacher. Robert C. L. George, Amache Branch, Lamar, Colo. Not an F.O.R. member. A very intelligent teacher whom I observdd trying to help a very scared Japanese girl frame words. I liked George very much and suggested his joining F.O.R.

The Director of this Center is James G. Lindley whom I did not meet. I talked with W. Ray Johnson, director of community activities but wasnot too much impressed by him.

Acknowledged 12/15/43

TUMULT AND SHOUTING OVER TULE LAKE

The recent flurry at Tule Lake has been generally interpreted in the press as further proof of the natural depravity of the Japanese. Rather, it should be taken as further evidence of our own stupidity. ~~Th~~ The terms "loyal" and "disloyal" have little meaning to the public as distinguishing between Relocation and Segregation Centers, and little meaning as applied to the evacuees at Tule Lake as a whole. There is a minority group there openly and actively loyal to the Japanese Empire. Probably this group has been the most active trouble-maker during the recent demonstrations. The majority of segregants are there for reasons which have little to do with "loyalty" to any government. Over one-third are children whose parents have elected to go to or remain in the segregation center. Many of the parents are old, tired, discouraged, who want to go "home". Among the young adults, some are there for family reasons; others are the "stubborn 'no' boys" who said "no" on their questionnaires and have stuck to it,- young people not particularly pro-Japanese, but discouraged and embittered by the past year's experience.

The Tule Lake people have been thrice-shuffled, and in the process many controls that operate unnoticed in anormal community have been lost The conservative mass is unorganized, often discouraged and apathetic. In such a situation one may expect the more explosive element to assume control. This happened. Since the explosion (more a fizzle than a bang) most of the explosive ones have been removed, and effort is being made ~~t~~ by the W.R.A. to establish patterns for responsible community control.

Newspaper accounts have been far from accurate. Dillon Meyer's statement of what occurred Monday, Nov. 1, shows that the incident was no "riot" as reported, but a mass meeting instigated by a few rebels ~~ben~~ bent on having a "show-down". Letters from friends in the Center bear this out. Several W.R.A. employees, always jittery, became hysterical ~~o~~ on this occasion. It is unfortunate that it was these excited ones who were quoted by the press. As I know them, they are ~~xx~~ the least ~~inform~~ informed, the farthest removed from any real understanding of the situation of any on the staff.

As examples of rumors built up by layers of misunderstanding around a grain of truth:

Hundreds of pigs were slaughtered and wasted because evacuees were too lazy to prepare them! (Pigs died of cholera)

Love cult and rituals of F.O.R. at Tule Lake! Pacifists incite evacuees to violence! (There is an F.O.R. group on the project).

The most hopeful and forward-looking note in a sour orchestration comes from Washington:

The President recently stated: "We shall restore to the loual evacuees the right to return to the evacuated areas as soon as the ~~mi~~ military situation will make such restoration feasbile".

Attorney General Biddle in an Armistice Day address declared: The relocation centers were not designed as places of internment but as a refuge.------- The Relocation Authority has no power to intern American citizens; and constitutionally it is hard to believe that any such authority could be granted to the government".

The War Department has consistently expressed itself as unwilling to assume control of any of the Centers, including Tule Lake; it is emphatic that it does not intend to regard these people as prisoners of war.

The State Department has warned that extreme measures against the evacuees will react against our people interned in the Orient.

On the West Coast the only bold and vigorous voice heard is that of the opposition. "Liberal" groups and individuals give tentative and intermittent yips, but yips do not carry in a thunder storm.

I have observed that in every community there are a number of people working actively and purposefully against the relocation of the Japanese and their return to California. These people are variously activated. Politically, there is strong pressure to discredit the W.R.A. and thru it the Administration. Economic interests motivate Grange and Associated Farmers. Racism,- desire to "keep America white" - drives many others There is an honesty in many of these people, especially the racists, which we must respect: At the point at which they *believe* they *act*, and this gives them great power.

I can name few people working in favor of racial justice whose zeal and energy can be compared with these single-minded ones working against it. With most of us "liberals" it is a genial part-time interest to be fitted into an already crowded schedule. We find ourselves in the position where *what we profess* bears little relation to what we are *prepared to do,* and we are paralyzed, impotent.

The Civil Liberties Union in *Open Forum* of Dec. 4 warns: "Let everyone who does not want a tidal-wave of race prejudice released bestir himself at once and do what he can to stem the tide that is rolling dangerously at this moment"

Jan McKay

12-5-43

Dear John:

A note I wrote out for Coleville. Not much new in it, but I send it on.

Jan

March 30, 1944

Report on Visit to Tule Lake

I recently visited Tule Lake for four days, staying at the "apartment" of one of the teachers (housing accommodations are so crowded that it is literally impossible for any visitor to stay overnight in the camp unless he stays with one of the staff persons.) The general atmosphere is one of confusion and tension - tension between various members of the Caucasion staff, suspicion and antagonism between the army and the WRA staff, and fear and suspicion between the colonists and Caucasions - the army refers to the staff as "Jap-lovers and conchies". It is impossible to get accurate information regarding a good many phases of the program and the answer which one frequently encounters is, "Mr. So-and-so in charge of that department is quite new here, and is just getting his program under way." The turnover in staff personnel has been very high.

The number of colonists at Tule Lake is now 17,000, of whom 70% are American citizens. There are no accurate figures as to the number of children, but estimates indicate that at least 50% of the colony are under 18. The younger children of course have no choice but to be with their parents. When they are 16 years old, they are required to make the fearful decision as to whether they will leave their parents, so that they can stay in this country, or remain with their parents on the assumption that they will return to Japan. While most of the adult colonists are at Tule Lake because they have indicated their desire to return to Japan, 4,500 of the 17,000 are persons who were there before the segregation took place and simply did not want to move again even though it meant staying behind barbed wire for the duration. These 4,500 have never said they want to return to Japan. There are a few of this group that are now trying to get out - there were 40 applications for "leave clearance" pending when I was there.

Physically the camp is a dreary and forbidding place. It is a barbed wire enclosure within a barbed wire enclosure, and then as one might expect, still another "stockade" enclosed in barbed wire for special offenders. Within the approximate square mile behind the second barbed wire where about 17,000 persons live day in and day out, there is not so much as one green blade of grass or a single green tree or shrub. Just rows on rows of ugly barracks on mud and sand - usually frozen at this time of year. There is, of course, a military guard (in fact, two or three units of them) between the outside barbed wire and the place where the Caucasion staff lives and has its offices. And then another military guard between this section of the camp and the inside enclosure where the colonists live.

I inquired as to the legal status of American citizens who are being held in the stockade, because no official charges have been made against any of them. The staff person to whom I was speaking smiled and replied, "We don't have to worry about the legal status of citizens within the stockade. It is the aliens that are causing us trouble." He went on to explain that the Spanish government, acting for the Japanese government, is interferring on behalf of the aliens and is insisting that on the basis of accepted international rules the charges on which aliens are held must be announced, and if no specific charges can be made the aliens must be freed. And my informant went on to say that this pressure has been so effective that it had been necessary for them to release a considerable number of these aliens. (By "release" of course he meant they were permitted to go outside the stockade and into the larger barbed wire enclosure.) Shortly after segregation had been completed there were about 500 persons in the stockade, and now there are only something like 150. I think not all of this reduction can be accounted for by aliens who had been released, for some of the citizens who had been at Leupp and were placed in the stockade are now being sent back to some of the other detention centers, and it is probable that Leupp will be reopened.

It was pointed out to me that the legal question of detention of citizens is the same whether they are in a stockade or whether they are in the other kind of barbed wire enclosure. All attempts to get the courts to pass on the question of detention have so far been evaded on the grounds that the plaintiff had recourse to administrative methods of release. That is, the regular WRA camps are theoretically only temporary centers through which the colonists move out into other sections of the country. But the question of detention at Tule Lake is legally another matter, because Tule Lake is set up as a permanent center of detention and there is no administrative procedure possible by which colonists can get out. It is reported that a test case which will raise the legal issues involved in connection with detention there is probably going to be started soon. A Kibei living in one of the other centers has applied for clearance and has been turned down by the appeal board and has been ordered to Tule Lake. This man has given notice that he is going to bring legal action.

Since last summer there has been no school for any of the children until about the first of February. There are now two kinds of schools operating, English and Japanese, the Japanese being run completely by the colonists and not by the government. Many of the children attend both Japanese and English schools. 95% of the children of highschool age are attending the English highschool, but only 60% of the grammar school age children are attending English grammar school. One of the teachers who has been there a long time said she believed the standard of work was not more than 50% of what it was a year ago. There is a serious shortage of teachers, 45 additional ones being needed immediately. The only real contact between the colonists and the Caucasion staff is through the schools, and until school opened about six weeks ago there was no communication whatever between the staff personnel and the Japanese community.

This separation has been very hard to bear for some of the staff. One of the teachers, in working with questionnaires and registration forms had found the name of a young man who had written on his questionnaire, "I cannot swear allegience to any government based on violence." This teacher had no way of contacting the young man at all and also knew from experience that it was dangerous to write to him. As a matter of fact, she had written three letters to the Christian minister and his wife and had sent them a gift at Christmas time and had received no reply from any of her communications. Her explanation was that there is so much fear inside of the colony - fear of some of their own leaders and of outside Caucasions generally - that it is extremely difficult to make friendly contacts. I fortunately had an opportunity to meet this young man and his wife, and found them extremely likeable people. He had been an actor in Hollywood for four years, and commented to me that no artist could endorse the kind of policies that governments are pursuing these days. He and his delightful wife have asked to be expatriated. It is certain the Japanese government will not accept him either, so the future is very uncertain for them. The unanimous opinion of staff persons is that a very large percentage of these people will not be accepted by the Japanese government.

There can be no question that there is high degree of community disintegration and demoralization generally among the colonists. Juvenile delinquency has risen alarmingly, and terroristic gangs are certainly not yet within anybody's control. As an example of what this means, a highschool teacher told me that he had recently reorganized a couple of young peoples fellowship groups for Christian religious services on Sunday evenings. These meetings are being held at the school. (That is the only place that Caucasion teachers are allowed to go.) But this teacher said that it was a serious responsibility urging highschool girls to come to the meetings because very definitely it was not safe for them to be walking around in the camp after dark. A number of staff reports which I saw emphasized the "shock of the evacuation and the consequent social and psychic disorganization of Issei and Nisei alike", as well as the devastating effects of "months of life in centers as wards of the government in a condition which has halted the assimilation process and stunted initiative." Community reorganization by the Issei is beginning to take the place of the disorganization which came at the time of the evacuation.

One of the major mistakes in policy which is now admitted by everyone with whom I talked was the requirement that registration forms be filled out, particularly with the wording which they contained. One staff community analyist made this comment, "Since the time of the evacuation residents have had to fill in a seemingly countless number of questionnaires and forms. Another one seems like another blow in an endless third degree interrogation." He further commented that the amount of duplication that has been required is unreasonable. The confusion which resulted because of the fact that the regular registration forms were given out at the same time that induction into the army was taking place, only added to the sense of insecurity which overwhelms the people.

The word "disloyal" which is so frequently used by the press to describe the type of persons who are at Tule Lake is quite inaccurate, because disloyal connotes subversiveness and treachery. These persons who have indicated their desire to go back to Japan are in the same class as naturalized citizens of this country in relation to their native lands. When I stated in a meeting in Oregon that there were now three Christian ministers among the Japanese colonists (until the recent group came in from Manzanar there has been only one), a woman in the audience remarked, "How does it happen that there are Christian ministers in a place like that?" And I replied that I thought we must accept the idea that some good people want to return to Japan!

John Thomas

Unless the two additional Christian ministers that came in from Manzanar have increased the program of Christian activities, there is just one Christian service in Japanese on Sunday and one Christian service in English by an outside minister, in addition to a few Sunday school classes taught by Nisei. There seem to be no accurate figures on the number of Christians, but the estimate is about 200. Obviously this figure does not include children. The minister and his wife (Mr. and Mrs. McNaughton) who come in from the outside represent some evangelical society in Oakland, California, and present a very emotional kind of religion. Much of their emphasis is on the second coming of Christ. Some of the Caucasion teachers are deeply concerned about this situation and feel very strongly that there should be a different kind of Christian service given to the young people especially. A representative of the Baptist Home Mission work was at Tule Lake the day I visited Mr. Hashimoto (the Christian minister there), but this Baptist representative seemed to be completely in accord with Mr. McNaughton's views.

The rule regarding military escort with visitors inside the colony had been relaxed just a few days before I arrived, and so I went inside with a staff person, and of course with a permit from the army guards. I was able to go to the school with no escort because the guards thought I was one of the teachers, and I had the opportunity of speaking to five classes (if I had had time I could have spoken to any number more because the teachers are eager for outside help). I talked on various phases of citizenship and legislative problems. Some of the students remembered my connection with the Hirabayashi case and this gave me entree. But the psychological chasm between them and me (any Caucasion) was very much more noticeable than it has been on previous visits to W.R.A. camps.

Since my visit a national Y.W.C.A. staff person has been there helping to organize Girl Reserve groups. This kind of community activity and organization is badly needed.

I visited Tule Lake not officially as an F.O.R. representative, but just as an individual citizen. I made arrangements through the National W.R.A. office because I thought it would facilitate matters. Although theoretically any citizen can visit upon proper application, visitors are very scarce.

Rundquist

Dr. George Rundquist was in Seattle while I was away. On the basis of reports I learned that he told all groups to whom he spoke of his judgment that the F.O.R. ought not to take part in the work with the Japanese. Personally I think it is a serious mistake for him to discuss this particular matter with outside groups. My own feeling is - based on two specific incidents - that the A.F.S.C. is just as "subversive" as is the F.O.R. in the minds of certain administrators. Any "conchie" group is bad after a certain kind of publicity - a la Ray Richards - has done its work. But I can't see how Dr. Rundquist thinks he is helping the situation by discussing this angle of it with outside groups. For instance, one of the W.R.A. officials here who knew nothing of the F.O.R. as an organization was made conscious of it by Dr. Rundquist's remarks, and believes that Dr. Rundquist seriously opposes the F.O.R.

After visiting Tule Lake I spent about ten days in Oregon speaking to a good many different kinds of groups on a number of different subjects. One of the most interesting speaking engagements was to nearly 100 young men in one of the classes of the Special Army Training Unit which is on the campus of Oregon State College at Corvallis. I spoke to this group on "Is an International Police Force Practical?" My thesis, of course, was that an "international police force" is just a polite way of talking about an international army and that it will not work. I quoted from Coercion of States in Federal Unions among other things. Lael Westberg, the Lutheran minister there who made arrangements for me, said that he told the professor of the class that I was an F.O.R. representative, but of course I was not introduced as such to the class. In making the arrangements the professor commented "I've heard of her before and I'll take a chance on what she has to say!" The incongruity of an F.O.R. secretary being invited to speak to a Special Army Training Unit struck me as very funny and perhaps significant. "Total war" in this country certainly is not entirely total and I doubt whether it ever can be.

Mary Farquharson

APR 10 1944

COMPOSITION WRITTEN BY A HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT AT ?Tulelake Center.

I am a Japanese and why I am, I cannot explain. Even tho I am a Japanese, I was born in this country and had three-quarters of my education in this country, for which I am grateful. I once had a great ambition to be somebody in this country in which I was born, but that, my goal of ambition, will never come true as long as I live. I believe in Democracy, the constitution of this country, America. I, with my br brown skin, wasa true American just as much as the fellow with a white skin next to me. But "Evacuation" changed all ~~that~~ in which I believed; "Freedom and justice for which we stand". I am a citizen, ,y brothers and my sisters are citizens. My father and mother came to this country about 35 or 40 years ago. "No", they are not citizens. "Why?" Because they didn't have the time. They were building something forus, their children. For 30 years they worked and worked to send us to school and build a farm for us,- to have the farm taken away in just one week!

We were put into a camp, citizen or not. The reason,- because I have a brown skin. And the things I believedin,- Democracy and the ~~Constsitut~~Constitution left me right then. And now to have the dammed fence around us and to have soldiers watch us with guns and t anks! We, the citizens of this country, United States of America are without freedom, justice and liberty. "Why?" Because I have a brown skin which I cannot wash away.

I am a repatriate, or in other words I am called "Disloyal". I wish to go to Japan, where my father and mother were born, to a country in which my skin cannot differ from that of the fellow next to me. I may be making a big mistake in goingto a country which I have never visited; but I think I'll receive more justi ce over there than I have received here.

What made me decide to go to Japan? I have no future here. My father was about my age when he started building our future for us, 60 years old when he passed away at Heart Mountain Center. It took him forty years to build that for us. I could not do that for my children, because they also wouldhave to go through the same thing I have gone through. So, that's why I am "disloyal", a repatriate to Japan; and I don't think anybody in the world would blame me for wanting to go to Japan.

APR 18 1944

ONE THOUSANDTH OF THE NATION

An address by Dillon S. Myer, Director of the War Relocation Authority, to be presented March 23, 1944 before a joint meeting of civic organizations in Salt Lake City.

In a nation composed of people who have sprung from all the other lands of the earth, it would be rather surprising if the great bulk of the population had a well founded understanding of any of the minorities who make up the group as a whole. But I doubt if any minority group is more widely misunderstood these days than the people of Japanese descent who make up about one-tenth of one per cent of the nation's population. One in a thousand. This one person, with his Japanese face, his yellow skin, his characteristic name, looks different from the other 999. Because he is different outwardly, many are willing to believe he must be different inwardly, in his beliefs and loyalties.

Over the past two years the greater portion of this minority group have been treated in such a way that they are made to appear even more different from the majority of Americans than they appeared before the outbreak of war. Some 115,000 of them were required to move from their homes in the Pacific Coast states, something no other group was asked to do. Since then, most of them have lived in segregated communities, called relocation centers, a situation which has further heightened the differences. For two years, emphasis has been placed on the ways in which the people of Japanese descent are different rather than on the many ways in which they are like the rest of the people of America. The result has been a vicious circle; the evacuated people are outside regular communities because they are different; and because they are different it is difficult to get them re-established in normal communities. The relations between the one---and the other 999---constitute a problem worthy of attention by the entire nation. It is the major concern of the War Relocation Authority, and one of the newly acquired problems of the Department of the Interior.

The major event which caused relocation centers to be established was a conference which took place here in Salt Lake City, almost two years ago, when WRA was only about three weeks old, and when orderly evacuation from the West Coast was only one week old. The background of that conference is highly significant. During March, 1942, the people of Japanese descent, most of them American citizens, some of them aliens, were making their plans to move from their West Coast homes. Some of them actually did move. Several hundred came into the inter-mountain area, including Utah, with Salt Lake City attracting large numbers of the so-called voluntary evacuees. The others stayed where they were, principally because they had no place to go. The Commanding General of the Western Defense Command announced about the end of March that no further movement on a voluntary basis would be permitted; the evacuation henceforth was to be carried out in systematic fashion under governmental orders.

The western states seemed to offer the greatest possibilities for caring for the people to be evacuated, principally because there was more available land, much of it under public ownership. There was also a demand for labor in this area, which the evacuated people might help to meet. One of the ideas given most serious consideration was to establish the people in the many CCC camps which recently had been abandoned; permit them to live in the camps and work on farms and ranches nearby, or engage in public works in the forests and parks where the camps were located. To consider this suggestion and other possibilities, the War Relocation Authority and the Western Defense Command asked the governors and attorneys general of the ten western states to meet here in Salt Lake City the first week of April, 1942. The attitude of the state officials was unmistakable. They did not want the evacuated people in their states at all, if that could be avoided. If it could not be avoided, then they would not agree to be responsible for law and order unless the people were put in colonies under military guard. Since the Army could not provide enough manpower to guard a large number of small colonies, plans were made for establishing communities that would accomodate at least 5,000 persons. So the CCC camp idea was discarded; new and larger camps---small cities in themselves---had to be established. Gradually ten relocation centers came into being, built under Army supervision but operated by the War Relocation Authority. One of them was established in the State of Utah, about 150 miles southwest of Salt Lake City, near the town of Delta. Another is in Idaho near Twin Falls; two were established in California, two others in Arizona, two more in Arkansas; one in Colorado and one in Wyoming.

The War Relocation Authority has been operating these ten centers since early 1942. Beyond the maintenance of the evacuated people in the centers, we have been engaged in three other major tasks; providing assistance to the evacuees in handling their property problems on the West Coast; segregating the evacuee population on the basis of national sympathies and loyalties; and fourth---and most important---carrying on a program of relocation which we hope ultimately will move most of the evacuated people outside the centers and place them in normal communities.

Let me discuss each of these four major jobs briefly.

In considering the manner in which the relocation centers are operated, it is important to keep clearly in mind the status of the evacuees. They are not living in the relocation centers as punishment for any wrong-doing, or because they are suspected of being dangerous; they are not prisoners of war; they are not internees. They are a dislocated group of people removed from their homes and their means of livelihood as a wartime emergency measure. As such they are entitled to treatment according to American standards of decency. Ever since the summer of 1942, when most of the centers were still in the early stages of construction, all sorts of unfounded rumors and inaccurate stories have been circulated about the WRA management policies. Some of these stories have been obviously fantastic--like the one circulated in Idaho nearly two years ago that all evacuees lived in snug little bungalows with pink tile bathrooms. And the one that all evacuees are provided by the Government with five gallons of whiskey. Unfortunately, most of the stories have not been so plainly ridiculous. Although many were equally untrue, they have generally carried more of an appearance of plausibility and consequently have been widely accepted.

Perhaps the most widely criticized aspect of relocation center administration is the policy under which evacuees are being fed. Food is a delicate topic these days and it's not surprising that people should be aroused when they hear the evacuees enjoying a better diet than the average civilian family. If these stories were true, I will readily concede that there would be grounds for the most intense kind of public resentment. But the stories are not true and I believe that all of you sitting here today would be convinced of their falsity if you could eat just one meal in a relocation center. The food served at the centers is nourishing, but could not be called luxurious by any conveivable American standard. The cost of feeding from the start has been limited to 45 cents per person per day. All rationing restrictions applicable to the civilian population are strictly followed. Two meatless days are observed at each center every week. And in areas where local milk supplies are short, fresh milk is provided only to small children, nursing or expectant mothers, and special dietary cases.

From the time the relocation centers were first established, it has been the policy to produce as much of the food as possible, in order that the people in the centers might be nearly self supporting. This required clearing and leveling land, developing irrigation systems in some instances and drainage systems in others. Naturally the 1942 production was not large, at most of the centers, but in 1943 the centers produced practically all their own vegetables; they are producing most of their poultry and eggs; practically all their requirements for pork, some of their beef, and at one center, in an area where the outside milk supply is short, a dairy herd has been established. In dollars, the evacuees are producing about one-third of their total requirements.

The housing at relocation centers is certainly no more than adequate by any ordinary standards. Evacuee residents live in plain barracks of frame construction which are partitioned off into family-size apartments. A family of six or seven people will ordinarily occupy a room about 20 by 25 feet. In the barracks there is no running water, no cooking facilities, and no baths or toilets. However, each block of 12 or 14 barracks---accomodating between 250 and 300 people---is provided with a messhall and a bath and laundry building.

Education is provided for the evacuee children through the high school level. At all centers, we have developed our school curriculum and selected our teachers in conformity with the standards of the state where the center is located.

All evacuees at relocation centers have been provided with medical care and hospitalization when needed and these services are supplied by evacuee doctors and nurses, insofar as they are available.

In operating the centers, we have always made maximum use of evacuee manpower. Evacuees are employed in clerical and stenographic positions, on construction activities and land development work, in food production, and---to some extent---in manufacturing. Most of those who work are paid at the rate of $16 per month; apprentices and others requiring close supervision receive $12, while professional workers, such as doctors, are paid $19. In addition, each evacuee working at the center receives small clothing allowances for himself and his dependents. These allowances range from $2 a month for small children in the southerly centers to $3.75 for adults in centers where the winters are severe.

The policy of the War Relocation Authority provides that evacuees at all centers are to have an active voice in the management of their own affairs but maintenance of law and order within the center is a responsibility of the WRA project director. To assist him in this function, the project director has a small staff of non-Japanese internal security officers and a sizeable crew of evacuee policemen. The exterior boundaries of each project area are guarded by a detachment of military police who are available for service within the center in cases of emergency.

I won't go into further detail on the conditions that prevail in the relocation centers. But I believe I have said enough to indicate that life in the centers is not exactly a bed of roses.

When the evacuated people were moved from their West Coast homes, they were permitted to take with them only a few personal belongings which they would need in the centers. Homes, farms, businesses, household goods all were left behind. The Federal government recognized an obligation to help keep evacuee farm properties in productive use, to assist the families in storing household goods and business equipment, and to lend a hand in the disposal of properties of other types.

We have helped in locating new managers for hotels, stores, and apartment houses owned by evacuees. We have found operators or purchasers for farms.

The value of property owned or operated by the evacuated Japanese has been estimated at more than 200 million dollars. The War Relocation Authority takes no responsibility at all for making decisions regarding disposal of this property; that is the right of the owner alone. But when he designates his wishes, we regard it as our job to see that his desires are carried out if possible.

One of the most challenging and serious problems which the War Relocation Authority has faced has been centered around the national sympathies of the evacuees. The aliens, for the most part, have certain sentimental ties to the land of their birth, even though practically all of them have been here at least 20 years, and many for thirty or forty years. Two thirds of the population is composed of American citizens. The great majority of the citizens have never been to Japan, speak no language but English, are American in their clothing, manners, tastes and slang. On the other hand, a small portion of the citizens have had much of their education in Japan and for practical purposes are more Japanese than American.

From the start, we recognized that there were those whose loyalties were with Japan also that there was a much larger group whose loyalties were definitely with the United States. The problem has been to establish standards for identifying those individuals who are strongly pro-Japanese or who might endanger the national security. For several months we have been engaged in a sorting process which has given individual consideration to all the adults in all the WRA centers. On the basis of extensive information which the War Relocation Authority has assembled, plus records of the Federal intelligence agencies, plus individual hearings in thousands of cases, we have been determining which members of the population can safely be granted leave to relocate in normal communities. Those whose national sympathies seem to lie with Japan rather than the United States and who are not eligible for leave are placed in one center, Tule Lake, in California.

Let me say a few words about the character of the population at Tule Lake. Most of the adult people there have indicated either by word or action that they prefer to be Japanese rather than American. But it is a mistake to think of the population at Tule as composed exclusively of agitators and potential saboteurs. Many of the residents are aliens of advanced years who have simply given up the struggle to become adjusted in this country and who want only to live out the rest of their days in the land of their birth. Despite their pro-Japanese leanings, very few of them, in my opinion, are actually troublesome or dangerous. Then there is also another group at the center---perhaps the largest single element in the whole population---which is made up of children and others whose records contain no evidence of disloyalty but who are living at Tule Lake merely because of family ties. These people, along with the aliens, probably constitute a majority of the total population.

At the same time, however, it is true that we now have at Tule Lake some of the most troublesome elements that were previously scattered among ten relocation centers. There are, for example, a considerable number of young American-born evacuees who have received the major part of their education in Japan and who seem to have been thoroughly indoctrinated with Japanese ideas. This group has always been particularly maladjusted at the relocation centers and some of them are among the leaders of those who are plainly out of sympathy with the United States. In addition, there are a number of young people, born and educated in this country, who have become embittered by the experiences of the past two years and have decided to cast their lot with Japan..

The population of Tule Lake at the present time is about 17,000 men, women, and children. In the nine other centers there are a few hundred others who have been denied leave clearance and so will be sent to Tule Lake. It now appears that most of these transfers will be completed some time in the spring, probably by May.

There are approximately 70,000 other people still in the relocation centers who are eligible for leave, and whom we in WRA will give every possible assistance in finding places to resettle. Making possible their relocation is the major objective of the War Relocation Authority, and all the rest of our activity is carried on with relocation in mind.

We realize that the cost of maintaining the entire evacuee population in relocation centers would mean an unnecessarily heavy drain on the taxpayers of the country. We set up our work programs at the relocation centers in such a way that the evacuees could contribute through voluntary work to their own support. And we have maintained that policy consistently from the very start. But even so, the expense of keeping 90,000 people in government centers and providing them with the essentials of life is a heavy one. I am sure you will agree that it should not be encouraged if there is any feasible alternative.

An even more important reason why we have placed so much emphasis on immediate relocation is the nation-wide manpower shortage. We realized from the beginning that the evacuated people represent a significant reservoir of energies and skills which is badly needed in our war production effort. At the start, we made rather elaborate plans for a work program at each relocation center. We had plans for manufacturing enterprises through which citizen evacuees could produce goods needed in the war effort; plans for extensive development of raw land through clearing, irrigation, drainage; and plans for large-scale agricultural production. But before we had received more than half the evacuee population at the centers, we were forced to recognize that this was a cumbersome method of utilizing evacuee energies and skills and that it was fraught with many difficulties. Everything considered, it seemed quite clear that the evacuees could make a quicker and more effective contribution to our wartime production needs by returning as quickly as possible to private employment. Furthermore, there was an insistent demand for workers from the centers particularly from this part of the United States.

But aside from these wholly practical considerations, there is another even more significant reason for trying to depopulate the relocation centers. I am thinking of Americanization. There are many ways to define Americanism but I have always felt that it is a quality which we absorb quite naturally by living in a thoroughly American environment. It is as President Roosevelt has stated, "a matter of the mind and heart; Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry." We have made every effort to create an Americanizing atmosphere in the relocation centers. We have established the curriculm for our schools with particularly heavy emphasis on the history of American traditions and American Institutions. We have taught these subjects in adult education classes and have stressed them in connection with public discussion forums. But despite all our efforts, I am afraid we never can succeed---in duplicating the atmosphere that prevails in a normal American community. The influences that operate every day and every week to make us a distinctive people on the face of the globe cannot be reproduced within an atmosphere of restriction---an atmosphere which makes a mockery of our American traditions. Relocation centers are and probably always will be essentially outside the mainstream of our national life.

It is our hope that the people eligible for leave in the relocation centers may be relocated into ordinary American communities at the earliest possible date. Almost 20,000 have now left the centers on indefinite leave and have made homes for themselves. Most of these are the young adults with few family responsibilities, who can easily adapt themselves to new conditions. Our big problem now is to make possible the relocation of family groups, including the eligible aliens, most of whom are well along in years, without as much resiliency as their children who have relocated. We recognize their relocation as the most difficult job we have yet undertaken. Yet we feel it is a job that must be accomplished if the American way of life is to have real meaning to these people.

Many of you in this area have become acquainted with evacuees who have left the relocation centers. Some two thousand have established their homes in the state of Utah, and several thousand others have cultivated and harvested Utah's sugar beets, vegetables, and picked Utah turkeys on a seasonal leave basis. In general, they have been accepted without question; their labor has been in demand and they have worked well.

There has been some discrimination yes, particularly in opposition to their entering business or farming on their own, even though they are welcomed with open arms as ordinary labor by most of these sources.

That smacks of a desire for slave labor---Those who advocate such a system, who welcome evacuee labor but would deny them the privilege of entering business or forgetting the principals of free enterprise, of free competition, which are fundemental to our democracy.

But this opposition is also a part of our democracy and is entitled to its full say. Only when all phases are thoroughly understood through free discussion can a fair decision be reached.

I want to congratulate the people of Utah generally however, for their acceptance of these war refugees. It is all the more remarkable because you adjoin the evacuated area in which certain interests have seen fit to continue their persecution of this minority group.

It seems to me that one reason for the generally favorable reception accorded evacuees in the state of Utah is that many of you here are only two or three generations removed from the early settlers of the state, and you remember that they too were a minority group; they felt the sting of intolerance and persecution; they participated in a mass migration which was not altogether of their own choosing. Remembering the history of your own forbearers, it has been a natural thing for you to provide the members of another minority group with opportunities to make new lives for themselves. In so doing, you have given significance to the democratic principles set forth in the constitution; principles which some special interest groups are seeking to destroy, disguising their activities under the name of patriotism.

The problem of this fractional segment of the nation's population is national in scope, and no one section of the country can shirk its responsibilities for finding a democratic solution. The people in the relocation centers came from the Pacific Coast states. For the time being, they must live outside the area which they used to call home. Many of them undoubtedly will remain outside, either in the places where they resettle first, or in other places which look more attractive.

In a country as large, as rich in resources and opportunities, and as populous as the United States, there is no logical reason why the 115,000 people who were evacuated from their homes in the Pacific Coast area cannot be absorbed into the national life in such a way that their abilities may be used and that the people become inconspicuous individuals rather than members of a problem group. It would seem to be in the national interest and in the interest of the people of Japanese descent themselves to spread out more widely than they have done in the past, and to avoid the re-establishment of the compact communities which were common in the Pacific Coast area before evacuation.

Most of the people still look upon the West Coast as home. Most of them hope and expect to return home when the military situation becomes such that exclusion is no longer necessary. When that time comes, either during the war or at its end, there can be no question that the evacuated people should have the right to go back to their former homes if they choose to do so.

I mention this because there are groups on the West Coast who have been campaigning for months to stir up sentiment to keep the evacuees permanently excluded from their former homes. The plague of intolerance which they have fostered has spread into other areas; well organized efforts undoubtedly will be made to spread it still further. The efforts will be carefully disguised in the cloak of patriotism. What proportion of the people will be affected by this campaign of hate propoganda I won't attempt to predict. I find it hard to believe that the American people will tolerate for very long the fostering of hatred for fellow Americans and the destruction of American ideals when their sons are giving their lives to protect those ideals.

I think it is important for all of us to remember that several thousand boys wearing the uniform of the United States Army have Japanese names and faces. As one of them put it, "It isn't the slant of a man's eyes that counts; the important thing is the slant of his heart."

There can be little question about the slant of the heart of Sergeant Komoto, who recently visited his family at one of the relocation centers in Arizona. He was on leave from an Army hospital recovering from wounds inflicted by an enemy machine gun. He wears the Purple Heart, America's oldest military award. The Miyagi family at the Gila River relocation center wrapped their Christmas packages early last fall for their son and brother. The packages had a long way to go. In February they came back, bearing the stamped word "Deceased." Masuyoshi Miyagi had died in Italy where he was a sergeant in the Fifth Army.

For more than a year after the outbreak of war, American boys of Japanese descent were not accepted in the United States Army. In January, 1943, the Army announced that they would be accepted on a voluntary basis, and hundreds of them volunteered from the Relocation Centers. A few weeks ago involuntary induction through Selective Service was announced by the War Department and already several hundred young Americans whose homes are in the relocation centers have taken their physical examinations and will be inducted as their turn comes. The nation is asking them to fight. So it isn't out of order to ask "Have we given them something to fight for?" Is the foremost democracy of the world going to ask them to fight for the privilege of being discriminated against in such things as selecting a place to live or a line of work to follow? I cannot believe such a situation will exist for very long. It is going to be difficult to justify denying the wives, children and parents of one group of soldiers the rights which are accorded the wives, children and parents of all other soldiers.

We need to keep in mind that any such restoration of rights will be opposed, for the American principles of freedom and equality have enemies at home, just as certainly as they have enemies abroad. Those enemies need to be recognized, met, and conquered.

I firmly believe that to the great majority of Americans, this nation is truly the land of the free and that most of us are willing to make a sincere effort to keep it so regardless of race, creed or ancestry.

# # #

APR 21 1944

The Rt. Rev. H. St. George Tucker, D.D., *Presiding Bishop and President*

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The Rev. Clifford L. Samuelson, *Associate Secretary*
The Rev. Bravid W. Harris, *Secretary for Negro Work*

John Swomley ✓

April 19, 1944

Mrs. Henry Hill Pierce
9 East 94th Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mrs. Pierce:

Your correspondence with Dr. Addison in connection with a Christian ministry to the Japanese people in the Tule Lake Relocation Center has been referred to me.

The facts brought out by John M. Swomley, Jr. are well known to the West Coast Protestant Church Commission for Japanese Service of which Bishop Reifsnider is President. They are also known to the Joint Commission here of the Home Missions Council, Foreign Missions Conference, and the Federal Council of Churches.

This does not mean that a remedy has been found. Men available for that particular assignment are practically non-existent. Our loyal Japanese clergy are more valuable in their present fields and would, moreover, not be welcome among the people of Tule Lake. Caucasian workers are not permitted to reside within the camp, which makes it almost impossible for a Caucasian worker to do very much for this large group of people.

All I can say, therefore, is that everything is being done that can be done, and that while no complete solution is possible, Christian agencies are doing everything that can be expected of them.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

George A. Wieland

GAW:MA

Diocese of Western Massachusetts

OFFICE OF THE BISHOP

SPRINGFIELD,5 MASSACHUSETTS
37 CHESTNUT STREET

THE RT. REV. W. APPLETON LAWRENCE, D. D.
BISHOP

April 24, 1944

Mr. John M. Swomley, Jr.
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

My dear John:

I got the copy of the letter which you wrote to Dr. Diffendorfer, about the situation at the Tule Lake Center; and I took the matter up personally with Bishop Tucker, when I saw him in Washington. He asked me to take it up with Dr. Wieland, who is the Secretary of Domestic Missions, at 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City, and I hope to do so this Wednesday when I shall be in New York.

Thank you for calling it to my attention.

Yours faithfully,

W Appleton Lawrence

[illegible] Wieland
[illegible]
[illegible]

May 8, 1944

The Rt. Rev. W. Appleton Lawrence
37 Chestnut Street
Springfield 5, Mass.

Dear Bishop Lawrence:

Thank you for your letter and for placing our concern about Tule Lake to various people. I also wrote to Dr. Wieland. My correspondence with the various denominations about this matter has elicited sympathetic replies but offers no encouragement as to providing a minister for the center. This is really a cse of a group having the will of wanting to help.

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS:SA

APR 19 1944

BOARD OF MISSIONS AND CHURCH EXTENSION
OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

150 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

DIVISION OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

April 18, 1944

Mr. John M. Swomley, Jr.
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Swomley:

Dr. Diffendorfer has handed to me for reply your letter of April 14 regarding the possibility of finding a returned Japan missionary for service in Tule Lake.

This Board does indeed feel a strong concern for the needs of the unfortunate Japanese-American internees and we are only too eager to do everything in our power to serve them. As you may know there are at present working in this field, 9 couples and 17 unmarried women missionaries. This represents just about our entire available staff of returned Japan missionaries so that I am afraid we would not know where to look for any additional person to undertake this important work. If, however, we should find anyone available you may rest assured that we will give most serious consideration to the possibility of making such as assignment.

All the re-location centers are tragic and Tule Lake most of all. We will surely rejoice with you if it is possible to find from any Board a competent person who can serve these victims of our war hysteria.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Charles W. Iglehart

Charles W. Iglehart
Acting Associate Secretary

cwi mgr

April 14, 1944

Dr. Ralph Diffendorfer
Methodist Board of Missions
150 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. Diffendorfer:

We have had recently a number of letters from members of the FOR who are on the staff at the Tule Lake Center, Newell California, for so-called "disloyal" Japanese, urging us to do what we can to get a Christian pastor to come to work in the camp. For about 17,000 persons, there is only one Japanese minister who is fine for the older people who were born in Japan and who have their services in Japanese. However, he does not go over with the young people. The only other minister is a "Faith Missionary" coming in from the outside, who is very old-fashioned in his theology and who turns young people away from religion. My reason for writing you, as the head of the Foreign Missions work of the Methodist Church, is that many, if not all of these people, will after the war be repatriated to Japan.

They are thus in need of a creative type of religion and would be good missionaries to their own people. These people are not disloyal in the sense that they have ever committed any crime against the United States or would. Rather, the adults are disillusioned about the prospects of staying in the United States after the treatment they have received, and of course, their children who have an intense family loyalty are not prepared to make the necessary break with their families and remain in the United States as wards of the Government.

If it is impossible for you to do anything about this situation, will you please lay this on the conscience of the proper persons or agency in the Methodist Church to do something about it?

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

April 14, 1944

Mrs. Henry Hill Pierce
9 E. 94 Street
New York City

Dear Mrs. Pierce:

Attached hereto is a copy of a Board letter I wrote to Dr. Diffendorfer of the Methodist, inquiring if anything can be done about the need for ministers at the Tule Lake Center in Newell California.

Can you think of anything which the Episcopal Church can do in this connection, and if so, could you take it up with the proper authorities?

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

April 14, 1944

Miss Ruth Isabel Seabury
14 Beacon Street
Boston 8, Mass.

Dear Miss Seabury:

Attached hereto is a copy of a letter I wrote to Dr. Diffenderfer of the Methodist Foreign Missions, inquiring if anything can be done about the need for ministers at the Tule Lake Center in Newell, California.

Isn't there something which the Congregational Church can do in this connection, and if so, could you take it up with the proper authorities?

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

April 14, 1944

The Rt. Rev. W. Appleton Lawrence
83 Ridgewood Terrace
Springfield 5, Mass.

Dear Bishop Lawrence:

Is there anything that the Episcopal Church can do in this connection and could you take it up with the proper authorities?

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

April 13, 1944

Mrs. Mary Farquharson
4033 University Way
Seattle, Washington

Dear Mary Farquharson:

I have written to the boards of several denominations about the minister situation at the Tule Lake center. I also mentioned to John Thomas of the Baptist Home Missions Society that one of their representatives who was visiting Tule Lake seemed to be in accord with the type of religion presented by the McNaughtons.

Could you furnish me with the name of the Baptist visitor?

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

April 4, 1944

Mr. John Thomas
212 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Thomas;

I have had recently a report from our field secretary, Mary Farquharson of a visit to the Tule Lake Center. I quote from her report a paragraph which should be of interest to you.

"Unless the two additional Christian ministers that came in from Manzanar have increased the program of Christian activities, there is just one Christian service in Japanese on Sunday and one Christian service in English by an outside minister, in addition to a few Sunday school classes taught by Nisei. There seem to be no accurate figures on the number of Christians, but the estimate is about 200. Obviously this fugure does not include children. The minister and his wife (Mr. and Mrs. McNaughton) who come in from the outside represent some evangelical society in Oakland, California, and present a very emotional kind of religion. Much of their emphasis is on the second coming of Christ. Some of the Caucasian teachers are deeply concerned about this situation and feel very strongly that there should be a different kind of Christian service given to the young people especially. A representative of the Baptist Home Mission work was at Tule Lake the day I visited Mr. Hashimoto (the Christian minister there), but this Baptist representative seemed to be completely in accord with Mr. McNaughton's views."

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

April 13, 1944

Mr. John W. Thomas
Department of Cities
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear John Thomas:

Thank you for your recent letter. I am trying to find out from Mary Farquharson, our Northwest secretary, who the Baptist individual was who made the statement I reported to you.

Since hearing from Mrs. Farquharson, we have had one or two other letters pleading with us to do what we can to get a Christian pastor into the Tule Lake Center to work with the people. The reports from our members who are on the staff at the center there indicate that there is only one Japanese pastor, who is fine with the older people in their Japanese service, but the work with young people is sadly neglected. They also feel that there is a great need for a good Caucasian minister.

Sincerely yours,

John M. Swomley, Jr.
Associate Secretary

JMS*SA

NORTH AMERICA FOR CHRIST

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY

GEORGE PITT BEERS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
S. E. HENING, TREASURER

212 FIFTH AVENUE
AT 26TH STREET
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF CITIES
JOHN W. THOMAS

April 7, 1944

Mr. John M. Swomley, Jr
Associate Secretary
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway, New York City
New York

Dear John:

I am a bit surprised at the message from Miss Farquharson. I refer to the part that our Home Mission representative shared Mr. McNaughton's premillenium view. I am wondering if you would find from Miss Farquharson who the individual is that represented our Society. I should like very much to know in order that I might discuss the entire matter with him.

I hope that it will be possible to provide more adequate Christian leadership for Tule Lake.

My best regards to you.

Sincerely,

John

Secretary
Department of Cities

jwt/djs

APR 21 1944

NORTH AMERICA FOR CHRIST

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY

GEORGE PITT BEERS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
S. E. HENING, TREASURER

212 FIFTH AVENUE
AT 26TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF CITIES
JOHN W. THOMAS
EMIL KONTZ

April 20, 1944

Mr. John M. Swomley, Jr.
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York, New York

My dear John Swomley:

We shall be happy to do everything in our power to cooperate with other groups in providing a Caucasian worker for Tule Lake.

I would appreciate knowing who the individual was who made the impossible statements to Miss Farquharson. I cannot believe that he had any right to say that he was our representative. I say this because Roy Fisher, who is credited to be our representative, is a typical F.O.R. man, and would not, I am sure, say anything that is of the nature which Miss Farquharson suggests.

Sincerely,

John W. Thomas
Secretary
Department of Cities

jwt/djs

May 8

You may recall that sometime ago I wrote you asking for the name of the Baptist representative who was visiting at Tule Lake at the same time you were and who had a strong fundamentalist point of view.

I would appreciate word from you about this.

Sincerely,

Tulelake, Newell, California
May 14, 1944

John Swomley,
F.O.R.
New York City, N.Y.

Dear John;

I have your two letters inquiring about how you can do something for the J-A's. Mt first impulkse is always to say: "Persuade F O R members to read up on the history and eco economic situation in Japan so they will understand the background of the people they want to help. Almost no one knows anyhting at all about Japan. I find all the time that even F O F O R's are affected by the propaganda about Japan that appears in our newspaers. This shows up when they express a feeling that these people will find it so hard to live in Japan. I agree that many of them will find it hard to live there, but chiefly because of the post-war situation that is certain to obtain there regardless of the outcome of the military part of the war. But, at the same time, I know that Japan, at least Pre-War Japan is a very different sort of plac than most F O R's think. Of course I felt as they do, before my brief trip there, so I can understand why they feel as they do. But, like everyone else I met on the returning boat, I was simply amased to find Japan what she was. Also, F O R 's should understand that the great mqjority of the Japanese people were opposed to the war in the beginning. No doubt since the war has gone on so long, the feeling must have changed ~~somewhat-w-~~ somewhat. But even today, I understand there is a movement in Japan for peace.

I suggest you contact The Quakers who returned on the last Gripsholm. They may not want to say too much, but I think they will bear me out in the above remarks.

The chief criticism I have to make right now of our efforts to plan a peaceful world is that we concentrate too much on the machinery of peace, and too little on understanding the peoples of the world so we can have a desire based on understanding to give them a square deal. With all the propaganda now of the NAM, etc. about vague sentimental goodwill post war plans of the industrialist, some F O R'S are very sure to swallow a lot of this because they know too little about the situation in Japan and China, and India to know that we are being hoodwinked into believing that our indistrialist have turned over a new leaf and mean to turn altruists. The way so many eduated people turned to Willkie as a leader was proof to me of what I am saying. If they know his past record at all, they would know what to expect.

Even the F O R's who see the strangle hold capitalism has on the world can merely make vague abstract speeches about the need for a square deal to labor the world over, but their knowledge of conditions in any country outside our own is too limited to have any practical ideas about how to implement suc a program. I've heard and read such hazy ideas about a postwar world, ideas which prove what I've said above, that this, more than all else makes me discouraged about what we will do to make a better peace.

For example, recently our group received a preview of a pamphlet about post-war planning, prepared by the Pacifist's Research Bureau We were to make criticisms and comments on it. Well, only two or three of our group could understand what it was all about well enough to want to make any criticisms, because of the poor organization of materials and the abstract dictionery language. They were, to put it mildly, bored, and left before the first meeting was over. The three of us who remained were also discouraged about it, because it seemed to ignore the basic problems that underlie a peaceful world. We fe;t some much better thingshad been written by non-pacifist, for example Adler's book, How to thinak aout war and peace . I have yet to see Searchlight on Peace Plans by the Lloyds, which looks mighty good to me, but which will doubtless be too difficult for the average citi to read. But even the above books, good as they may be are still concentrating on merely the machinery of peace, or on abstract admonitions to "think brotherly thoughts".

I realize that the suggestions I'm making are not in line with the purpose of your Division of F O R, a direct action group. But my own feeling about direct action, and that of many other people I know is that we too often rush into action before we underatand . So may I suggest that some F O R groups really make a study of Japan. To be sure, few good books are available. But perhaps F O R members can do something about th that too. Most of the best books about Japan are now out of print. But often they ca be secured through second hand book a agencies, such as Barnes and Noble. They have secured several of them for me lately, tho it does take some time.

The Pageant of Japanese History, by Marian Dilts is still available tho. It is an excellent first book to read. Then follow up with House of Mitsui by Russell (out of print) a study of the industrialization of Japan in past century. Also read Children of the rising sun , by Willard Price, also out of print, but part of the gist of this book can be gotten in his revision of the book, called Japan rides the tiger. F O R members should be able to weed out the non-propaganda parts of this book. I was so dissapointed to know that Willard Price was willing to revise this book for his publishers after the war broke out. The original book was excellent. Also, by all means read Kyooka's Chiyo's return, especially the chapter called The Keynote. Embree has an excellent pamphlet on The Japanese published by Smithsomian Institution, free to institutions and perahps to individuals. At least they did not charge me. His book Suye Mura, story of a Japanese Village published by Univ. of Chicago Press is also excellent for those who have had a good introduction to Japan, but not good to start with. All of the above are still available except House of Mitsui and Children of the Ris Rising Sun. Perhaps F O R could reprint the chapter from Children of the Rising Sun about Japanese farmers, tho I think that chapter suffered less in the revised edition, Japan rides the tiger.

I think F O R members should know that while the Japanese are exceptionally fine people, honest, hard working, persevering, and friendly and peace-loving, their chief handicap is their unwillingness to accept civic responsibility and their fear of what their neighbors will think of them or do to them if they take a stand about anything. In school, for example, we ask for volumteers to make a contribution to class discussio and they are often afraid to venture to raise a hand or voice an opinion, and it takes much longer than with other children to egt a feeling of group solidarity in the classroom.

Another good example of this is the way adults in the colony feel about the recent disturbances. The majority, I think, feel the trouble makers were gangsters, but they want WRA to find them and segregate them from the rest. They do not want ever to tell who these people are or even to take any action themselves regarding them, because they would be called "stool pigeons" of WRA, and "inu" which means traitors. The spirit in school this year is quite different from last year in this respect. Last year's students, more Americanized, were more ready to accept group responsibility and to cooperate. These children are so highly individualistic and do not seem to know what cooperation means. Of course pasrt of this is "fear" of being called an "inu" because they are cooperating with Caucasians to make the school a success.

Seeing what happens here when people fear to accept responsibilt and to go on record as opposing anything or supporting it, we can better understand why the people of Japan, while pe opposing the war (fully 90 to 95 percent were much opposed to the war when it started with China) yet supporting the gangster who got control of the government through fear and civic inerti But when they are only just out of fuedalism, what can we expect. If we, with centuries of experience in democracy, cannot exert ourselves to stop a war we oppose, and I belive the peopl here did oppose it, tho a much smaller proportion than in Japan, how can we expect them to be ready to show such courage?

What can you do to help create public opinion for the J-A's? It is difficult to suggest anything, really, other than reading and trying to understand them. Also by getting to really know the issei who have relocated and from them learning about Japan. Also some of the better type of missionaries from Japan could do a lot to help us understand the Japanese. Once we understand, we might begin to let other people know a few of the facts, and have them on the tip of our tongues to quote. It is lack of knowledge of the truth that makes people wrong them, as well as a wrong attitude toward life. But I am convinced that changing attitudes only does no good. As proof of that may I refer to myown experience. In college I had a Qual Quaker for sociology professor, one of the very best. I thought when I left college that I held no prejudice against anyone, but then I went into a situation in which I had to consort with some of the Jewish people whose ethics and general cultural background were below my own and for a while really had a prejudice I could not weed out until I came to know some of the better kind. I have had others tell me they went through the same thing, tho they did not have a chance to know the better type of Jew, so still tried unsuccessfully to weed out the unreasonable prejudice. Now, you will say that reading about people is not so good as meeting them, and to that I agree; but I still maintain we need to do both, and that reading is the best substitute for meeting them, if we read the right thi

You will want to keep on the lookout for a study being made by the Rockerfellwr Foundation about the J-A's in camp. The girl making the study is tops. She has been in various camps and is now coming to stay for some time in our camp. Since she is not connected with WRA she is able to get them to talk frankly with her, often when we could not, so she is getting the lowdown on their attitudes, etc as no one else can. Do not know how soon this will be ready or if it will be published during the war, but it is good to know it is being made. By the way, do not publicize this , at least do not state the name of organization making the study as she did not choose to tell me the name of it, and I happened to find out indirectly what it was. But she told me about her work, and once when my boys had maintained a certain thing was true and I disbelivved them, I asked her and found they had been right so I told the boys I had discovered I had been wrongly informed before.

Thank you for the list of names of students in So. Carolina to correspond with my Freshmen class. We hope to write letters soon, but I am gald we did not do it sooner as I had not known they were negro children until the teacher wrote me last week, and I should not have wanted to let my chilfren write to them without knowing it in advance.

Perhaps some F O R teachers may be able to cooperate in some ot other ways. For example one of my star students has written a play about Firdausi, the Persian poet which I think is quite good for a H.S. sophomore. He is superior to all in his class, and we will not be able to put on the play due to lack o time for practice. They attend Japanese school afternoons or mo mornings, and American school the other half day. Perhaps some teacher in High School would like to put this play on, so Albert would feel it had been worth while writing it. Hw wants to try writing another one when we study the Middle Ages. I suggested he write one about King Asoka, but we had no material about him in the library for background. He is an exceptional boy and any superior H.S. class would enjoy corresponding with him. He really looks more like a curly headed Dutchman, than like a Japanese, and as he lived and hope to live again in Honolulu instead of in Japan, he is really very much Americanized. He attended an experimental school in Honolulu and I feel inadequate to give him what he needs in such a large class, with none on his level. He used to write poetry, but says he hasn't been inspired to write any since coming to camp. He reads, perhaps too much, largely to escape, no doubt. But he reads very adult books, loves all esthetic and is very liberal regarding religion, etc.

When I start on Albert it is hard to stop. Also have a boy who reads everything he can put his hands on regarding internationa relations. He wants to know how to stop war, but cannot yet see any way but force, tho he is coming to see the econ. problem a bit. He is now reading House of Mitsui.

Sincerely yours,   Stella M. Robbins

[redacted]

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, JULY 25, 1944.

JUL 2 5 1944

NYT.

WON'T EAT AT TULE LAKE

14 Japanese-Americans Protest Isolation by Strike

KLAMATH FALLS, Ore., July 24 (AP)—Fourteen Japanese-Americans, confined as recalcitrants in the Tule Lake, Calif., segregation center, are on the fifth day of a hunger strike, the War Relocation Authority disclosed here today.

W. R. Best, project director, said spokesmen for the group reported that they were determined to refrain from eating until released from the isolation area, which held 350 persons after disorders last November.

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KLAMATH FALLS, Ore., July 24 (AP)—Fourteen Japanese-Americans, confined as recalcitrants in the Tule Lake, Calif., segregation center, are on the fifth day of a hunger strike, the War Relocation Authority disclosed here today.

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'Re-education' of Japanese-Americans At Tule Lake

By Sylvia Carroll

TULE LAKE, IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA is the relocation center for some 18,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry. Like the other eight relocation centers now in existence, it is under the jurisdiction of the War Relocation Authority. And like them, it is a desert city built of army regulation barracks, isolated, desolate, surrounded by barbed wire and patrolled by Military Police.

The residents of Tule Lake, or evacuees, as they are called, were originally among the 100,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry who were uprooted from homes and livelihood on the West Coast early in 1942 and removed to these inland concentration camps. The hysteria which had developed on the West Coast after Pearl Harbor had given land-grabbing profiteers and Yellow Peril racists the opportunity they had been seeking for years, the ousting of the Japanese, in which they received the cooperation of the government of the United States as represented by President Roosevelt and Lt. General De Witt, commanding general of the Western Defense Command.

But the evacuees at Tule Lake today have an added distinction, in addition to being evacuees they are also segregees, a newly coined word indicating that they are the pro-Japanese goats separated from the pro-American sheep. For Tule Lake, since September, 1943, has been the segregation center for those evacuees who either have not proven their Americanism to the satisfaction of government officials, or else have expressed a desire to return or go to Japan. **Its very establishment is an admission that American democracy has failed 18,000 people.**

The Background of Segregation

The Japanese population on the West Coast at the time of Pearl Harbor was a law-abiding, hard working group composed mainly of farmers and small merchants. Military necessity was the excuse but not the reason for their evacuation.

Evacuation on a general scale began in April, 1942, first to Assembly Centers, hastily adapted from race tracks and County Fair grounds, and then to the more permanent Relocation Centers, even more hastily Army Engineer-built cities. The last of the evacuees arrived at the relocation centers in September and October, 1943, and they had no more than settled in their new homes, and not yet recovered from the shock of the evacuation itself, when the registration was sprung on them.

The registration was the brain-child of W.R.A.'s Employment Division in Washington, which was then setting up its relocation program, making possible the resettling of the evacuees through jobs in other parts of the country. The Division found that it lacked employment data on the evacuees, to fill this need, it devised a questionaire which would give the necessary information. For good measure, it included two questions, numbers 27 and 28, pertaining to the loyalty of the evacuees, but these were purely incidental to the prime reason of the questionaire and all evacuees 17 years of age and over, were required to answer these questions. **The main purpose of this registration was to obtain a past employment and personal history for each evacuee which would facilitate his relocation.** It is important to remember this, because of the use to which the answers to questions 27 and 28 were later put.

Wrongs of Registration

There were two things wrong with the registration: the idea of the registration itself and the manner in which it was conducted. Before it was over, all questions but 27 and 28 were forgotten, even though they were the original reason for it. The only conversation to be heard on the projects was: "What are you, 'Yes' or 'No'?" The resentment and confusion these produced in the evacuees resulted in a large number of evacuees answering "No," answering all questions but these, or refusing to register at all. The total figure for these "No" answers was never officially revealed in W.R.A., it must have been as high as 15,000.

The W.R.A. officials who authorized the registration forgot that they were dealing with human beings who knew that they had been uprooted from their homes and livelihoods only because their eyes slanted and their skins were yellowish instead of pinkish. Sensitive people who had not yet recovered from the shock of being tagged, numbered, and herded like cattle under armed guard to desert homes devoid of any decency, privacy or comfort, under suspicion of potential treason only because they had chosen the wrong ancestry.

People had seen the fruits of a lifetime's hard work confiscated overnight, and whose children laughed when their project teachers mentioned words like democracy and equality. Resentment of Questions 27 and 28 was greatly increased by the knowledge that no other group in the country was being asked to attest its loyalty to the United States.

Rumors of Registration

If the idea of registration in itself was bad enough, the manner in which it was conducted was even worse. Neither the project personnel nor the evacuees were given an opportunity to know the purpose of the registration, the meaning of the questions, again 27 and 28 of which were highly ambiguous, or the consequences of the answers.

Before the actual registration began, rumor-mongering, the favorite indoor and outdoor sport on the projects, had a field day: registration was for the purpose of shipping everyone to Japan; it was to get every young man into the army and every young woman into the WAC; it meant forced agricultural labor for the men and domestic service for the women; it meant closing down the centers and letting every family fend for itself; and so on. The feeling of insecurity engendered by these rumors did not help the situation any.

ONCE THE REGISTRATION BEGAN, questions 27 and 28 caused more excitement and wilder rumors. Question 27 asked whether the evacuees foreswore loyalty to the Emperor of Japan and swore allegiance to the United States. The Nisei, or American born, resented the implication that they had ever been loyal to any other country than the one of their birth, and wondered how they could forswear that to which they had never sworn. The Issei, or Japanese born, were in a quandary; they could not by law become citizens of the United States, and if they renounced Japan, they became people without a country. Question 28 asked whether the men were willing to serve in the armed forces and the women in the WAC and the Nurse's Corps.

Many thought a "Yes" answer was synonymous with volunteering for these services; the Issei, for whom the question had been inadequately translated into Japanese, thought a "Yes" answer would mean hard physical work for them, for which they were physically incapable. These added up to more "No's."

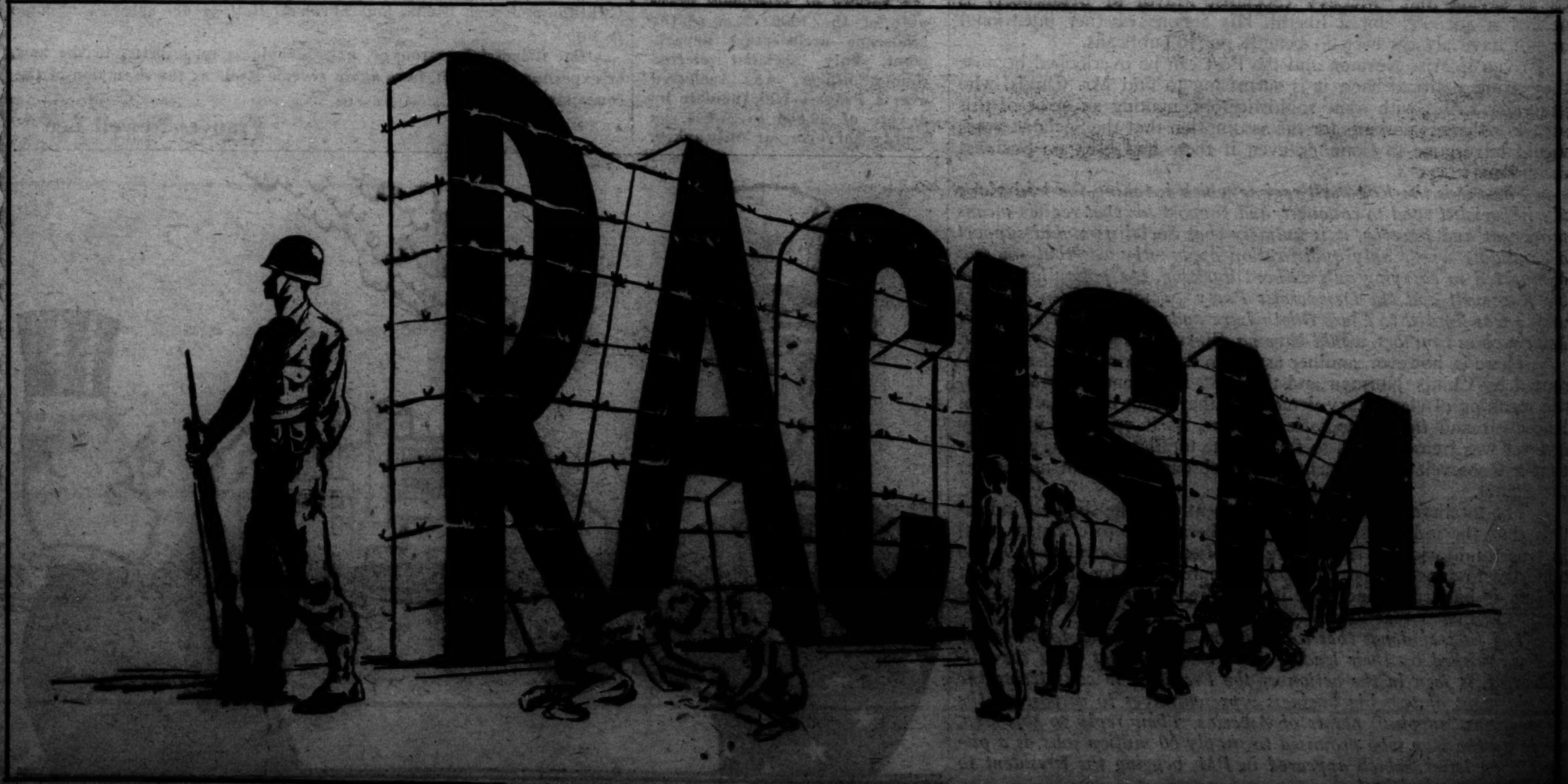
One young man answered "No" because the evacuation had wiped out the savings of his family and caused his mother to become seriously ill. Just before evacuation, and after long years of planning and saving, they had finally been able to buy their own farm. This, with its machinery and other equipment, had had to be sold hastily and at a great loss. He felt that a government which had done this to innocent people should make no demands upon their loyalty.

Another factor which had a direct bearing on the number of "No" answers was that of W.R.A. personnel itself, which represents a sort of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde affair. The Washington staff has consisted from the beginning of sympathetic, capable people who have worked consistently to right a bad situation, hopeless as the task is.

But the projects, which enjoy almost complete autonomy, are staffed mainly by local people, conditioned against the evacuees by local prejudice, and with no training for or understanding of the tremendous problem with which they are dealing. Most projects represent colonial administrations, with the Caucasian or "appointed" personnel bravely carrying the white man's burden of complete disregard for the native as a human being.

One project had an official ruling to the effect that personnel could not fraternize with the evacuees in any fashion, and when any wanted to eat in an evacuee mess hall or visit evacuee homes, it had to be done surreptitiously. That this had a direct bearing on the number of "No's" is proven by the fact that Minidoka, with the best administration of any of the projects, had the lowest rate or "No" answers.

In all, the experience of the army and Government administration of relocation camps in the U.S. is hardly indicative of any hope that an imperialist regime can possibly undertake the "education" of an entire people.



ghetto mentality

Negro Author Says Nisei Must Come Out Of Their Self-Segregated Cells

By HISAYE YAMAMOTO

LOS ANGELES—Nisei will not come of age until they show as much interest in the problems of other minorities as they now show in their own, in the opinion of Bayard Rustin, author-lecturer and member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation's national racial and industrial section.

Mr. Rustin, speaking here earlier this week to a group of Nisei and their friends, said he believed the progress of a minority could be gauged by its active interest in other minorities, and added that he had found this interest almost totally lacking in the average Nisei.

He pointed out that the Japanese American Citizens League, while becoming encouragingly active in the postwar period, was concentrating wholly on problems immediate to the Japanese. To counteract this narrowness, he suggested support of such organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union, which has so far come to the aid of every minority—racial, religious, and political—in times of persecution.

When a Nisei gives a dollar, let him see that some of it goes to stop terrorism and discrimination against Negroes, some to fight school segregation of Mexican Americans, some to lessen job and housing restrictions against Jewish Americans, he said.

He also deplored the self-segregation of Japanese Americans in his own town, New York City, where, he said, "Nisei have clustered together in small colonies, when they can live anywhere in the city that they choose."

Mr. Rustin was a conscientious objector during the late wa r and was active in fighting Negro-white segregation at Ashland (Ky.) Federal Prison, where he was committed at one time. More recently, he was one of a group of white and Negro men sent South by FOR, a pacifist organization, to test results of the Supreme Court ban on segregation in interstate travel.

He was in Southern California last week as a lecturer at the 13th Institute of International Relations, sponsored yearly at Whittier College by the American Friends Service Committee. He is recognized as an authority in the field of non-violent solutions to social problems.

COLUMN LEFT

by adam baum

Los Angeles

Esther L'Ecluse says, the JACL-ADC spokesman testifying before a Senate FEPC hearing stole the thunder from the racists: he "put it on a patriotism angle." Exactly. Here is the Nisei—patriots, not for the world at large, but for the Nisei first, last, and foremost.

Milton Mayer says, "minorites must fight first of all for the rights of other minorites than their own; next for the rights of all men; and last, if at all, for their own." Mayer speaks with authority; he is a Jew.

Only in the struggle for the rights of all men will minorites save their own skin and soul, says Mayer, a tutor at the University of Chicago and keen analytical writer whose trenchant remarks are contained in the pamphlet THESE FEW, **A Program For Minorities** (published by Human Events Associates, 608 S. Dearborn St., Chicago 5, Ill. price 25c).

Bayard Rustin, an intrepid fighter for that better world, says the progress of a minority can be gauged by its active support of minorities other than its own.

The Nisei who is strong for the JACL but indifferent or hostile to the NAACP, the Workers' Defense League, or countless other worthy causes is suspected of narrow [redacted]

of Los Angeles jumped on the chauvinist bandwagon, urging stricter screening of Nisei returning to the United States from Japan, in order to avert reflection upon themselves.

Says Mayer: "The trade unionists who fight for the rights of labor without fighting for the rights of unorganized or unorganizable labor are suspected of greed instead of righteousness."

The Nisei who will come to a meeting concerning Nisei at the drop of a hat but keeps his distance from meetings which concern discrimination against Negroes, is suspected of smugness.

"The liberal who wants free speech for himself but not for Gerald Smith gets a well-earned laugh at his liberality. The freedom-loving American who bleeds for freedom for Stalin's Estonian slaves but does not seem to have heard of his own Puerto Ricans does not seem to love freedom," says Mayer.

The Nisei who resents discrimination against himself but is prejudiced against Jews and looks down upon Negroes and Mexicans is suspected of thinking more of his own hide than of human welfare.

A vicious nationalist-racist complex which curiously resembles the primitive chauvinism of the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West whose primary emphasis is "our own welfare" has long characterized the collective citizenry known as Nisei. It receives vigorous espousal from its most articulate spokesmen.

Answer to Bayard Rustin:

There Will Be Need for JACL, Similar Groups as Long As Special Problems Remain

By SABURO KIDO

Bayard Rustin, author, lecturer and member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation's national racial and industrial section, recently made an interesting point in his statement that the progress of a minority group could be gauged by its active interests in other minorities. This interest, he said, was almost totally lacking in the average Nisei.

No one can dispute his general premise that the Nisei "will not come of age until they show as much interest in the problems of other minorities as they now show in their own."

However, he is misinformed in his statement that the JACL is concentrating wholly on problems immediate to the Japanese. The JACL has expanded its scope of activity to include the problems of others, within the limitations of personnel and finance.

At the same time, it must be remembered that all of the racial minority group organizations concentrate upon problems of immediate concern to themselves and seldom go outside of their own field.

There must be and is a reason for this: so long as there are special problems pertaining to minority groups, those who are directly affected must take the initiative.

We have participated in many discussions on minority problems. We have found that the problems of 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry become insignificant compared to the multitude of discriminations and persecutions faced by the Negroes, who number over 13 million. Thus the particular problems of the Nisei and Issei are given casual attention. It is only natural that the greatest effort be given the largest problem.

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The ideals propounded by Mr. Rustin may one day be realized. However, Japanese Americans must be the main supporters of movements to improve their status as well as of their parents. During wartime, we were expected to remain in the background. Our friends did the fighting for us. Today, however, we are expected to take the leadership ourselves. The degree to which we are willing to help ourselves is considered to be the gauge of our interest in our own problems.

A special interest group is not a racial bloc. The NAACP includes persons of various nationality backgruonds. In the same manner, the JACL has welcomed the membership of all persons. As long as racial discriminations are directed at particular groups, organizations such as the JACL remain a necessity.

The progress of various bills before Congress pertaining to persons of Japanese ancestry has been possible because the Anti-Discrimination Committee has been functioning in Washington, D. C. The soldier brides act amendment, the

day arrives, organizations such as the JACL have a role to play. Their primary function will be to watch after the interests and welfare of their own group. Through such educational and information services, other friendly groups can be posted as to developments. All the forces can be marshalled whenever neccessary.

These comments are not intended to discourage participation in other organizations and groups. Many Nisei are members of the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Common Council for American Unity, Councils for Civic Unity, National Lawyers Guild and other organizations. The JACL is also keeping in close contact with them. At the same time, we cannot over-emphasize the importance of the role of the JACL and the ADC in applying themselves to the problems of persons of Japanese ancestry.

Bayard Rustin, author, lecturer and member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation's national racial and industrial section, recently made an interesting point in his statement that the progress of a minority group could be gauged by its active interests in other minorities. This interest, he said, was almost totally lacking in the average Nisei.

No one can dispute his general premise that the Nisei "will not come of age until they show as much interest in the problems of other minorities as they now show in their own."

However, he is misinformed in his statement that the JACL is concentrating wholly on problems immediate to the Japanese. The JACL has expanded its scope of activity to include the problems of others, within the limitations of personnel and finance.

At the same time, it must be remembered that all of the racial minority group organizations concentrate upon problems of immediate concern to themselves and seldom go outside of their own field.

There must be and is a reason for this: so long as there are special problems pertaining to minority groups, those who are directly affected must take the initiative.

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The progress of various bills before Congress pertaining to persons of Japanese ancestry has been possible because the Anti-Discrimination Committee has been functioning in Washington, D. C. The soldier brides act amendment, the deportation bill, the naturalization bill, the evacuation claims bill —these and many others pertaining to persons of Japanese ancestry are receiving the special attention of the ADC. That is one of the principal reasons why we have seen action on them.

We hope the day will come when there will be no necessity for special racial organizations. Until that day arrives, organizations such as the JACL have a role to play. Their primary function will be to watch after the interests and welfare of their own group. Through such educational and information services, other friendly groups can be posted as to developments. All the forces can be marshalled whenever necessary.

These comments are not intended to discourage participation in other organizations and groups. Many Nisei are members of the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Common Council for American Unity, Councils for Civic Unity, National Lawyers Guild and other organizations. The JACL is also keeping in close contact with them. At the same time, we cannot over-emphasize the importance of the role of the JACL and the ADC in applying themselves to the problems of persons of Japanese ancestry.

Monday pm.

Dear Cathie –

You can see from the enclosed items that we raised a little storm in these parts.

Hisaye's article appeared in at least 5 scattered vernaculars including the Pacific Citizen where it evidently caught the eye of the past president of the apple-polishing JACL. Please return Answer to BR but show it to him beforehand.

As a columnist I'm afraid my goose is cooked. The editor who put me on page one has "resigned." From all appearances adambaum is too strong a dose of medicine and gives a few the mental constipation, I dunno. Henceforth my propaganda contra militarism, nationalism, chauvinism and racism will be relegated to page 2.

Well, so it goes, but I keep going on.

George

California NEWSLETTER

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BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA *CALEB FOOTE, Editor* MARCH, 1945

. . . Japanese-Americans Face a Dilemma

THE THIRD EVACUATION?

Buffeted by successive waves of public passion, America's luckless minority of Japanese ancestry seemed headed for a tragic dilemma as the months of 1945 ticked past. Down one road lay a third wartime evacuation, for if the government meant what it said by setting the end of the year as a deadline for closing all Relocation Centers, it would have to force the people out and lock the doors behind them. The alternative, looming larger each day, was that a considerable group would continue to live in the Centers indefinitely, like Indians on a reservation.

Either road would be evil fruit from the evil tree of discrimination. Another forced evacuation for people already moved from homes to Assembly Centers and on to exile in the desert would only serve to cap the whole tragic business with incredible hardship, bitterness, and injustice. Yet the long continued existence of the Centers offered prospects little if any brighter, for the Indian Reservation has been a dismal failure as a "solution" to a racial problem. Yet this latter appears the more likely of the two choices, for any speedy liquidation of the Relocation Centers seems out of the question, if only because of the housing shortage. It has become apparent that many a bitter harvest sown in the evacuations of 1942 is yet to be reaped.

This tragic dilemma is being forged from three converging forces: attitudes inside the Centers, California environment, government policy.

1. Center Attitudes

Roughly 60,000 persons are left in Relocation Centers. An overwhelming majority of these, probably as high as 75%, are either under 20 or are older issei (aliens) 45 years of age or more. A substantial majority—perhaps 60%—have no property and little or no money. So far the return to the West Coast has been little more than a trickle: 588 had returned up to February 16. (Some before the ban was lifted.) Nor is this trickle growing as yet. In one block at the Topaz (Utah) Center for which I have statistics, only 10 out of 54 family units have definite plans to leave, 29 have no plans, 6 others will refuse relocation. From several centers have come reports speaking of "growing resistance to relocation."

For three years these Japanese-Americans have been subjected to an institutional routine which has deprived them of the responsibilities of daily living, paid them for their labor at pauper's wages (maximum $19 per month). Such life has sapped individual initiative, fostered dependence on a government handout. They have seen government promise after government promise suddenly made and as suddenly broken, until many no longer trust anyone or anything. What they salvaged from the stupendous losses incurred in evacuation has been eaten away meeting the necessities of Center life. The majority stand today penniless, homeless, broken in spirit, utterly dependent upon the government. Viewed in this light, "resistance to relocation" especially among the older people is not hard to understand. All many of them now want, feeling themselves too old or unwilling to "start all over again," is to be left alone, to live as decently as possible among their friends until they die.

2. California Environment

On top of these inevitable influences of internment camp life, a would-be relocator faces difficulties in outside living, which in turn are further magnified by Center gossip and rumor. After following closely the reactions of several who have returned, I have seen the same pattern develop. Dave, for example, who used to run a clothing store in San Francisco, found a warm welcome. The wholesalers who had supplied his store greeted him, he had a steady stream of social engagements, and the manager of a nearby store remembered him with presents and offers of help. But when he tried to buy a house in a better neighborhood a bank stepped in to block the sale. When he wanted a job, the prospective employer told him that he had had Japanese friends whom he liked, that personally he would like to hire him—BUT . . . "Gosh," said Dave, "I sat there like I was listening to a phonograph record, I've heard that so often before."

Yet Dave is an exception, for he has money, a home, speaks English well. What of the many who have none of these? Especially for those going to rural areas there is fear of public antagonism, for a limited number of unpleasant incidents (none of which has brought bodily harm so far), have been magnified out of all proportion by Relocation Center rumor factories. But by and large public reception is good and it is no longer the chief bottleneck. Number one problem for a returnee is housing, especially acute in urban areas, for which there is no mass solution visible. Despite many words to the contrary, job discrimination is everywhere. Even in the offices of the WRA nisei have been unable to get employment, though this policy is now being challenged.

Thus the simple question of getting a roof over one's head, food for one's stomach and a job for one's hands is so uncertain that it is little wonder many an evacuee prefers the dreary certainty of Center existence as against the fears of the unknown that come with a return to the California climate.

3. Government Policy

Let not the right hand know what the left is doing is sound practice in dispensing charity, but when it characterizes government policy fear, confusion, anger and bitterness result. On the one hand the people in the Centers see the threat to close all Centers by January as a club held over their heads, implemented by the announcement that schools will close for good in June. Such psychological coercion is bad in itself, but when it is coupled with a meagre, short-sighted contradictory policy in aiding evacuees who do go out, one has a right to ask the question: what does the government want, anyway? If its honest desire is to close the Centers, it is fair to demand that it face the problems created by such a decision.

Item: Only negligible aid has been offered by government agencies to help Japanese-Americans meet their two worst West Coast problems: employment and housing. WRA, in co-operation with U.S. Employment Service, is starting to act on the first, but progress to date is at snail's pace. Meanwhile all government agencies, including WRA, are dodging a housing maze that would challenge the ingenuity of a Houdini . . . but it cannot continue to dodge if it really expects to close the Centers.

Item: To an outgoing evacuee who is "in need," WRA pays $25 a head. This is not only an impossibly small sum with which to start life over again against a mountain of obstacles, but is an insult to justice when it is recalled that these people lost perhaps $75,000,000 through evacuation.

Item: WRA makes the returnee pay the cost of moving his furniture out of government warehouse where distance involved is less than 25 miles, thus requiring many a returnee to incur expenses as high as $50. Moreover, unless he moves his goods out within 60 days of return, he is told WRA reserves the right to sell those possessions.

Item: Returning evacuees to date complain that not only does WRA dodge major problems like housing, but offers only the scantiest of assistance overcoming other obstacles. In Oakland a WRA officer told one nisei that "we are not here to help you once you get out," with the result that indignant letters were written to friends still in Centers warning them not to come out.

Item: Niseis who previously relocated East (of whom there are nearly 35,000) naturally want to come back to visit Centers to talk with parents and friends, and make plans in view of new policies. Yet WRA refuses to give them permission to visit Centers except in emergencies or for limited groups which are excepted (soldiers, students between terms). It must be remembered that many nisei cannot write Japanese, their parents cannot read English, so communication between them by mail is difficult. Thus WRA, with an announced policy of closing the Centers, denies old people still in Centers a contact which would be most effective in persuading them to move out!

What is Needed?

In addition to correcting the grievances listed above, certain principles must be adopted to guide our dealings with these people:

(1) Though total reparation for losses incurred seems out of the question, evacuees should be given adequate financial support to start life again with dignity and self-respect. Besides greatly increased cash benefits on release, Congress should establish a claims commission, which would make reparations for some of the losses sustained because of the so-called "military necessity" of evacuation.

(2) It must be recognized that three years of internment camp life so profoundly changes some people that in many cases relocation must also be a process of rehabilitation whose objective is to undo the damage of exile on the desert, to re-educate in initiative and self-help. This means guidance, counseling, painstaking help even on details.

OVER THE BRINK

Was the Evacuation constitutional? To a Supreme Court majority "yes" Justice Murphy cries "I dissent!"

The exclusion of persons of Japanese ancestry in 1942 "goes over the very brink of constitutional power and falls into the ugly abyss of racism," says Supreme Court Justice Murphy in a magnificent dissent in the recent Korematsu case.

When the Japanese were ordered evacuated by the Army, Fred T. Korematsu did not go along, disobeying the law and challenging the action through the courts. When the case finally reached the Supreme Court in December, that body in a 6-3 decision upheld the constitutionality of the evacuation. The seriousness of this decision, dismissed with a few lines in the California press, is high-lighted by Justice Murphy's dissenting opinion.

Discredited Charges

Justification for this policy "excommunicating them without benefit of hearing," Justice Murphy declares, is based "mainly upon questionable racial and sociological grounds not ordinarily within the realm of expert military judgment, supplemented by certain semi-military conclusions drawn from an unwarranted use of circumstantial evidence. * * * A military judgment based upon such racial and sociological considerations is not entitled to the great weight ordinarily given the judgments based upon strictly military considerations. Especially is this so when every charge relative to race, religion, culture, geographical location and legal and economic status has been substantially discredited by independent studies made by experts in these matters."

Passions of Tomorrow

"But to infer that examples of individual disloyalty," Murphy continues, "prove group disloyalty and justify discriminatory action against the entire group is to deny that under our system of law individual guilt is the sole basis for deprivation of rights. Moreover, this inference, which is at the very heart of the evacuation orders, has been used in support of the abhorrent and despicable treatment of minority groups by the dictatorial tyrannies which this nation is now pledged to destroy. To give constitutional sanction to that inference in this case, however well intentioned may have been the military command on the Pacific Coast, is to adopt one of the cruelest of the rationales used by our enemies to destroy the dignity of the individual and to encourage and open the door to discriminatory actions against other minority groups in the passions of tomorrow.

"I dissent, therefore, from this legalization of racism. Racial discrimination in any form and in any degree has no justifiable part whatever in our democratic way of life."

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(3) The evolution of practical **long range** policies to guide both government and private action is of first importance. Such overall thinking will need to tackle such questions as these: Is closing all Centers the best solution? If so, is it possible to close them speedily without force? What are the steps necessary to make it as easy and attractive as possible for people to come out of the Centers?

As a result of age, infirmity, or psychological effects of evacuation, how many people now in Centers are incapable of taking care of themselves? How would they be cared for if all Centers closed? (Many fear, with much justification, merely being thrown on county relief.)

Supposing a number of them want to live out their lives in Centers, should they be permitted to do so? What form should such Japanese communities take? What about children and young people in such communities? How is government financing and support for an adequate program to be obtained?

Charge of Coddling

The present program of expediency will continue to be pitifully inadequate until it is geared into a long range plan that has some answers for these questions, that combines firmness with tact and humanity, that replaces threats with justice.

Many inadequacies of present WRA action are caused by fear of public charges of "coddling," of possible retaliatory Congressional action. Like anyone else, government officials cast a weather eye on their bread and butter, their professional reputations, usually will only do what is needed if they are vigorously supported when they are right, pushed when they fall short. Any thought that the "Japanese-American problem" was largely solved when the ban was lifted must be ruthlessly weeded from our minds. The people have it within their power to create untold additional injustice and hardship; but it is not too late to use their power to redeem some of the bitterness, rectify some of the injustice, restore happiness and meaning to troubled lives.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
INDUSTRY-AGRICULTURE
BERKELEY

THE HAND THAT FEEDS ...

What man bites the hand that feeds him, even if the hand be war? A recent issue of **Time** reports: "Hearst is making money again. Like some other U.S. publishers, Hearst has been saved by the war, which shot circulation up, reduced the size of his papers, and brought him all the advertising his papers could carry." Meanwhile the London publication of a book by Fenner Brockway reveals tremendous profits of munitions makers in this war. Slowly the ugly story of profiteering is coming to light, reaching from the Kaisers to the shipyard workers. Conscientious objection remains a hard and thorny road while the bread of war is buttered on both sides.

ON THE PUBLIC MIND

Seventy-five per cent of the general public think C.O.'s should get wages, family allotments; 56% would accept C.O.'s as friends, with 37.3% having no objection to a C.O. becoming a close relative through marriage. Less than 10% felt C.O.'s should either be imprisoned or shot as traitors.

These are some of the startling results of a nationwide public opinion poll conducted by non-pacifist Princeton psychologist Leo P. Crespi. His other chief finding: those polled thought the average person would want to have nothing to do with C.O.'s. Thus the public is much more favorable than has been assumed, the mass opinion fairer than individuals think it is.

DESTROYS THE YOUTH

"The poorest solution to any problem is war," according to General Douglas MacArthur, quoted in **Colliers** (Feb. 10). "The awful thing about this war is that it destroys the youth of a generation. Three years in New Guinea can make a boy of twenty-two become a man of fifty."

MANY PITFALLS

"As members of the armed forces," says a letter to the San Francisco **News** signed by six soldiers "somewhere in Belgium," "we can readily appreciate the many pitfalls that a youngster of 18 or 19 would be subjected to during a year's service in the Army. We are not moralizing, merely bringing out a point.

"Our forefathers came to America to escape the mailed fist of militarism and to establish a country of freedom and peace. If the conscription act is passed as law in our country, then the mothers and fathers of America are bringing children into this world in vain. The main purpose of parenthood in the United States is to rear and educate the children to become free, peace loving citizens; such would be impossible with compulsory military service."

THE DOORS SWING OUT

Prison doors are swinging open for several CO's from this area. Recently paroled were **Denny Wilcher** and **Bruce Miller**, both working at Stanford Hospital in San Francisco. (Wilcher's parole was suddenly granted after repeated denials.) Several other parolees expect to join the Stanford crew within a month.

Also to be welcomed back to the Bay area are **Bob McLane** and **John (Banjo) Marsh**, whose four-month sentences are shortest on record for CO's. Judge Fee's comment in passing sentence was that he wished these fellows would be given significant work to do, so that the responsibility for keeping them in camps would not rest on Federal judges.

René Arroyo, Glendora walkout, has been put on probation in Los Angeles for the duration of the war.

CALIFORNIA NEWSLETTER
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2151 Vine Street, Berkeley 7, California

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THE JAPANESE EVACUATION

YOUR PROBLEM AND MINE

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MARY COXHEAD

THE JAPANESE EVACUATION

YOUR PROBLEM AND MINE

A young Japanese writes: "The young people still have faith in the American government. Their faith will remain with them so long as the government keeps its word and the people are restored some of the privileges that have been taken away from them. Young and old alike would never do any overt act which would be disloyal to the country. Many of the older people have sons in the U. S. army. I, myself, have two brothers in uniform eagerly waiting for a chance to show their country where their heart really belongs. We understand that this evacuation is due to military necessity, but there is some doubt in our minds when there is a sinister move on the part of some politicians to deprive us of our citizenship."

The young Japanese who wrote this is a recently ordained minister, a citizen of the United States, now in one of the assembly centers in California. He with others could have been transferred to another theological seminary in the middle west. However, he preferred to go with his people into exile. His letter is typical of the many received in which is expressed faith in the American Government, a deep desire to defend it, and a fear that their citizenship means nothing; that in the future they will be treated as aliens as they have been in the total evacuation.

While most people know of the evacuation of the Japanese from California, Washington, Oregon and parts of Arizona, they do not fully realize the following facts:

(1) That citizens, some 70,000 of them, as well as aliens have been evacuated.

(2) That many people are now absolutely penniless, having had to sell their homes and business at a loss or leave work for which they were receiving just enough to support themselves.

(3) That while many of the people have work in the centers, the money they earn ($12 a month is the top salary), barely buys their necessities.

(4) That the Japanese, a proud race, deeply resent the indignity of having shelter provided for them and waiting in line to receive their food. To be kept

behind barbed wire, guarded by soldiers and machine guns, and treated as a dangerous people by a government to which they have given their sons and for which they have bought war bonds is completely bewildering to most of the older people and an added insult to all.

(5) After the war not only will the Japanese in this country suffer the stigma of having been classed as "dangerous" and having been behind barbed wire, but their physical characteristics will be a constant reminder to the public that they are the Japanese, the enemy alien. Hated before the war, they are in danger of becoming a completely isolated group after the war has ceased.

There are three things you can do to help these unforunate people. (1) Keep in touch with them, and by so doing help them to feel that they still have a place in society. (2) As soon as public opinion is sufficiently favorable Japanese families and individuals will be released to communities in the Middle West where they can live normal lives. You can help create favorable public opinion. If Christianity means anything to you and your community this is your opportunity to demonstrate it. (3) There is an increasing danger that the Japanese American citizens will lose their citizenship. This would be unconstitutional as well as unjust. Bearing in mind the forty-odd years of hate and prejudice shown by business and politics on the west coast, all thinking people must look with grave doubts upon such a procedure. Write your senators and congressman, talk with important people, tell your friends that behind this movement to disenfranchise these people lie highly questionable motives.

Evacuation is a fact. We cannot change it. But as Christians we can act to prevent further injustices. Only as we get along with peoples of other races within our country now can we help to create a just and durable peace after the war.

For further information write

Miss MARY COXHEAD

3805 Piedmont Avenue

Oakland, Calif.

Sheldon

PROPOSAL FOR
COOPERATIVE EFFORT IN THE RELOCATION OF JAPANESE STUDENTS

On April 7th representatives of the University Commission of the Church Boards of Education, The National Intercollegiate Christian Council, the Friendly Relations Committee, Committees of the Home Missions Council and the Federal Council of Churches, The International Student Service, The American Friends Service Committee, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, The World Student Service Fund, and the Institute of International Education met to consider the desirability of cooperative approach to the problem of Japanese students facing evacuation.

After a careful review both of the needs of Japanese students on the west coast and what is being undertaken both by the organizations represented in the consultation and by certain government and educational agencies, the group decided to present the following proposal to the organizations represented in order to secure the necessary authorization for such cooperative effort, and to secure appropriations needed for a six months period.

1. That, because of the magnitude of the problem and the necessity of avoiding duplication of effort, there be cooperative action on the part of the organizations named above.

2. That the Student Relocation Committee, already at work on the west coast, and composed of representatives of these several organizations, be named the administrative group for this work.

3. That the work would include aspects such as the following, it being understood that the committee would urge groups like the government, the Association of Western Colleges, the Association of American Colleges to carry all those responsibilities which seemed appropriate to the several groups.

    a) Discover what students wish to continue their studies and what resources they have for doing so.

    b) Collect material concerning the records and capacities of students who wish to continue study for purposes of analysis in case only a limited number of students can continue and selection is hence found necessary.

    c) Secure the united support of western colleges behind a plan for continued study opportunity, then endeavoring to get this plan accepted by appfopriate government authorities.

    d) Secure funds for the education of those wishing to continue their studies. Such sources would include the following:

        (1) Government subsidy through the Relocation Program or the Commissioner of Education
        (2) State grants for State University extension
        (3) Educational and research foundations
        (4) Church groups, Christian Associations, etc.
        (5) Contributions secured on campuses from which students go and to which they go
        (6) Scholarships and Fellowships in the colleges to which they go
        (7) Board and Room gifts or jobs by interested families in the towns to which students go.

e) Create sympathetic understanding of the Japanese situation in communities and colleges to which students come.

f) Create a clearing house, or several such, where all available information may be secured. This would include the following types of information:

   (1) Government orders, decisions, and plans
   (2) Plans and programs being carried on by all persons or groups working on the problem of relocation.
   (3) Facts and figures on the entire problem of evacuation, including evidence of the loyalty of the majority of Japanese-American students.

g) Keep all groups informed about what others are doing in order to avoid duplication of work and in order to see that all necessary work does get done by someone.

h) Make an effort to secure the willingness of colleges to provide opportunity for students to finish their 1942 spring work by correspondence from their reception centers. This would include library arrangements for books.

4. That a budget of $3,000 for the salary of a full-time worker, for his travel and for office expenses for a six months period, be accepted as an administrative budget (as proposed by the west coast committee) on the understanding that additional funds will probably be needed for direct aid to students, and that every effort will be made to finance the work through government and educational agencies and through foundations.

5. That there be an advisory or cooperating committee in New York to assist the west coast committee in the raising of money and in the promotion of constructive public opinion.

6. That the World Student Service Fund be asked to be the channel through which all funds should be received and to assist in the raising of funds.

4/13/42

Supplement to May 28,1944 Bulletin of the First Methodist Church of Santa Maria.

Do you know THE TRUTH about

"OUR JAPANESE PROBLEM?"

Who is back of the evacuation? Why? Was there ever a real "military necessity?" Is there NOW?

For an unbiased, objective study read "Issei,Nisei, Kibei." in "THE JAPANESE NUMBER" ---April ---of

FORTUNE

Here are sample quotatiions: (Headings ours.)

Supplying Enemy Propaganda

By pointing out,again and again, that the U.S.put behind fences well over 100,000 people of Japanese blood, the majority of them citizens of the U.S., Japan describes to her Far Eastern radio audinees one more instance of racial discrimination.To convince all Orientals that the war in the Pacific is a crusade against the white man's racial oppression, the enemy shrewdly notes every occurance in the U.S.that suggests injustice to racial minorities from the Negro to the Mexicans and Japanese.

Governor Warren on Record

"We have had no sabotage and no fifth column activity since the beginning of the war." --Attorney General Warren, February 21,1942. Evacuation ordered March 2,1942.

Hearst Followers?

And when Hearst called for the removal of all people of Japanese ancestry, he had as allies many pressure groups who had for years resented the presence of Japanese in this country. The American Legion, since its founding in 1919, has never once failed to pass an annual resolution against the Japanese Americans. The Associated Farmers in California had competitive reasons for wanting to get rid of the Japanese Americans who grew vegitables at low cost on $70 million worth of California land. ... It did not require the war to make the farmers, the Legion, the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West,and the politicians, resent and hate Japanese Americans. (The La Follett Congressional Committee Reports and "Factories in the Fields" by Carey Mc Williams will more than suggest the financial interests back of some of these organizations. FORTUNE might well have inquired wheter there is a single case on record in which the banking representative on local evacuation boards gave other advice than to "sell everything for whatever you can get out of it ."A.A.H.)

"Military Necessity?"

When future historians review the record, they may have difficulty reconciling the army's policy in California with that pursued in Hawaii. ... For two full years the West Coast "military necessity" order of March 2,1942 has been in force -- an unprecedented quasi-martial law, suspending a small minority's constitutional rights of personal liberty and freedom of action. Those loyal evacuees who take jobs in war plants in the East have reason to ask why they are forbidden to return to California to paant aabagem. Mr. Stimpson and Mr. Knox have assured the nation that the Japanese enemy is not coming to our shores. The Pacific Coast is now a "defense command" no longer a "theater of operations" in the army's own terminology. EACH MONTH THE MARCH,1942 ORDER SEEMS MORE UNREASONABLE.

Nazi Method

.... the Constitution and the Bill of Rights were severely stretched if not breeched when the U.S.citizens were put in prison .....The longer the army permits California and the rest of the Pacific Coast to be closed to everyone of Japanese discent the more time is given the Hearst papers and their allies to convince Californians that they will indeed yield to lawlessness if the unwanted minority is permitted to return. By continuing to keep American citizens in "protective custody," the U.S. is holding to a policy as ominous as it is new. The Ame4ican custom in the past has been to lock up citizens who comit violence, not the victim of his threats and blows. The doctrine of"protective custody" could prove altogether too convenient a weapon in many other situations. In California, a state woth a long history of race hatred and vigilantism, antagonism is already building against the Negroes who have come in for war jobs. What is to prevent their removal to jails, to "protect them" from riots? Or Negroes in Detroit, Jews in Boston, Mexicans in Texas? The possibilities of "protective custody" are endless, AS THE NAZIS HAVE AMPLY PROVED.

(Please turn the page)

OUR CHURCH BULLETIN OF PERMANENT HISTORICAL VALUE

Too late to be included in our May 28th printed issue came a letter from the Curator of the famous Jane Addams Peace Collection of the FRIENDS HISTORICAL LIBRARY of Swarthmore College from which we quote the following:

"A copy of your BULLETIN, dated April 30,1944, concerned mostly with problems of Japanese Americans, has come to this PEACE COLLECTION. This is very appropriate for our files and we should like to secure anything similar that you may have published in the past on peace, and international or race problems. Also to secure future material."

So copies of our humble bulletin, together with the two starements issued by Santa Maria ministers a propos of the evacuation will be preserved for reaearch purposes in "files which now date back to 1642, from many countries, in many languges."

ALSO FILED AT OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE

California Libraries have assumed responsibility for the collection of materials on various phases of our war time American life. To Occidental College, Los Angeles, has fallen the task of collecting all materials on the evacuation of Americans of Japanese ancestry. By request of the Librarian our Bulletin finds a place in its files regularly.

AS A SUPREME COURT JUSTICE SEES US

Subjected to a constant barage of prejudice and hatred many sincere Californians scarcely appreciate how grevious a breech of Constitutional rights we permitted at our very doors. The words of a Supreme Court Justice in a special opinion in connection with a court decision should at least sober us ---

"It (the evacuation) bears melancholy resemblence to the treatment accorded the Jewish race in Germany and other parts of Europe. ..... distinctions based on color and ancestry are utterly inconsistent with our traditions and ideals. TO SAY THAT ANY GROUP CANNOT BE ASSIMILATED IS TO ADMIT THAT THE GREAT AMERICAN EXPERIMENT HAS FAILED." —Justice Murphy.